

# Tutorial

Tuesday, May 14, 2019 8:26 AM

## Week 1 Recitation – Aspects of Modern Chinese History

### A. The Chinese World Order

- John K. Fairbank, "A Preliminary Framework," in Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order* (1968), 1-14.
- Vogel (2011), *Deng Xiao ping and the transformation of China*, 1-14.
- "China's Burglars at the bottom of the garden," ST (20 Apr 2018)
- "The myths of a China-led global Order," ST (1 Mar 2017)

Qn: What constitutes the ancient Chinese World Order? What were its downsides?  
How does Deng see modern China's role in it?

### B. Origins of Chinese Diplomacy

- Kang (2010), *East Asia before West*, Chp 4.
- "China's initiative promises new route to open trade" ST (16 May 2017)
- "China's plan wins praise, but some concerns remain" ST (16 May 2017)

Qn: What are the weakness & strength of Chinese diplomacy? Should neighboring countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century be concerned?

### C. Tributary System and its discontents

- Takeshi (1997). *The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times*.
- Yew Lun Tian, "Understanding the basis for China's S. China Sea claims," ST (May 18, 2016).
- Min Ding & Jie Xu (2015), *The Chinese Way*, chp 25

Qn: Compare Takeshi's insights with Yew Lun Tian's summary. In what ways are historical rationalizations moot? What is problematic with the cultural view (essentializing) that prescribes to an immutable entity which seemingly governs present actions? (e.g. all Chinese are stingy)

## Recital

Saturday, May 18, 2019 8:08 PM

What constitutes the ancient Chinese World Order? What were its downsides?

1. Primacy of Inner Asia
2. Disregard of Sea Borders
3. China is the best

China was self-sufficient, such that there was intense national pride compounding Chinese self-esteem.

Tribute system saw to it to reinforce idea of Chinese supremacy -> Chinese were insulated, hardly heard of ruler outside of Emperor.

Other Fairbank:

- Sinocentrism, assumption of Chinese superiority (pg. 2)
- Sinic Zone, consisting of the most nearby and culturally similar tributaries, Korea and Vietnam, and Ryukyu
- Inner Asian Zone, secondly, including tributary tribes and states of the nomadic or seminomadic peoples of Inner Asia
- Outer zone (Including Japan)
- Could not square theory with Russian or British envoys.
- Outside countries were seen as tributaries, including trade ie Lord Macartney
- Inner Asian not barbarian due to use for cavalry
- Flourished till the Western powers, but survived down to the 1911

How did it originate?

1. Agrarian-based culture from North China, vaguely aware of other ancient centers
2. Hierarchic, anti-egalitarian.
3. Social order depended on ideology
4. Indoctrination and Education by legalism.
5. Emperor had both ancient (personal) and bureaucratic.
6. Emperor was a symbol of unity, but local elite dominated the villages while remaining loyal to the emperor (士族, 世族)

Europe saw the development of a number of nation-states theoretically equal in sovereignty and mutually independent within the culture area of Christendom. European order depends on precise division of territories, and balance of power. Chinese order was unified and centralized in theory by the universal preeminence of the Son of Heaven.

Downsides:

1. Maintain Chinese superiority in military weakness -> cessation of contact, indoctrinating the foreigner in the Chinese view by cultural-ideological means, buying off, playing one against the another
2. If accepting as an order:
  - a. Refuse to acknowledge any dependence upon trade, and consequently it remained formally subordinate to tribute.
3. Chinese world order was a unified concept only at the Chinese end and only on the normative level, as an ideal pattern.
4. Two modes: incorporation of non-Chinese into bureaucratic empire and refusal to acknowledge their existence.

How does Deng see modern China's role in it?

What are the weakness & strength of Chinese diplomacy? Should neighboring countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century be concerned?

- Tributary states are not exploited
- Can negotiate relations between states of equal tier
- Provides security to neighboring states
- Provides legitimacy to newly arisen states aka Choseon
- What China appears to have wanted was legitimacy and recognition from secondary states, not necessarily material benefits such as wealth or power (pg. 17, 87)
- I.e. system manager
- There were developed rules and norms governing trade, diplomacy, and international migration
- But states down the hierarchy had trouble dealing with each other and with determining their own hierarchic ranking (pg. 20, 90)
- Japan was deeply uncomfortable with China's dominance within the Confucian system (pg. 24, 94)
- Japan wanted to be the grantor of trade and hence be in the dominant position
- "Japanese acceptance and recognition of China's position as a cultural and economic center and a Japanese ranking of status and respect based not on size but on culture (pg. 25, 95)
- Try to opt out of the Chinese tributary status and yet remain within the larger set of diplomatic rules and institutions

Current reactions:

1. Belt and Road
  - a. Revive ancient trade routes via land and sea to boost growth between China and neighbors
  - b. But no transparency of public procurement and social and environmental standards
  - c. Also, large countries think that grand initiative is smokescreen for strategic control (India)
  - d. Expansion of influence through backyard of Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal
  - e. Want greater clarity of its intentions
  - f. China's history of using economic clout for geopolitics
  - g. Eg South Korea anti-missile system -> used tourists, music videos block

Compare Takeshi's insights with Yew Lun Tian's summary. In what ways are historical rationalizations moot?

What is problematic with the cultural view (essentializing) that prescribes to an immutable entity which seemingly governs present actions? (e.g. all Chinese are stingy)

Summary of Takeshi's ideas

1. Tributary system: bilateral relationships, with tribute and imperial 'gift' as mediums of exchange
2. Tributary system paralleled or was in symbiosis with a network of commercial trade relations
3. But tributary relationship may be overly simplified -> it's the idea of the Middle Kingdom, and tributary states shared the ideal of the Middle Kingdom, and their participation in the system.

Japan not as close door as as they seem  
Everyone seen as barbarians

1. Tributary system: bilateral relationships, with tribute and imperial 'gift' as mediums of exchange
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3. But tributary relationship may be overly simplified -> it's the idea of the Middle Kingdom, and tributary states shared the ideal of the Middle Kingdom, and their participation in the system.
4. Thus, they assert their own national identities via China.
5. Entire tributary trade formation determined by price structure of China, and formed an integrated silver zone in which silver was used as the medium of repayment (pg. 8, 125)
6. But tributary states grew discontented with the "rigging" for fiscal convenience, ie paper currency and tighter trade controls
7. When in contact with Europe, the Europeans figured how to determine the legitimate power in its locality, and take into account the tributary sphere
8. Basically tributary system + international treaty of equal status
9. Japan sought to industrialize due to defeated expansion of commercial relations.
10. Increase in foreign trade, to compete with Western textiles for share of Chinese market
11. Chinese migration to other countries -> created diaspora, which looks to South China as center.

Yew Summary:

1. Wu: Lots of historical data, Chinese fisherman have been there, therefore rights to fish in South China Sea
2. Hayton: No archaeological evidence
3. Nine-dash line is not valid for China's maritime territorial sovereignty, at odds with UNCLOS
4. Hayton: China depending on traditional international law
5. China is trying to use current policy decisions, and find backing for them historically
6. China has yet adapted to resolving sovereignty disputes through arbitration, suspected that the outcome would not be fair as the international court or arbitration mechanisms were dominated by the West, and the next step
7. Historical complex of invasions by foreign powers, century of humiliation
8. South east Asia has had the experience of imperialism, thinks that it should not be given extra respect and privilege
9. Great-state autism -> Big countries do not know how to adjust their actions appropriately due to their insensitivity to the concerns of other countries

What is problematic with the cultural view (essentializing) that prescribes to an immutable entity which seemingly governs present actions? (e.g. all Chinese are stingy)

Japan not as close door as as they seem  
Everyone seen as barbarians  
Easier to go with whatever was listening

Compare Takeshi's insights with Yew Lun Tian's summary. In what ways are historical rationalizations moot? What is problematic with the cultural view (essentializing) that prescribes to an immutable entity which seemingly governs present actions? (e.g. all Chinese are stingy)

What causes this crisis -> Nine Dash Line -> Chinese did research -> they had maps. Ming China had a lot of maps.

What's interesting is this -> Japanese used the same method to screw the Chinese. They downloaded some documents.  
You must understand that 1949 -> They used the old arguments -> used the Senkaku islands, and the Japanese term, and the Japanese journalists used their old maps.

There are a lot of factors. Maps is political. There is no foolproof method. Some of the treaties keep repeating because they are not reliable, so they have to reaffirm each other.

Ming China had maritime travels that was extensive. How China subdued Sri Lanka, and captured the king to bring back to Beijing.  
To teach him a lesson.

Attitudes of China towards foreign nations

1. Humiliations -> determine through foreign relations
  - a. Opium War
  - b. Sino-Japanese War
2. Taiwan issue ->
  - a. Part of the US sphere
  - b. Taiwan historically was a haven for pirates
  - c. Modern dispute, based in ancient history
3. American Flying Tigers -> give a good impression of America
  - a. As the first foreigners to help in a bad state

Americans traditionally like to fight -> people go to volunteers  
Chinese foreign war  
And many other wars

If you win, you're a hero. Or a terrorist.  
They travel to a foreign country to fight for something they believed in.  
American involvement.  
A lot of Americans were involved in Taiwan during the Cold War.  
You find that if you are interested in the first question ->

When you talk about selective memory, the countries that you were opposing were victims of colonization.  
Was China totally colonized by foreigners? No, because China was too big.  
A lot of Singaporeans do not realize -> it's the continent of Europe large.  
What's true in one province is not true in the other  
In China -> flood -> difficult to imagine. Scales in China are huge.

# Lecture

Tuesday, May 21, 2019 12:08 PM

The decision in this Modern China elective, when I include Ming China to anti-Chinese Indonesia is controversial. I had to submit the elective, and they were critiquing it. Ming -> I liked the novels. To give you a more intellectual grounding

Big topics are

- Modernization and Tradition
- Revolution and Reform
- Nationalism and Imperialism
- Foreign Impact and Internal Dynamic
- Transnationalism and Globalization.

These are the five aspects in this Modern China sequence.

To explain to start from Ming -> and in China, start in 1912. If MIT, modern China starts from Opium War

Why? Because since we're engineers -> divide by technology. Then I will argue => gunpowder used in a big way, against Hideyoshi, Wako and whatever. The use of technology defines modernity, then Ming starts as a nice place.

Other than that, I'm also backed by prominent scholars

Immanuel Hsu -> 1606, Chinese and Western history began to converge. They start to interact because of gun powder, exchange of technology. To converge upon each other. Intrigued by Ming's casting of cannons. The maximal use of gunpowder was done in Ming Dynasty. Then we have Paul Cohen, talks about how Western influence intensified in the nineteenth century. It starts in the opium war. Different universities start at different time of Modern China. Talk about the continuity -> although we have changes, we must have the long term perspective.

We talk about how modernization was accepted as ideal by government. Nationalism becomes a powerful social force. Why start differently. If the syllabus start in 1912, after xinhai ge ming, They will go more into Kuomintang. For example, Immanuel Hsu's perspective -> need to economize.

## **Modernization and Tradition**

This theme is important -> can see nowadays, we talk about China under Xi Jinping.

It is important for them because modernization is seen as a way to save China. Talk about making China even more prosperous. It's a big thing. Other reasons is establishing China as a respected position in the world. Modernity is a relative contrast. Tradition and Feudalism.

There is a strong enlightenment assumption when talking about modernity. It is determined by rapid economic growth; industry, advanced technology and communications. Then you can talk about new political forms -> participation of citizens in government. And establishment of democratic institutions.

Is it still valid to start Modern China course from Ming Dynasty?

Most important theorist -. Karl Marx -> China was stagnant in eighteenth and nineteenth century. Only with encounter with the West that China woke up.

Marx: "Contact with the West as the only influence - evolution of Chinese society  
Only modernization could bring liberation from feudalism and ultimately capitalism"

In contemporary terms nowadays. They think it is erroneous that there was no history or development of its own. That it is presumptions that China with its exposure to the West, is the beneficial effect.

Historians have said that it is racist that China needs the West, that it has no development before. According to William Rowe -> Late Ming is exemplified in urban development, literacy, development

of trade, attributed to indigenous causes. It developed on itself, instead of Western impact, on its own time.

We will talk more about this debate as we talk about Ming development.

John K. Fairbank : He talks about how China responded to the West. And he talks about the penetration of China by an alien and more powerful society. Confucianism did not contain within it the prospect of genuine liberalism or effective modernization.

He qualifies this by conceding that Western intrusion was but one of many factors eroding the late imperial order

The important thing in Historiography -> all causes are multi-causal. It cannot be just one. For example, breaking up with someone. What do you think are some of the reasons?

It cannot be just one reason. It's complemented by a web of reasons. Give you consideration of other factors as well.

He points out the recurrence of continuities. Strategic primacy of Inner Asia, the disesteem of sea power, the doctrine of Chinese superiority, and the idea of hierarchy. The most obvious example is Cheng Ho -> apex of sea power, but gave it up. Even when they are on the second opium war, you would have read that they were thinking superior even when losing.

Self -esteem is so important. And the idea of hierarchy. We talk about disruptive industries. If you go to a tech start up. In a tech start up, do you have an office? (Mutual surveillance). But the idea of hierarchy is important - the boss, the title. Fairbank pointed out in the Cold War, to imagine Peking acting completely free of history would be the height of unrealism.

Wang Gungwu -> Talks about Spring and Autumn Period, and Warring states period. Talks about strategic thinking of Tianxia. He talks about for the Chinese, it's not true they have no change. They have change, but not all changes are positive. When related to enlightenment, change is progressivism. In Chinese, there is change, but regressive. But the international order nowadays.

Google on an Android platform is international, China is operating another version of it. To have maximum profit, have international order. It kicked Huawei out.

China's integration into the world order, as China rightly pointed out, there is already a head of the order. For me to be in there is very difficult. What can be done.

International order -> merely the product of the struggles among the Great Powers of half a century ago

Identifies the autocratic streak in Chinese political culture but sees it as more malleable. Existing international order -> something they have to disrupt because they have their own international order. Blending of heritage with modernity. During the Ming, there was only one power -> China. The hegemonic influence is forgotten by a lot of people. It ties in with international order.

### **Foreign Impact and Internal Dynamic**

Here, we talk about instead of China being at the receiving end at other people's influence, we can see China as influencing others. What are the others? Countries like Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and so on. If you are a historian of medieval times. You know that Korea and Vietnam have court script in Chinese. But you can't pronounce the words. This indicates the hegemonic order that China imposes upon. The ideographic system, the Confucian classical teachings, the official examination system, and the imperial Chinese monarch and bureaucracy.

There is what you call the Sinic zone, the Inner Asia zone, and the Outer Zone.

China is at the natural center of the East Asia world. Coloured by this concept of Sinocentrism.

Traditionally, the Chinese have always thought when the Barbarians are not submissive abroad, the rebels might more easily rise.

Nei luan wai huan. Why are the Chinese obsessive with order? Why did Modern China have the cyber war with firewalls and bans? There is this fear of internal disorder. If you have disorder, you can resolve it. But if you are hit by an external threat, you have this perennial fear.

Internal disorder and outside calamity.

Every regime since ancient times, makes the foreign relations fit their theory to rule China "Organizing principle of superordination - subordination was also used in East Asia"

Archetype of a whole set of often interlocking relations that developed in the East Asia.  
This hierarchical order is also expressed when dealt with in foreign relations. Some states are at an armed distance.  
This hierarchy is determined by how closely you follow China. China periodically sends its almanac to all of these vassal states, and it's up to them to use it.  
It's like a World Wide Web protocol. Chinese must use this protocol.

What are some of the things they use.

Things like Tribute

贡 , tribute

蕃, fan, foreign

Foreigners came and were transformed

来华

怀柔远人

Can you imagine the prince of Palembang, brings 16 coconuts, and it's not as if Chinese have seen before, but name it their native product.

They perceive as superior, so give gold, silk, whatever. If the Palembang prince comes out with coconuts every so often, balance sheet gets wonky. So they discourage the visitors.

Here, we can see that they have a firm system of international order of Chinese System. They were uncomfortable with European nations among equally sovereign nation states.

Westphalian states -> when they are all equal, there is less war.

Which system is superior? Each state treat as equal, or system that is hierarchical, where the top dog suffers more (prestige vs bleeding gold)

The sense of superiority, humiliation and the tough

Different governments have different interpretations

The Communist Party -> official view -> Modern China began with the British imperialist attack on China, which launched the Opium War

Taiwan -> You would see that Nationalist Chinese interpret differently. Talk about how Japanese with successful modernization turn around attacking China. They would think of the Sino-Japanese war.

CCP is very lenin, talk about imperialist war

There is more credit to Republican China, China has vibrant economy, internal dynamic. Talk about 16th century and beyond. So different interpretations.

### Nationalism and Imperialism

Modern Imperialism -> talk about how modern imperialism aided by industrial revolution. Students in world history -> most potent symbol of imperialism was the Maxim Gun.

If you are riding into the Maxim Gun -> The Chinese in Jiang Nan arsenal, used it in Xinjiang.

The suppression methods differ, but always suppression, because need to tame peripherals. It's the most potent symbol of modernism.

Nationalism -> Modern European concept. Group of people residing inside closely defined borders and owing loyalty to the state that rules the resulting territory.

You find that if you define Modern Chinese history by this manner, you can see how nationalists arose in reaction to imperialism.

And driving out the Manchurians.

So for China then, if we understand from the Qing Dynasty, it's a Double Domination

By foreign imperialism, and a non-Han dynasty.

There was this big debate -> Manchu > ethnic minorities. Yue Fei -> internal war between two different groups of people? Or parochial war? Between invaders vs Ethnic Chinese?

Some scholars -> What kind of patriotism? It becomes ethnocentrism.

The very people he's fighting against is part of China.

In a revisionist kind of way.

We look at this -> wars and defeats inflicted by imperialist countries provoke China into reacting. Some of these range from Britain to Japan. The seeds of imperialism's decline in China, by European National powers were sowed via nationalism. They introduced concepts as liberty, equality and democracy.

Wars and defeats inflicted on China by imperialist countries.

Ranging from Britain to Japan culminated in the Boxer Rebellion

This has now turned to a topic with no grey areas -> when we do Ming history later on, a lot of Ming officials, when Ming fell and Qing took over. A lot of Ming officials worked for the Qing. Because an intellectual, too smart. Working for the next regime is no problem. Because intellectual abilities can be used for another regime.

From Song to Yuan Dynasty -> Song intellectuals had no problem working for the Yuan Dynasty. Chinese history traditionally, for the intellectuals to transit from one to another. But in the twentieth century, this becomes a problem.

Huang Jinwei. The KMT -> they dynamite his tomb. They destroyed the corpse. There was a change. That would only be detected if you examine history in the long duration.

**宁死不屈** They cast themselves into the lake, and that's immortalized in this sculpture.

What kind of architecture is. Big jaw, biceps, women look like men, to exude power. (in response to Rape) It's a stalinist sculpture, uniform granite.

With modernity, China talks about China's territorial integrity and the One China policy.

This is stronger than the Western style of nationalism (Fairbank)

If you are well versed in Chinese culture -> there is a strong existential release. **三十六计走为上计**

How do we reconcile both? The contradiction is deep, but both exist.

A segment that is highly homophobic, very white, Rust Belt -> Trump (and Patton) appeals to that because they fought for America and he appealed to the lowest segment. The people who talked about Liberalism, turn the other cheek they are the elites and they are the minority. The blow back as a result of Globalism.

The contradiction of **宁死不屈** -> If all else fails, retreat.

### **Revolution and Reform**

This is easily explained -> "a radical change in the system of government, infringement of prevailing constitution arrangements and the use of force"

A revolution is an insurrection.

China has an embarrassment of it -> there are too many of them.

Xinhai Revolution.

A lot of women took part in Xinhai Revolution? Because you don't see the involvement of women. They are nurses or whatever. The women's role was eradicated. This has a gender dimension, but in this picture, the women fought as part of the revolution for Sun Yat Sun.

There is no agency, their lives are controlled by others. In the real 1911 revolution, there is a women battalion

China, in this period of time, had many examples.

Taiping Rebellion, Boxer Rebellion, 1911, 1913, 1925-7 (Nationalist Revolution), May 4th 1919.

Revolution of 1949

### **Transnationalism and Globalization**

First, the picture of foreign minister, Rajaratnam. Because he visits the Ming tombs.

LKY sent the Indian Foreign Minister, to show that they are a small country, but the race is not completely Chinese. You exercise your own independence and sovereignty

This was on the eve of Chinese reform, the very first thing, is to wear the cowboy hat. Deng acknowledge that they need Western investment

Both pictures talk about symbolism in the global sphere. The Chinese go to America and wear 10 gallon hat.

In the 16th century, China was a silver sink. They absorbed the world's production of silver.

16th century	2330 tons
17th century	7300 tons

Potosi -> Bolivia, transport to China in Spanish galleons.

There is also Chinese plates, and made to order -> What kind of pattern they want. The artisan will follow the pattern, and produce an entire set, with crests. Lisbon was a distributing factor.

Mao Zedong exported revolution to the world. In the 1970s, if you have the complete books of Mao, it would be confiscated.

Mao's works were considered contraband in the 1970s.

Mao talks about the "intermediate zone" trapped between the superpowers of America and the Soviet Union

China sees itself as leading the people of the intermediate zone.

They are the revolutionary zone, and there are lead for China.

All of the propaganda pictures -> Africa is the symbol of third world internationalism.

The African is at the foreground.

"Asia, Africa and Latin America" as one of the more revolutionary intermediate zones which was generally opposed to American imperialism.

Other zone being capitalistic with pro-US sympathies.

Beijing Consensus -> Barry Desker

Leadership role of the authoritarian party state -> good governance rather than electoral democracy

Technocratic approaches to government, emphasis on social rights and obligation.

Reassertion of the principles of sovereignty and non-interference

Support for freer markets coupled with stronger regional and international institutions

Rejects the idea of an inevitable conflict with a rising China

'Greater China' 大中华

Has been used widely within academia and the media

To refer to economic

Pushback from the West

They see it as just being about family ties, ancestral roots, culture and language. Talks about the Three tiers of the China Circle.

Western commentators look at this greater China phenomena with fear.

Some scholars see this as aggression. Future unification with Taiwan (Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997)

Some US scholars, talks about understanding of reunification of lost places going back to China.

For example, Mongolia, and traditionally, in history, Chinese influence was felt in all these areas. It's a conspiracy. But what truth is there in this theorizing.

Talks about ambition -> "Screaming yellow hordes"

Or the crazy China men.

And the innocent white women.

A lot of this fear was founded in racism.

China have this contradiction going on as well.

They talk about the threat of Western Education in China.

In this 1915 report -> Call on the country's higher education institutions to prioritize the teaching of

Marxism ideological loyalty to the party and the views of President Xi Jinping.  
Greeted with widespread incredulity, especially among Chinese intellectuals who note that  
Communism itself is a Western import.  
Number of Chinese studying at American colleges has soared

Basis of South China Sea claims -> Harkens back to the Ming Dynasty -> Because a lot of things start from Ming \_> South China Sea, Gunpowder. We talk about America sending troops to Afghanistan. Ming engage in foreign policy to fight against the Japanese.

i.e. Imjin War

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In the year 1633, an edict was issued to the censorate stating that the reason for the recent growth in the number of the destitute and of bandits was the rapacity and cruelty of the officials. The greater the officials' success in getting what they wanted, the greater were the sufferings of the people. The emperor therefore ordered the censors to move around and to inquire carefully into the activities of corrupt officials.

This edict, issued in the 6th year of the Chongzhen reign (Chongzhen being the last emperor of the Ming), shows that the monarch was fully aware of the difficulties of the time. At the end of the same year, the President of the Board of Ceremonies reported to the Emperor that there had been a catastrophic decline in agriculture in the South. In the past, he said, the capital had depended on the South for four million piculs of grain (

担 = 60 kg); but the productive power of the farmers there had been exhausted.

"Having reached the region north of the Yangtze, your servant noticed that from the districts 濠 Hao (anhui), 徐 Xu (Southern Zhili/Shandong), 清 Qing (Liaodong), 齐 Qi (Shanxi/Henan) to the capital, there exists complete desolation: the people move about aimlessly, the irrigation system and the farms are all neglected. Warnings of this kind had been coming to the court continuously since the Wan-li reign, but very little attention had been paid to them. When the Chongzhen emperor recognized the danger it was already too late.

### Administrative Divisions of Ming Dynasty

R.M.C.: Regional Military Commission



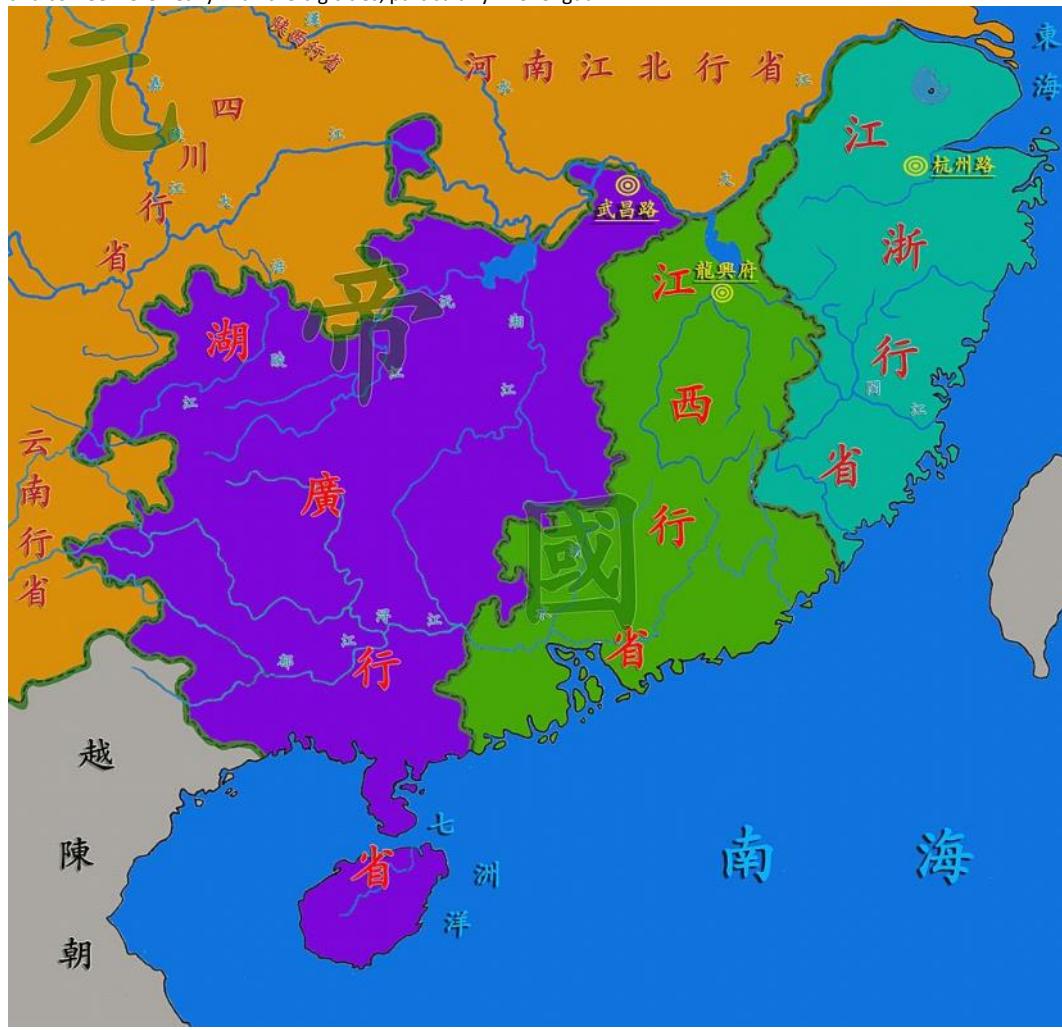
A topographical survey compiled in the late Ming period revealed the restless state of the people. All were anxiously questioning the future of the empire. Thus one man, speaking of Northern Zhili [pg 329], said that since the place was so near to the borders they often suffered from invasion by the barbarians; worse still, the eunuchs possessed many of the farms there and often involved the people in serious trouble. In general, he said, many of the districts were poor and many of the people were unable to pay the land taxes; they were moreover difficult to govern since they were troublesome and the whole area was infested with bandits

Of Southern Zhili the author of the survey tells us that several of the districts near Suzhou were frequently flooded and that the increase of taxes for the upkeep of the soldiers often imposed a very heavy burden on the people. Southern Zhili had formerly been reckoned one of the most prosperous provinces of the empire, but by the end of the Ming period unreasonable demands for corvee

(forced labor in lieu of taxes) had drained the people of their energy. Many of the prosperous cities on the coast and on the Yangtze River, Yangzhou (Jiangsu central) and Dongzhou (Guangdong) for instance, had suffered severely from the ravages of Japanese pirates. Many of the saltrakers and miners, unable to make an honest living, had become bandits.

The maritime southern provinces were subjected to the unceasing attacks of Japanese pirates. In Zhejiang, the people of Hangzhou, Jiaxing 嘉兴 and Huzhou were prosperous and lived luxuriously, but many poor farmers in mountainous districts, unable to pay their land-taxes, had grouped together as bandits. In Fujian and Guangdong many adventurers had taken to the high seas as pirates. In Guangdong especially the officials were corrupt because they were far away from the court and so were free to do as they pleased. The people of Jiangxi had the reputation of being frugal and hardworking, but from the end of the 15th century the imposition of ever heavier land taxes and corvee had been undermining the life of the province. To escape these burdens, robust young men began to abandon their farms and take to commerce. In order to gain freedom of movement they were ready even to desert their wives and children, and a fall in the moral standards of this province inevitably followed. The provinces of Guangxi, Guizhou and Yunnan seem to have been considered less important. There had always been conflicts between the Chinese and the aborigines in those distant parts of the empire, and time and again they had given endless trouble to the government.

Sichuan was a mountainous province well-known for its production of timber. Most of the construction work in the capital depended on Sichuan timber and the insatiable demands of the government became a heavy burden on both the merchants and the people. Barbarian tribes were numerous and their pugnacity constituted [pg 330]a perpetual menace to the province. Land taxes and corvee were heavy in all the big cities, particularly in Chengdu.



A description left by a writer of the later Ming period shows the province of Huguang as quite different from the Hunan and Hubei of the Qing period. Apparently the saying "when Huguang reaps its crops the whole empire will get a full supply" 湖广熟，天下足 had no application to the Huguang of the Ming dynasty. The province is described as connected with the Yangtze River and the Poyang Lake, and full of marshes, with little farming land. The inhabitants were fierce and easily roused and had hardly a thought of practicing frugality. Since the province bordered nine other provinces, there were constant and heavy traffic through it and couriers became a serious problem. Furthermore, descendants of the imperial house increased to such an extent that it was difficult to support them all. Then, heavy land-taxes and corvee and demands from the court for local products aroused the people to resentment and even revolt. Great parts, for instance, of Chenzhou 辰州, were dominated by bandits, and the aborigines along the Guizhou borders were restless. Towns and

cities near the Yangtze repeatedly suffered from floods, and many destitute farmers became highwaymen rather than die from hunger.

In Henan province the most serious problem, perhaps, was the menace of the Yellow River. "The Yellow River has no respect at all for Chinese law and order," wrote Ricci, "It comes from a barbarous region and, as it were, seeking vengeance for the hatred the Chinese have for outsiders, it frequently ravages whole districts of the realm when it fills up with sand and changes its course at will..." Every year the government lavished great sums of money and a huge labor force on restraining its ravages, yet all too often the province suffered inundations that destroyed everything. This was one of the reasons for the poverty of many districts in the province. Another menace equally serious was the ever growing flood of the imperial clansmen. We have already glanced at the misdeeds of Prince Fu. (Third son of Wanli, killed and boiled to make stew. Instigated heir crisis due to Wanli wanting him heir despite primogeniture favoring the eldest son) Unaided, he could have upset the whole province; when the imperial clansmen added their frivolous enormities to his, the result was calamitous. In addition to all this, many mountainous districts in the province were notorious for miners-turned-bandit.

Stubbornness was perhaps the most notable characteristic of the people of Shandong. They were also easily roused and if a leader could be found a big mob could be formed in a short time. In the words of a poet, there were one hundred and eight prefectures in Shandong and all without exception possessed battle-fields. The [pg 331] Shandong of the late Ming period shared all the ills suffered by the neighboring provinces, the heavy burden of land-taxes and corvee, the Yellow River floods, the imperial clansmen, the swarms of bandits, the ex-miners in mountain districts and ex-saltrakers along the coastland it suffered a still worse misfortune proper to itself. The north of the province adjoined the territories of the Manchus and so was exposed to frequent invasions. Linqing and Dezhou, two prosperous cities in the north, exerted a strong attraction on the Manchus. Many of the people, especially the poor, were employed by the Manchus and seem to have been well treated by them. "They went with great enthusiasm to join the barbarians. The more they were killed by the fire arms (of the soldiers) the greater their number seem to grow."

Shanxi was by no means a rich province. Being near the borders, it too suffered from the attack of the barbarians. The districts around the Taihang mountain were overrun with bandits. Miners of Yuzhou 蔚州, soldiers from the military settlement in Linjin 临晋 and destitute refugees from Luzhou 潞州 had formed savage bands and subjected the people to perpetual spoliation (the action of ruining or destroying something) The taxes levied for the upkeep of the soldiers on the border were heavy. Above all, we are told that the imperial clansmen in Fenzhou 汾州 were numerous and, like the lawless wastrels they were, did endless harm to the people. One writer says that within a period of a few years the ninety prefectures of this province had nearly all been devastated by bandits and that the soldiers were on the verge of mutiny because they had not received their due." Soldiers at the borders were crying out for their pay and even disobeyed the orders of their superiors."

"Whoever is the governor of this place he has a heavy task; he has to be at once a shepherd and a military commander." as was truly said of the governor of Shanxi province at the end of the Ming dynasty. This overburdened official, in addition to directing the whole administration of the province, had the very onerous duty of guarding the border of the province. The author of the Hua Yi Feng Tu Zhi 华夷风土志 tells us that outside Yulin 榆林 one could see the nomads' tents stretching out mile after mile. At Guyuan 固原, despite the presence of a large garrison, a battle was lost to the nomads. Substantial premiums were promised to all who would enlist in the army, but less than a thousand applied. One reason given for this poor response was that natives of Shanxi, being fine soldiers, were sent year after year to guard the capital, with consequent exhaustion of the manpower of the province. This was however, not the whole explanation [pg 332] The province could not support large numbers. The soil of Shanxi was poor and produced little and what fertile farms there were had passed into the possession of the imperial clansmen. The government seems also to have worried over the presence of the Mohammedan colony. The Mohammedans were regarded as men of doubtful character and were said to have given shelter to undesirable citizens." They are waiting for the opportunity to rise and they will induce others to follow them. Heaven forbid the development of this into a serious menace!"

This bird's eye view of the last years of the Ming empire is a gloomy one. The authors cited here knew well how serious the situation was and agreed unanimously that the government alone could save the country. Hence they repeatedly called the attention of the government to the need for wise action if peace were to be preserved. "Those who have authority over others should preserve their integrity and be frugal. If they would but take greater interest in the welfare of their people they would have great success in their rule"; "...Would that we have a good magistrate who would encourage the people to farm and to cultivate mulberries, or one who would lighten the people's burden of taxes and corvee, one who would institute the Bao-Jia system (security guards) 保甲法 and prevent the lawless from doing harm; one who would enforce the laws and watch over the community. Let such a magistrate give no pardon to those who revolt against the law! This perhaps would help to quench the flame of injustice!" On the other hand they did not hesitate to mix with their admonitions threats of what might happen if the rulers failed to do their duty: "... It is the duty of the rulers to spare their people, that they may be able to support themselves and to help to support the soldiers on the borders. To do otherwise is to eat one's own flesh in order to satisfy one's hunger. This would beyond doubt cause one's instant death!"

### **Rebels and Bandits**

The *Ming-shih* includes, rather unexpectedly perhaps, a set of biographies of rebels. Towards the end of this section, the compiler remarks: "Throughout the age there had always been trouble from bandits, but there had never been so many disturbances as those caused by Li Zicheng 李自成 and Chang Xian Zhong at the end of the Ming dynasty." The compiler-in-chief points out that the insurrection of Tang Sai Er had broken out in the Yongle reign but had soon been suppressed, and that the rebels had become so dangerous in the days of the Chengde emperor as almost to ruin the empire, yet the government had survived. How then, he asks, can [pg 333] the Ming dynasty have ended with the Chongzhen emperor who was so energetic and so full of hope for the future of the empire? The compiler-in-chief was, no doubt, well aware of the causes of the fall of the dynasty. His question was rhetorical lament over the undeserved fate of the last emperor of the dynasty.

As we have already seen, from the beginning of the 16th century, the empire had been in rapid decline. The emperors' neglect of their duties allowed corruption to grow among their ministers and eunuchs. With Japanese pirates attacking continually along the coast and the Mongols along the borders, the defence of the empire was a constant drain on the public treasuries. Next came the most serious threat of all, the rise of the Manchus. This people started as a small tribe in a region along the northeast border of the empire. At first they were obedient to the emperors, but as their power waxed and the emperors' waned, they threw off their allegiance and became an ever more menacing threat to the very existence of Ming rule. From the end of the Wanli period onward taxes had to be levied to support the army in Liaodong and this burden soon became so heavy that the people found it difficult to bear. Added to this, the corruption of the government officials and insatiable demands of the soldiers had reduce the farmers to absolute destitution. The poor people of the empire, most of them honest and unwarlike citizens, bore their sufferings with surprising resignation, eating rough herbs, the bark of trees and even earth, in their effort to keep alive. Many, however, were unwilling to starve without a struggle. They began by begging from the rich and the nobles. When begging failed, they resorted to violence. When trouble of this kind broke out anywhere, it usually involved the whole locality and the authorities could do very little to check angry mobs.

Honest scholars, unable to condone the selfishness and injustice of the rich and the nobles, or the cruelties of the officials, often sympathized with the poor. This no doubt gave great encouragement to the disaffected poor, but it did not constitute a threat to the empire. No large-scale revolt or revolution could hope to succeed unless it could show by signs that the favor of heaven was gradually being withdrawn from the ruling dynasty. Supernatural revelation of some sort was needed to attract followers. Hence many rebellions started in that way. The White lotus insurrection, led by Xu Hongru in Shandong in 1622, was a serious revolt largely because it claimed the support of such signs. It took the government over a year to pacify the area of revolt, and even this pacification did not at all mean that the White Lotus movement had been entirely suppressed. [pg 334]

Xu Hongru's followers scattered all over the empire and kept up their secret activities.

The long Jiaqing reign (1522-1566) was, as we have already said, a period of rapid deterioration, owing to the negligence of the emperor. By the time of his death, signs of restlessness were discernible in the provinces. At the end of 1569, a revolt of bandits was reported in Shaanxi and in the spring of the following year these bandits moved to Sichuan. In the middle of the Wan-li reign famines occurred so frequently in the provinces that many of the starving were forced to revolt. Towards the end of the Wan-li period, Shandong, we are told, was infested with bandits. At the beginning of the T'ien-ch'i period (1622) the White Lotus sect started a new insurrection which caused the government a great deal of anxiety. Two years later, an official, writing to the emperor, reported that in Fujian there had been a revolt. This revolt, he said, was due to a drought which had driven the price of food so high that even bare subsistence was beyond the reach of the people. All of Central China and the northwest, the same official said, were suffering the same fate: "The people are planning to rise and Heaven seems to be provoking them by droughts!" Another minister told the emperor how times had changed. In former days, he said, even thieves did not dare to violate the law publicly, but now, serious crimes were being committed in the open: even an imperial treasury had been looted and government officials had been murdered.

In the second year of the Chongzhen reign (1629), banditry began to spread in Shensi province and prefectures were raided. In this matter Shensi might consider itself lucky. Many other provinces had had to endure this particular affliction much earlier. Nevertheless there were many reasons to explain why Shensi was the first province to revolt, and why so many of the leaders of the rebels came from there. Physically, Shensi is a dry cold region, particularly in the north. In Huai-yüan, for example, snow begins to fall in September and spring does not come until April. Hence this and the neighboring regions are very poor agriculturally. Furthermore, since the north of the province is mountainous it is not easy to find water there. The wells have to be dug thirty feet or more and the irrigation of the farms is difficult. The soil in general is sandy and, therefore, produces indifferent crops. The local gazetteers say truly that the people of these places are poor and that their soil is mediocre. The people, depressed by poverty and lacking in enterprise, seem never to have developed a talent for business. Most of the trade in the Ming days was in the hands of merchants from other provinces, [pg 335] especially Shansi.

Silk and cotton, for instance, were produced in Yan-an but the people did not make cloth out of them, nor did they weave rugs, although they produced wool. Even for domestic utensils the natives depended on merchants from other provinces. Thus these merchants were able to monopolize the market and many of them also became money-lenders, charging heavy interest on their loans.

Shensi therefore was regarded by government officials as an exceedingly unattractive province, and many who were appointed to posts in the northern districts sought to excuse themselves from taking up office. Those who went willingly often regretted it and asked to be transferred. In the middle of the Chongzhen reign, over thirty local offices were vacant at one time. As a result, civil administration was inefficient and very little was done to improve the condition of the people.

We are told that their surroundings had made the people of Shensi daring and belligerent. They were gruff and unpolished. They were, however, natural horsemen and many of them served in this capacity in the army or as couriers in the government postal service.

This last was the main outlet for such young men in Shensi as were not content to spend their lives scratching the barren earth. The decline of the postal service was a severe blow to the province and goes far to explain the origin of the revolt. A word then about the postal service in Ming times.

The government posts were organized primarily for the transmission of government messages and the transportation of military supplies. In the days of the Hongwu monarch rich families used to be assigned to this office. Families possessing one hundred piculs of grain had to supply horses or boats for the posts, and people with less than five piculs of grain were assigned as couriers.<sup>25</sup> In the Hung-wu period the service was partially limited to the transmission of important military messages. High officials who had obtained the emperor's permission to retire were allowed to use the horses and boats; but only special imperial envoys were allowed to make regular use of the services of government posts. The Hsüan-te emperor repromulgated these rules for the use of the government posts. Apparently, abuses had been creeping in.<sup>26</sup> Later, we are told that nearly all the officials in the capital or in the provinces were using the postal facilities freely in their travels. Permits known as k'an-ho which formerly had rarely been issued could be obtained so easily that even laborers in local government offices could hope to get them.<sup>27</sup> Officials often borrowed these permits from each other and sometimes even sold them to third

From <[https://edimension.sutd.edu.sg/bbcswebdav/pid-77426-dt-content-rid-1789447\\_1/courses/1920-020108/i\\_e89720f0/albert\\_chan -chp\\_12.pdf](https://edimension.sutd.edu.sg/bbcswebdav/pid-77426-dt-content-rid-1789447_1/courses/1920-020108/i_e89720f0/albert_chan -chp_12.pdf)>

Not enough money -> contraction of the postal office -> revolt due to courier work hard to find  
Also courier work -> prone to corruption -> local officials used to deliver for free making use of bao xing.

Corruption in official -> rebels -> rebels in the military class and scholars that extend planning  
Firearms (with the Manchus taking them whenever they could find them)  
Horses -> laws not enforced -> have to raise horses even if they don't know how to breed them. -> used to confiscate land or exact bribes  
Rebels were very well organized -> spies -> support -> propaganda -> flexible -> used tactics Robin Hood tactics  
Li Zicheng will gather support by no taxes, hostility towards the rich and the nobles.  
Previously strong resistance when cruel, then change the attitude.  
Scholar + gentry support

# Essay

Thursday, May 23, 2019 5:13 PM

2. Dorgon (r. 1643 - 51) put it: "The Chongzhen emperor was all right. It's just that his military officers were of bogus merit and trumped up their victories, while his civil officials were greedy and broke the law. That's why he lost the empire." How accurate was Dorgon's assessment of the decline and fall of the Ming?

Intro: Huang Zongxi's view: "The dynasty fell because a mediocre emperor had failed to take action against the eunuchs and incompetent bureaucrats who surrounded him." While both sides do have a point to make, I shall first examine Dorgon's argument on the character of Chongzhen, pitting him against his great grandfather Wanli, who is also blamed for the cause of Ming's fall, as well as the admittedly biased views of court historians and Ming loyalists.

Pt 1: Dorgon described Chongzhen Emperor as being 'all right' and was described well. However, he was unable to manage his court.

1 -> Describe how he was described as a fine gentleman

2 -> Then he later went on strike

3 -> Depression later when he could not muster anyone (at the fall of Beijing)

4 -> Link later on to how his rule was influenced by Wanli, disuasion from government

Swope: (Pg. 209) "He can be faulted for failing to make sound choices from among the administrative and policy options that were within his grasp, options which could well have made things work again"

Swope: (Pg. 209) "The fall of the Ming was, in short, caused by an accumulation of political errors, not by the underlying element of the system's inadequacies".

"Mercurial, paranoid micro-manager"(Swope, Pg. 210) and did not allow his military commanders breathing space, unlike Wanli who basically provided direction, in a despotic political system.

5 -> Didn't trust the bureaucracy (Swope, Pg. 211) "He trusted no one in the regular bureaucracy so he saw the eunuchs as the best way to exercise the imperial will and provide him with unbiased sources of information." If you can't trust your own people, who else can you trust? Though he does have a point because the landed gentry that made up most of his officials had their own side interests, the eunuchs are not necessarily less corrupt than the nobles.

Pt 2 Military Officers were of bogus merit and trumped up their victories-> Military generals were all bark and no bite ???

Ming had a cadre of competent military officials. With support, they were able to achieve victory, as seen in Wanli's campaign. However, with little help, they were frequently executed or retired/purged from court.

1-> There were military officials that were good -> Sun Chengzong was civil official, even if he led troops

2 -> Sun Chengzong managed to hold the line were it not for the lack of funds

3-> Wu Sangui -> fled along with Wangpu in 9 August 1641, causing a massive defeat.

4-> Despite that, he was not punished and remain governor general.

5-> Surrendered after his father was killed by a rebel and his life was in danger to Dorgon.

6-> Became semi-independent ruler, and used this money to rebel against the central Manchu government.

7-> As seen, there was a mixture of good and bad generals.

8-> More personally, Ming officials killed Nurhaci's father and grandfather. Dorgon is Nurhaci's son (Seven grievances)

Not to mention that Dorgon was in a position where he had won.

9->It wasn't that military officers were bad; just that the emperor had little to no idea how to manage them

Swope: Pg. 3 "And with such a huge expanse of territory and so many potential military threats, the empire demanded a strong leader aided by a reasonably limited number of forceful competent officials with the monarch's full backing. "

They do have competency: Wakeman Pg. 34 "The Manchu conquest ultimately required about two-thirds of a century to be completed."

This is exacerbated by having civil officials in military

Swope (Pg. 210) "Civil officials often lacked the social connections and skill sets to effectively mobilize local military groups" and "often disdained their military counterparts"

Because they didn't know how to manage them, they could not understand their rulers.

However, Filipiak argues that civil officials had "improved the dynasty's security" by integrating both civil and military governance.

Swope (Pg. 152) "The empire had no dearth of men of martial ability and real experience. But too often significant and weeping authority was invested in purely civil officials who lacked real military experience."

Pt 3 Quality of soldiers were poor and disorderly

1-> Soldiering was of a lower social standing, and due to Neo-Confucianism, the troops were looked down upon

2-> Low morale due to no pay, no compensation, basically cannon fodder

3 -> Myriad abuse of power

Taxes (claimed by the military)

Expansion of civil officials into military affairs

Robinson, D. (2017). WHY MILITARY INSTITUTIONS MATTER FOR MING HISTORY. *Journal of Chinese History*, 1(2), 297-327. doi:10.1017/jch.2016.36

Movement to mercenary status

"Military personnel were often involved in smuggling, exploiting their local contacts and position within the imperial military to broker deals among pirates, merchants and foreign traders" -> they were making use of their power to sell out to others and pursue their own interests.

4 -> Provision of guns -> that were frequently captured after every defeat. Swope 216: "They took extensive steps to acquire both the weapons themselves and experts in their use and manufacture"

Pt4: Civil officials were corrupt and broke the law

- 1) Personal Benefit -> no enforcement, short of cash
- 2) Swope: "When requesting supplies or projecting their delivery officials routinely factored in amounts that would be skimmed off along the way."
- 3) Local magnates bribed officials to hide land and property to keep taxes low
- 4) No tax base -> no money to carry out decisions
- 5) Swope: "Official salaries were fixed at artificially low levels, which encouraged the kind of embezzlement we have chronicled throughout the present work"
- 6) Officials frequently skimmed -> so when state control was maneuvered against them, they sought to fight via remonstrations and accusations against the main body of control (the eunuchs)
  - a. Miller, State vs Gentry in Late Ming "It was certainly not unknown for civil officials of the Ming to profit handsomely from their governmental positions. The basic problem was that since official salaries were unrealistically low, almost the entire body of officialdom was compelled to resort to at least some amount of squeeze to meet their operating expenses, as well as to provide a more comfortable standard for their family."
  - b. Robinson: "They embezzled imperial funds earmarked for soldiers' salaries and benefits, rewards for meritorious military service, and fortifications."
- 7) Gentry found it favorable to abandon the Ming to suit their local rule; Han supporters turned their coats because it brought them the most benefits. The Manchus knew that the Chinese collaborators were not loyal -> hence bringing about that quote (Pg. 35)
- 8) There is still loyalty "Though numbers are difficult to quantify, it seems that the Ming had more loyalist martyrs than any preceding dynasty. Swope, p. 208

Pt5: Factionalism led to mismanagement in court and frequently prevented decisions from being made.

- a. Swope: "Using eunuchs also helped to circumvent the cumbersome Ming bureaucracy where it could take weeks or months to appoint and deploy an official or issue an order."
- b. But eunuchs made the morale of the bureaucracy low
- c. Wakeman: "the growing strength of the eunuchs caused later Ming rulers actually to lose power and authority over the bureaucracy."... officials "lost confidence in the certainty of any imperial action. (Pg. 32)
- d. Wakeman: "Practices of political patronage through the examination system deepened this factionalism, so that by the 1620s the central bureaucracy was riven with deep cleavages that led ultimately to political purges and life-and-death struggles between groups" -> created deadlock (Pg. 33)
- e. The Crown Prince *kuo-pen* controversy boiled down to conflict between the opposition (or junior officials) and the Grand Secretariat for control over the government
  - i. Grand Secretariat-Personal-Alliance "distributed desirable appointments and other favors and tolerated bribery and corruption" (Zhao, P. 138)
- f. After Zhang Juzheng, Shen and Wang "secured support for the managerial power they exercised over other government branches"
- g. Though political survival, they managed to keep the government from tearing itself apart through the numerous scandals.
- h. Basically, for political survival, the Grand Secretariat-Ministry of Personnel and Censorate banded together. It was aided by a fact that there was little response, and even Wanli's permissive support, and targeted

junior officials who would attack it. There was no central figure (because both of Zhang's successors prioritized their political maneuvering over fairness in governance) and no prime minister to manage the secretariat. This led to the checks and balances eliminated, allowing Wanli to do as he wished. And in the absence of his wish, there was no progress or efficiency in governance.

- i. How Wang Yangming -> because of this innate goodness, so people have opinions and started talking about their own -> thus they feel that it is their duty to talk about their views and send memorials to the emperor.

Pt6: China experienced a series of inflation as a result of their conversion to silver as a currency.

China was a silver sink

- a. Spanish ships were frequently robbed
- b. Crack down on illegal smuggling of silver towards China, to ship directly to Maniaa
- c. Tokugawa in 1639 shut down most of its foreign trade
- d. Spike in the value of silver

Farmers were frequently priced out of the market.

- 1) Taxes collected in silver
- 2) People started hoarding silver
- 3) Inflation -> poor couldn't pay in high silver taxes
- 4) (transaction fees cos poor paid taxes in silver while they were trading with copper. So copper coins to silver declined.)
- 5) Silver had also supported the Ming's military expenses. Robinson

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-chinese-history/article/why-military-institutions-matter-for-ming-history/B3C345236C8588E708C661758D2DED51/core-reader> "From the 1850s through the 1640s, the bulk of Taicang treasury was spent on military expenditures, which consumed between 53 percent and 85 percent of the treasury's silver, with a few years rising as high as 97 percent" -> New World Silver was funding China's military, and when there was a cut off of silver, this led to a shortfall in military spending.

Subpoint of Pt 6: Too much spending

- 1) Military spending grew like a lot during the borders
  - a. "This is despite the fact that by the last decade of the Ming, military costs were twenty times non-military expenses and five times the total spending of the government in 1590" (Swope, P. 211)
- 2) But no war booty to supplement the income
- 3) Inflationary pressures created
- 4) Atwell, pg. 335 "Allowed influential families and corrupt government functionaries to manipulate the tax system to their advantage". Such that "the actions of the rich and powerful were driving the people to the breaking point." pg. 336

Pt 7 Ming experienced a series of natural disasters which exacerbated social unrest:

- 1) Little Ice Ages -> Colder global temperatures
- 2) But Swope, 214 "late Ming period witnessed the fewest natural disasters of an era in the Ming as both a total percentage of incidents and in terms of the number of incidents per year."
- 3) Just that Chongzhen was unlucky (two years during the entire Chongzhen reign when drought was not reported) 214, Swope
- 4) Exacerbated by deforestation, population growth and migration.
- 5) Widespread loss of life due to both natural disaster and human activity
- 6) Epidemic + locusts led to a large number of people dying -> leads to rebellions that destabilized the empire
- 7) Swope, 152 "The devastation wreaked by drought, floods and the peasant rebellions themselves made it unlikely that sufficient provisions could have been extracted from the affected areas."

Pt8: Manchus being near unbeatable

- 1) Seven grievances posted up -> declaration of war
- 2) Ming already had fiscal havoc, peasant rebellions
- 3)

<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-hccc-worldcivilization/chapter/fall-of-the-ming-dynasty/>

Pt9: While Chongzhen may have his faults, it is important to note that there would be other areas involved in Ming's decline. His predecessors had a record of not interfering in government and styming court processes.

- 1) Wakeman: "Who had repeatedly diverted government funds for palace building, confused the privy and public purses, and allow his purveyors to deduct regularly a 20 percent kickback on all costs regardless of any other 'squeeze' (Pg. 31)
- 2) Among others: Huge personal servants in the Forbidden City
- 3) Wanli was still "capricious and neglectful" and "allowed his government to sink into a cesspit of intrigue"
- 4) Wanli withdrew away from court. "Tensions rose over the issue of naming an heir apparent. Furthermore, his lavish expenditures contributed to serious fiscal tightness, his rare contacts with the administration undermined governmental operations, and the flogging of palace eunuchs and maids became a frequent and disturbing occurrence. (Zhao, Pg. 119)

Zhao, J. (2002). A Decade of Considerable Significance: Late-Ming Factionalism in the Making, 1583-1593. *T'oung Pao*, 88(1/3), second series, 112-150. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4528893>

- 5) Counter: Swope2, p. 63 "[Wanli] viewed military affairs as one of the few areas in which he had some chance of asserting his will" and kind of bankrupted his country in the Imjin war
  - a. He wanted to circumvent the civil officials and restrain bureaucratic factions
- 6) He displayed good leadership in the Three Campaigns, sending successful people like Li Rusong to Korea, willing to bestow the 'double-edged sword' such that "proper coordination of the efforts of civil, military and censorial officials and the throne" (Swope2, p. 108)

#### Imperial Clansmen and Court expenditure

- 1) [https://www.jstor.org/stable/25212337?seq=11#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/25212337?seq=11#metadata_info_tab_contents)
  - a. "There was a long running campaign in late Ming times to slash government expenditure and cut taxes... the state was waging war, running huge deficits, and constantly searching for new ways to increase, not decrease its revenues." (pg. 330)
  - b. Supported 100,000 clansmen by Chongzhen's time
  - c. Prince Fu was notorious for feeding off, as a result of his descent from Wanli's third son
  - d. "there may have been as many as 20,000 eunuchs in the palace complex in Peking" (pg. 332. Opportunities for confiscating and enriching oneself.

Was there potential for reform? Yes! De Bary proposed tendencies in Neo Confucianism: restorianism, humanism, rationalism and historical mindedness. However, they were interested in restoring what had once existed, but "their respective governments were too preoccupied with its survival to be willing or even able to implement many of the changes that were being suggested." (Atwell, pg. 343)

# Tutorial

Thursday, May 23, 2019 6:34 PM

State vs Gentry -> Basically a tax on the rich through silver mining

"The Ming dynasty silver mine was, more often than not, simply a place where there was alleged to be silver, though there wasn't necessarily any way to get it out of the ground. The eunuchs or other officials in charge of the project, reasonably anticipating failure, would indeed force rich people living nearby to act as the 'heads' or guarantors of the mine, and these unfortunates were compelled to make up for the operating expenses, as well as for the inevitable short or nonexistent yield of the mine."

(Pg. 77)

Basically gentry anger that the emperor was fighting against them -> rebellion by paying off rioters and opposing through remonstration

Gentry bureaucrats fought wars with eunuchs over control

Corruption backing

Landscapes -> ??? It's just a travel diary from a few people?? Wealth? Travel?

Telling Chinese History -> 17th Century

Rich - poor divide -> economic inequality

"The early Ming pattern of a self-sustaining administration, with taxes in kind supplied by tax collectors among the people, military costs covered by self-sufficient hereditary garrisons, and labor services provided by corvee or permanently registered hereditary occupational groups, had depended upon the central government's ability to maintain efficient registration and allocation procedures. The monetization of the economy (silver), the move of the primary capital to Beijing, away from the major grain production regions in the lower Yangtse River delta; and the lack of rational procedures at the center of the bureaucracy to perpetuate the ideally self-sustaining population units all led to a breakdown.

Reasons why it failed

-Monarchs (lack of business)

-Eunuchs (too many to support)

-Corruption (skimming due to low pay)

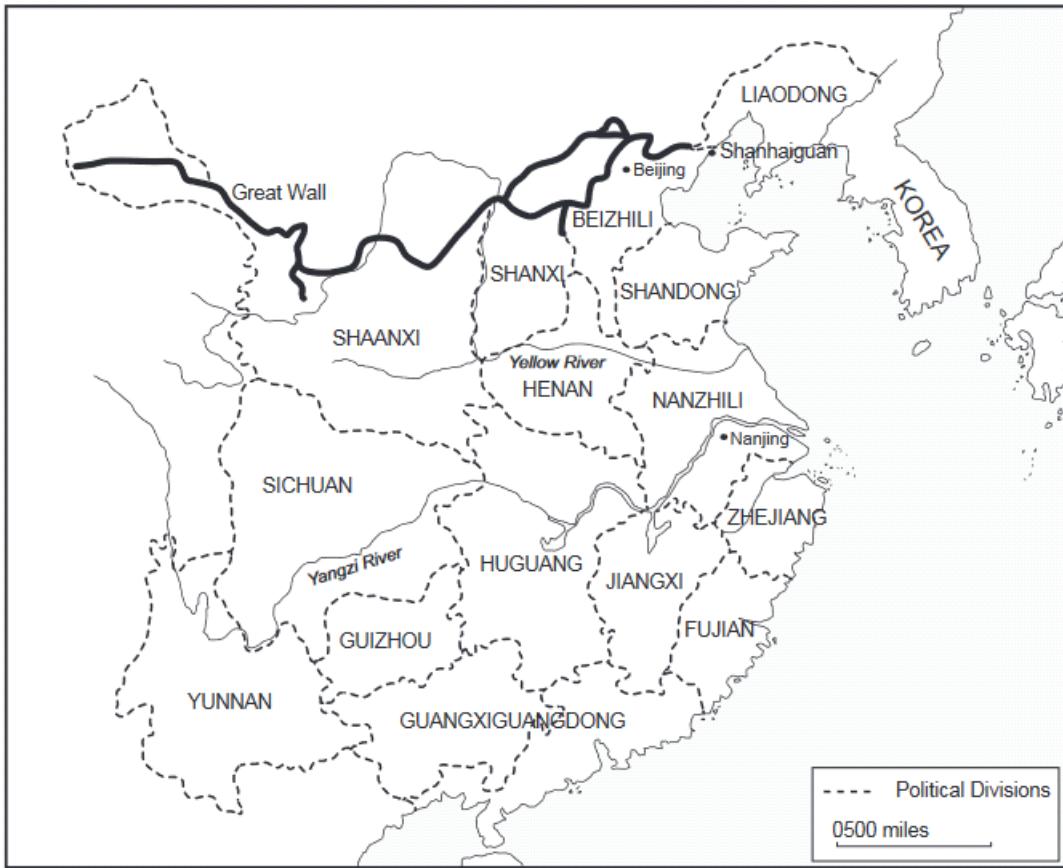
Ray Huang -> Wanli Emperor

Zhang Juzheng -> work alongside Feng Bo Eunuch and the widow to stabilize economy. However, he rubbed across too many people, and his family was destroyed after he died. Wanli was furious because of time, and money, allowing distance to be created between the two.

Due to rapid rituals -> very rigid system, hard to change.

Wang Yangming -> I dunno, sorry, I can't read philo

Swope -> Imperial leadership couldn't balance between civil and military officials



Swope 2:

Wanli is a good guy because he allowed his officials to have enough control

He preferred results over accusations

Three great campaigns

# Quotes from Chan

Monday, May 27, 2019 10:59 PM

"The emperors' neglect of their duties allowed corruption to grow among their ministers and eunuchs. With Japanese pirates attacking continually along the coast and the Mongols along the borders, the defence of the empire was a constant drain on the public treasuries. Next came the most serious threat of all, the rise of the Manchus. This people started as a small tribe in a region along the northeast border of the empire. At first they were obedient to the emperors, but as their power waxed and the emperors' waned, they threw off their allegiance and became an ever more menacing threat to the very existence of Ming rule. From the end of the Wanli period onward taxes had to be levied to support the army in Liaodong and this burden soon became so heavy that the people found it difficult to bear. Added to this, the corruption of the government officials and insatiable demands of the soldiers had reduce the farmers to absolute destitution. The poor people of the empire, most of them honest and unwarlike citizens, bore their sufferings with surprising resignation, eating rough herbs, the bark of trees and even earth, in their effort to keep alive. Many, however, were unwilling to starve without a struggle. They began by begging from the rich and the nobles. When begging failed, they resorted to violence. When trouble of this kind broke out anywhere, it usually involved the whole locality and the authorities could do very little to check angry mobs."

-> Chan's opinion on the fall of the Ming

"Thus one man, speaking of Northern Zhili , said that since the place was so near to the borders they often suffered from invasion by the barbarians; worse still, the eunuchs possessed many of the farms there and often involved the people in serious trouble." (pg. 329)

Previously..."In the days of the Hongwu monarch rich families used to be assigned to this office" then "The Hsuan-te emperor re promulgated these rules for the use of the government posts" and later on "nearly all the officials in the capital or in the provinces were using the postal facilities freely in their travels" (pg. 336)

"When the corvee was commuted into a money payment, it seemed that the people would be relieved from the burden of supplying the government with personal services. In reality, the change only increased their burdens and their sufferings. In Guandong, for example, the officials appropriated the corvee payments for themselves and forced the village headmen to supply horses and boats for the government posts. Service as couriers was still required of the people" (pg. 337)  
On horses: "the Hongwu emperor's arrangements worked admirably so long as they were observed...Pasture land which had been granted by the Hongwu emperor for raising horses was appropriated by the military officials, and sometimes sold, or was seized by government officials." (pg. 348)

"When the time came for the people to deliver their horses to the government, the officials had a golden opportunity for exacting bribes....horses condemned by the government officials, after which they would have to borrow money to buy better horses and even these might not be accepted....the soldiers rented their horses to the postal service or influential officials appropriated them"(pg. 349)

-> Evidence of corruption

" The people of Jiangxi had the reputation of being frugal and hardworking, but from the end of the 15th century the imposition of ever heavier land taxes and corvee had been undermining the life of the province." (pg. 330)

-> Corvee + land taxes made it difficult even for the honest farmer; many resorted to trade despite it being of lower rank

"Every year the government lavished great sums of money and a huge labor force on restraining its ravages, yet all too often the province suffered inundations that destroyed everything. This was one of the reasons for the poverty of many districts in the province." (pg. 332)

"This revolt, he said, was due to a drought which had driven the price of food so high that even bare subsistence was beyond the reach of the people." (pg. 335)

-> Natural disasters sucked currency out of the hinterlands.

"One reason given for this poor response was that natives of Shanxi, being fine soldiers, were sent year after year to guard the capital, with consequent exhaustion of the manpower of the province." (pg. 332)

"The soil of Shaanxi was poor and produced little and what fertile farms there were had passed into the possession of the imperial clansmen." (pg. 333)

"Nevertheless there were many reasons to explain why Shensi was the first province to revolt, and why so many of the leaders of the rebels came from there. Physically, Shensi is a dry cold region, particularly in the north. In Huai-yüan ,for example, snow begins to fall in September and spring does not come until April. Hence this and the neighboring regions are very poor agriculturally. Furthermore, since the north of the province is mountainous it is not easy to find water there. The wells have to be dug thirty feet or more and the irrigation of the farms is difficult. The soil in general is sandy and, therefore, produces indifferent crops. The local gazetteers say truly that the people of these places are poor and that their soil is mediocre. The people, depressed by poverty and lacking in enterprise, seem never to have developed a talent for business." (pg. 335)

-> Thus Shaanxi was a hotbed of bandit activity

"Another minister told the emperor how times had changed. In former days, he said, even thieves did not dare to violate the law publicly, but now, serious crimes were being committed in the open: even an imperial treasury had been looted and government officials had been murdered."

" In the middle of the Chongzhen reign, over thirty local offices were vacant at one time. As a result, civil administration was inefficient and very little was done to improve the condition of the people."

-> Breakdown in social order in Shaanxi

One of the ministers "suggested a contraction of the governmental postal system" and Chongzhen gave orders for a reduction. However, this led to "ex-couriers [being] absolutely destitute"... and later when there was a famine, the emperor sent relief, but "with fatal obstinacy refused to accept" restoring the governmental post" (Pg. 338)

-> Evidence of Chongzhen's bad qualities. This was not the first time he was stubborn about stuff.

But later,

"The Chongzhen emperor strove desperately to save the city but none of his subjects would cooperate with him." (pg. 357)

At least he's not a coward

The rebels "were bandits who never stayed for long in one locality" to "avoid pursuit by government troops" and "partly to make sure of an abundant supply of foods.

"many of the leaders of the rebels had formerly belonged to the forces then guarding the borders of the empire."(pg. 339)

"Several local famines having occurred, locally born soldiers were induced to revolt, and many districts in Shaanxi were rapidly devastated by the rebels who were fully equipped with armor and horses." (pg. 340)

"Their looting increased and they tried to equip their forces as completely as their enemies. Eventually they accumulated weapons of all kinds and a great number of horses. They even had firearms" (pg. 344)

On Zhang Xianzhong, "His ingenious system of espionage was another source of strength and may have helped him more than mere force of arms... no military movement of the slightest importance could be kept secret from him." (pg. 351)

"Not infrequently, they also falsified documents... At times, a group of rebels disguised as defeated government troops would seek admission to a city... by the time the truth was found

out, it was already too late to save the city." (pg. 352)

"All murmuring against Chang's government was reported by the spies, and the careless speakers, and often those who lived in the same house with them, were executed." (pg. 353)  
"The authorities have no idea of what the rebels are doing, but the rebels know clearly every movement of the government."(pg. 353)

On Li Zicheng, "On the advice of the scholar Li Yen, he sent out his men as propagandists promising not only exemption from taxes, but even equal distribution of land."

"Wherever he went, he was always eager to expose the corruption of the Ming government, with special stress on the heavy taxation it imposed." (pg. 354) and "He showed his sympathy with the people by giving alms generously." (pg. 355)

This propaganda spiel continued, such that Li Zicheng could avoid a strong resistance. "He strictly forbade his soldiers to disturb the people of conquered cities unnecessarily, and he announced that his purpose was to deliver the people from their sufferings." this proved successful, such that "the people of many cities refused to fight for the government, preferring to surrender to the rebels." (pg. 355)

-> the rebels growing in strength

In comparison, "when the government troops were defeated, they often exaggerated the size of the enemy forces to excuse their failure; when they gained a victory they exaggerated the number of the enemy in their reports to show their bravery." (pg. 342)

-> The government troops "were of bogus merit and trumped up their victories". Hint hint.

Another weakness! "When moving they always divided into groups and could dodge into so many places that the soldiers found it almost impossible to cope with them." (Pg. 343)

"In general, each commander had charge of a certain region and was interested only in the problems of that region. He might be ready to fight if the rebels attacked his territory, but as soon as they went elsewhere he rested satisfied without any thought of pursuing them." (pg. 344)

-> Government officials did not care about the big picture, only their direct benefits (by claiming credit for victory

"The Manchus knew full well that if they wished to win the war the possession of abundant firearms was a conditio sine qua non. Hence they tried very hard to obtain such weapons and offered high rewards to those who could make them."(Pg. 345)

"In 1640 the government of Hsuan-fu and Ta-tung reported that the barbarians had forged sixty cannon. These must have been of considerable size, for the report said that they were not easy to carry around and that the barbarians would probably employ them for local use."

"As early as 1633...the government troops did not dare to launch an attack on the rebels since the latter possessed great quantities of firearms."(Pg. 346)

"What we possess cannot be compared with theirs and (I am told) that they produce firearms of this type in their quarters day and night" (Pg. 347)

-> Fire arms did not bring any benefit to the Ming in the late stages of the war.

"They had two horses for each fighting man, whereas only thirty percent of the government soldiers were mounted."(Pg. 347)

"In the middle of the Tianqi reign an official reported that the government horses in the capital numbered only six thousand eight hundred." (Pg. 350) In comparison, "it was reported that, shortly before 1416, the ponies raised under the supervision of the Court of the Imperial Stud numbered 197,484" (pg. 348)

In terms of currency... "By the end of the Longqing period the total sum thus collected was said to amount to over ten million silver taels" but "By the end 1614, barely eighty thousand taels remained in the treasury of the Court of the Imperial Stud" (pg. 349)

-> neither were horses.

## Lecture Stuff

Tuesday, May 28, 2019 12:53 PM

Yi Er Chuan people -> how come your people survive -> explain away disasters.

How come the charms do not work.

Shaanxi -> go there to take up an offer.

Ming Dynasty decline -> collapse of a country -> they invaded afghanistan, iran and vietnam.

Thus a subject of study.

There was no coordination between provinces. There's no coordination at the national level.

How they deal with internal unrest -> they will not let anything like this happen. The first thing that the Qing did in Tongzhi restoration was gatling gun. They will settle the muslims in Ningxia. So now, in Qing dynasty time, they use the gatling gun on the government itself. The fall of Ming had reverberation throughout the empire. Every province rises up in rebellion.

Postal service -> communication network -> To crush any dissent, crush rapidly. Any emergency -> strikes the capital needs to know. Guy riding horse, five to six horses would die. There were also sea routes. Government officials forced the travellers to pay money.

Which band of civil servants -> must not touch the livelihood.

Travelling monks -> Its founding emperor was a fake monk. Monk is a migrant people who freely go.

They even touch the horses -> corruption in the Ming touched the military.

Despite being highly commercialized, once shit hit the fan, it really hits.

Pick out parts in the three accounts (strassberg) which correspond to the thinking of Wang Yang

Ming. (you have to read the section on Dynamic Idealism of Wang Yang Ming as well)

1. Innate knowledge. Consciousness. It talks about the essence of innate knowledge -> certain things you know you should do and what you shouldn't do.
2. Unity of moral knowledge and social action. This is a call for action -> to do it. From this, you understand why is Wang Yangming so popular
3. How do you match with Zhang Juzheng's writings?
4. In Zhang Juzheng's essay, it traverses the mountain. This linkage to the heaven ->

DYNAMIC IDEALISM

animals. It may be objected that birds and animals are sentient beings as he is. But when he sees plants broken and destroyed, he cannot help a feeling of pity. This shows that his humanity forms one body with plants. It may be said that plants are living things as he is. Yet even when he sees tiles and stones shattered and crushed, he cannot help a feeling of regret. This shows that his humanity forms one body with tiles and stones. This means that even the mind of the small man necessarily has the humanity that forms one body with all. Such a mind is rooted in his Heaven-endowed nature, and is naturally intelligent, clear, and not beclouded. For this reason it is called the "clear character." Although the mind of the small man is divided and narrow, yet his humanity that forms one body can remain free from darkness to this degree. This is due to the fact that his mind has not yet been aroused by desires and obscured by selfishness. When it is aroused by desires and obscured by selfishness, compelled by greed for gain and fear of harm, and stirred by anger, he will destroy things, kill members of his own species, and will do everything. In extreme cases he will even slaughter his own brothers, and the humanity that forms one body will disappear completely. Hence, if it is not obscured by selfish desires, even the mind of the small man has the humanity that forms one body with all as does the mind of the great man. As soon as it is obscured by selfish desires, even the mind of the great man will be divided and narrow like that of the small man. Thus the learning of the great man consists entirely in getting rid of the obscuration of selfish desires in order by his own efforts to make manifest his clear character, so as to restore the condition of forming one body with Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things, a condition that is originally so, that is all. It is not that outside of the original substance something can be added.

*Question:* Why, then, does the learning of the great man consist in loving the people?

*Answer:* To manifest the clear character is to bring about the substance of the state of forming one body with Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things, whereas loving the people is to put into universal operation the function of the state of forming one body. Hence manifesting the clear character consists in loving the people, and loving the people is the way to manifest the clear character. Therefore, only when I love my father, the fathers of others, and the fathers of all men can my hu-

In order to achieve the Liangzhi, you need to "manifest the clear character throughout the empire."

To be more open minded -> The grand view and big picture. You bring yourself closer to heaven.

You are given a sense of accomplishment, a clearing of mind.

Now we see Zhang Juzheng:

WANG YANG-MING

and the brothers of all men. When it truly forms one body with them, then the clear character of brotherly respect will be manifested. Everything from ruler, minister, husband, wife, and friends to mountains, rivers, spiritual beings, birds, animals, and plants should be truly loved in order to realize my humanity that forms one body with them, and then my clear character will be completely manifested, and I will really form one body with Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things. This is what is meant by "manifesting the clear character throughout the empire."<sup>19</sup> This is what is meant by "regulation of the family," "ordering the state," and "bringing peace to the world."<sup>20</sup> This is what is meant by "full development of one's nature."<sup>21</sup>

*Question:* Then why does the learning of the great man consist in "abiding in the highest good"?<sup>22</sup>

*Answer:* The highest good is the ultimate principle of manifesting character and loving people. The nature endowed in us by Heaven is pure and perfect. The fact that it is intelligent, clear, and not beclouded is evidence of the emanation and revelation of the highest good. It is the original substance of the clear character which is called innate knowledge of the good. As the highest good emanates and reveals itself, we will consider right as right and wrong as wrong. Things of greater or less importance and situations of grave or light character will be responded to as they act upon us. In all our changes and movements, we will stick to no particular point, but possess in ourselves the Mean that is perfectly natural. This is the ultimate of the normal nature of man and the principle of things. There can be no consideration of adding to or subtracting from it. If there is any, it means selfish ideas and shallow cunning, and cannot be said to be the highest good. Naturally, how can anyone who does not watch over himself carefully when alone, and who has no refinement and singleness of mind, attain to such a state of perfection? Later generations fail to realize that the highest good is inherent in their own minds, but exercise their selfish ideas and cunning and gropes for it outside their minds, believing that every event and every object has its own peculiar definite principle. For this reason the law of right and wrong is obscured; the mind becomes concerned with fragmentary and isolated details and broken pieces; the selfish desires of man become rampant and the Principle of Nature is at

weather is brisk, owing, no doubt, to heaven's favor. However, we began to feel fearful and apprehensive and could not linger here for long. So we descended to Tusita Temple<sup>10</sup> and arrived at South Terrace, went past the Yellow Chamber Monastery, and climbed the Rock Where Lady Wei Rose to Heaven.<sup>11</sup> We traveled west fourteen miles to the Temple of the Universal Teachings. The temple is located below Lotus Peak; four peaks wrap around like petals, and the temple is situated in the middle. Here there are many resonant waterfalls whose sounds extend for a mile; the large ones are like thunder claps, the more delicate ones, like musical strings. Remote shrubs and rare plants line secluded paths; a brocade of rocks of variegated colors dazzles as in a painting. Of the scenery on Transverse Mountain, Chu Jung's Peak stands out for its height; the Temple of the Universal Teachings stands out for its uniqueness. Yet the road through the ravines is dangerous and steep, the cliffs and valleys are secluded and distant, so few people reach here. In the evening we visited the shrine commemorating the two worthies Chu Hsi and Chang Shih,<sup>12</sup> and spent the night at the Hall of Happy Encounters. During the night it rained. When we arose at dawn, clouds and mist obscured everything in the distance. The peak before us, though barely a foot away, was indistinguishable; the path also appeared cut off. **I was completely unaware of affairs below and told myself that I no longer resembled a man of this world.**

joined us at the Temple of the Sacred Mount. From the day chia-wu to hsin-ch'ou, eight days in all, we wandered among these peaks. Our feet became weary from climbing; our spirits tired from sightseeing, and yet we had not exhausted the entire plan of the mountain but had come to know only its major points. Mr. Chang said, "In the past, Hsiang Tzu-p'ing waited until he had married off his children before he felt he could journey to all five sacred mounts."<sup>16</sup> Alas! When in life can one ever bring worldly affairs to a close? One can only take advantage of a break in time to seek out what pleases. Although unworthy, I set out on an official career while still in my early twenties and have not failed to achieve success. Yet I feel unsuited to worldly responsibilities. Whenever I discover a place among mountains and streams that touches my heart, I forget about returning. This, no doubt, is my true nature. It is the case with everything that one can endlessly desire only that which satisfies one's nature. Now my teeth are still firm and my energy remains strong. Even if I cannot "travel through the vast universe and meet beyond the Nine Heavens,"<sup>17</sup> I can still visit all the scenic places in this world. I shall "let my eyes roam and my feelings become excited"<sup>18</sup> so as to fulfill my lifelong yearning. Now I have begun my journeying here at Transverse Mountain, and I hereby proclaim this to the Spirit of the Mountain.<sup>19</sup>

He has a huge ego -> High. To get closer to god, you have this aesthetic feeling -> to achieve the peak. I wouldn't say an organism, but ecstasy. For him to show that he's a follower of Wang Yangming, he need s to climb the stupid mountain. He must compose some poetry or write an essay. To show his peers at court. This essay was an attempt to impress his officers, to reach this stage-> no longer a man of this world. What is the purpose behind this bullshit. It is meant to get promotion'

able to catch this delightful mountain appears clearly and the eaven's favor. However, we id could not linger here for 10 and arrived at South Ter-astery, and climbed the Rock aveled west fourteen miles to The temple is located below etals, and the temple is situ- y resonant waterfalls whose :like thunder claps, the more e shrubs and rare plants line egated colors dazzles as in a Mountain, Chu Jung's Peak e Universal Teachings stands igh the ravines is dangerous d and distant, so few people :shrine commemorating the 2 and spent the night at the ght it rained. When we arose ing in the distance. The peak is indistinguishable; the path naware of affairs below and an of this world.

tribulations of official life and the dust and entanglements of worldly affairs. On this day, Li Shih-t'ang also arrived from Ch'ang-sha and joined us at the Temple of the Sacred Mount. We all returned together. From the day chia-wu to hsin-ch'ou, eight days in all, we wandered among these peaks. Our feet became weary from climbing; our spirits tired from sightseeing, and yet we had not exhausted the entire plan of the mountain but had come to know only its major points. Mr. Chang said, "In the past, Hsiang Tzu-p'ing waited until he had married off his children before he felt he could journey to all five sacred mounts."<sup>16</sup> Alas! **When in life can one ever bring worldly affairs to a close?** One can only take advantage of a break in time to seek out what pleases. Although unworthy, I set out on an official career while still in my early twenties and have not failed to achieve success. Yet I feel unsuited to worldly responsibilities. Whenever I discover a place among mountains and streams that touches my heart, I forget about returning. This, no doubt, is my true nature. **It is the case with everything that one can endlessly desire only that which satisfies one's nature.** Now my teeth are still firm and my energy remains strong. Even if I cannot "travel through the vast universe and meet beyond the Nine Heavens,"<sup>17</sup> I can still visit all the scenic places in this world. I shall "let my eyes roam and my feelings become excited"<sup>18</sup> so as to **fulfill my lifelong yearning.** Now I have begun my journeying here at Transverse Mountain, and I hereby proclaim this to the Spirit of the Mountain.<sup>19</sup>

He has realized the truth of the matter. But for Zhang Juzheng -> this is false. His personal wealth, his promotion. This is an operator to think about promotion. He took action on grand canal, on taxes (to think of a better way). Not saying he does everything. He tried something, but he has a lot of failings as well. (pg. 295)

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inal constructed in front of Yüan earned it the name	like they were sliced. Thousands of Acres of Clouds serves as a backdrop for Celestial Pond and other mountains whose peaks and valleys vie with one another for beauty. <sup>5</sup> It is a perfect spot for inviting guests for wine drinking. But past noon the sun's rays beat down, and it becomes unbearable to sit for long. The Pavilion of the God of Literature <sup>6</sup> is also fine, for the evening trees are especially worth viewing. Opposite it to the north is the old site of the Hall of Unbroken Distance—an empty, vast, endless view—only the speck of Mount Yü is visible. <sup>7</sup> The hall has long since been demolished, and I discussed with Chiang Chin-chih how it might be rebuilt. <sup>8</sup> I wanted to enshrine Wei Ying-wu, Po Chü-i, and others in it, <sup>9</sup> but illness forced me to abandon the project. I retired from office and fear that Chin-chih's enthusiasm has also waned. Indeed, the flourishing and decline of a scenic place can only occur at its proper time.
iles from the city. The hill it is near the city not a day and pleasure boats gathering. evenings, on snowy evenings, like weave of a tapestry. It is festival. <sup>1</sup>	I served as an official in Su-chou for two years and climbed Tiger Hill six times. The last occasion was with Chiang Chin-chih and Fang Tzu-kung. We awaited the moon at Tao-sheng's Rock. <sup>10</sup> When the singers there heard that the magistrate had come, they all fled. So I said to Chin-chih, "How awful! This is due to the brutality of officials and the crudeness of their clerks. Someday when I leave office, I swear by the moon above that I will hear the songs sung at this rock!" Now, fortunately, I have been granted release from official life and can call myself just a traveler in Su-chou. I wonder if the moon at Tiger Hill still remembers my oath? <sup>11</sup>

(pg. 307) He's following Wang Yangming's philosophy to clear your mind. Be in touch with inner. But facing problems. He has a lot of time to climb mountains. But it also shows impotence. Debauchery's the rule. They climb mountain or screw courtesan. There's a lot of things he wants to do, he cannot do. Ming is a confining place. We know that this motif of climbing a mountain is constantly at this. Philosophy is about getting in touch with your Liangzhi.

Travelling looming so large -> form of commercialization. Things are easy to do. You need to know what are the main ideas of Wang Yangming in comparison with Strassberg.

Was Wanli the archetype of a fatuous monarch? Why do you think Chinese scholars placed so much emphasis on morning audiences

-> He stopped attending morning meetings due to the cold war. There could have been better way to do that. It was a damning environment.

At that point in time, that is the only way to sufficiently frustrate the bureaucracy. He's not fighting one person, but a system. It's the best way to hit everyone at the same time.

Who does the labelling? Scholar-gentry officials. Hitting at them, the very people who're writing the history at him. The Confucian scholars are constantly frustrated, so Wanli hits against them. He realized too late that Zhang was corrupt afterwards.

It just shows that someone who was close to him couldn't get his trust. It's a personal psychological barrier.

For Wanli, after this thing, he cultivated a nasty habit. He started accumulating money, which is strange. Not only accumulating money, but eating a lot. He became obese. But led a very long life. He accumulated a lot of money and ask his ministers for presents. This guy was deeply impacted psychologically.

## Tutorial Questions

Sunday, June 2, 2019 11:07 AM

### Week 3 Recitation - Late Qing Large scale peasant unrest

All groups: Crossley (2007), The Wobbling Pivot. (Recitation Qn)

Why do you think Zhen Guofan was able to gain the trust of the court?

The current Xianfeng emperor "was attracted to the stories of stubborn provincial governors who defied the provisions of the unequal treaties." (pg. 107) and Zeng was "Mujangga's favorite civil official."

Later on, when he won against the Taipings in 1853, he imposed the lijin for local defense, "bypassing the imperial treasury" to "provide resources for the other provincial armies." and gained the support of the government who deprived the Taiping of resources. Through constant battle, Zeng "became adept at planning naval as well as ground warfare."

The youth of the emperor counted against him, such that the officials felt that the Xianfeng emperor "was unsteady in his judgements, jumping at alarming reports and easily misled by overconfident presentations. As a result, they turned over responsibility to Zeng and He Linyi, as well as to Prince Gong and Prince Chun"

Zeng was outshining "all other officials for talent, fortitude, perseverance, integrity and loyalty to the Qing court." However, he did not exhibit the ambition to do so. Instead, he focused on the revitalism of the past, on "rebuilding of libraries and the reprinting of millions of lost books as tasks as central as food, shelter and markets." However, Zeng and others "did not disband their armies at the end of the Taiping War" as he argued that "it would deprive him of the means to keep the peace while society was still in turmoil and distress."

Zeng kept the lijin tax, and modernized the army, the communication systems and education, with recruits were sometimes sent abroad to study military history, chemistry, physics and engineering. (Pg. 121) Coastal income increased at the expense of revenue.

What is the significance of the Qing court letting the regional powers to deal with agrarian unrest?

The Qing court was unable to handle crisis, with the Xianfeng emperor dying. The resulting coup by the princes and the Cao palace.

Due to the rebel state suppressing, new regional states were created that were more deadly to the imperial court. (pg. 118). It allowed for Chinese civilian officials to occupy the military and cooperate with banner colleagues.

"But the decade of the 1860s actually marked the period in which political and economic initiative swung permanently away from the Qing court," such that "this devolution and regionalization of power profoundly altered the political structure of the late Qing empire, and created the matrix that would control the fortunes of the state that would succeed the Qing."

They allowed the army to retain control of itself.

Eventually, Li Hongzhang and the court only maintained the veneer of cooperation. And there was rivalries in the areas of finance and industry (Pg. 124)

Was this the beginning of the end? What other alternatives did the Qing court have?

The Qing Court experienced other rebels, such as the Nian who cooperated with the Taiping, used women in their military, and "had no formal ideology and only one evident goal, kill the rich and aid the poor."

Qing's regents were faced with reform, creating new institutions, and distributed funds to where "agriculture and trade were still viable". However, they had to balance between modernization, technological development, along with traditional needs such as the examination system, pay salaries and provide compensation.

How did Crossley explain the downfall of Hong?

"[the converts] had the same access to everything, except, evidently, high political office. That was largely the preserve of Hong's close male relatives and childhood friends." Lack of local participation.

"By 1863, the Taipings were collapsing from the inside, while a combination of Qing and foreign troops pressed them from without." Pg. 102

"The main obstacle to Taiping progress in the early years of government paralysis and local unpreparedness was the resistance of individuals to the loss of family, property." (Crossley, Pg. 111) due to the scene of hard work being given away. And the Taiping offered no compensation, "overcame with threats of execution, and the psychological reinforcement provided by the fanaticism of tens and thousands of fervent believers." In addition, "Religious conversion was mandatory; refusal meant execution" which led to resistance by the Confucianist gentry.

In addition, Crossley believed that Hong Xiuquan was mad. "In Nanjing, Hong Xiuquan was not frequently seen in public, but news of his fits and visions spread widely," and that his allies "was clearly attempting to displace Hong." This eventually led to suspicion of his lower rankers, with "the kingdom's leading administrative talents had been eliminated, and his best general "soon realized that it was impossible to avoid the suspicion of Hong Xiuquan and its fatal consequences."

In addition, external factors such as the opinion of the Taiping would influence the foreign armies' decision. Foreign merchants "were unimpressed by favorable reports raising hopes of a new Taiping national state in China" (pg. 113) and the Qing were viable as diplomatic allies compared to the Taiping who hated commerce and usury.

In addition, attempts at reform failed due to "deep political divisions" Roberts, who inspired the original model of Taiping thought, "broke Taiping etiquette" and "exhausted their hospitality" Shi Dakai betrayed the Taiping, but "was arrested, given a very brief arraignment and summarily executed." This betrayal eventually led to mass surrenders.

Internally, "The population was starving" due to the lack of provisions, and Hong committed suicide.

What are some factors she has cited?

Gp 1. Primary source: Bary, ed. "The Heavenly Kingdom of the Taipings" ((Recitation Qn)

How did the *Tiantiao Shu* and *Youxue Shi* compare with the doctrines of Christianity? (here you have to recall what you learnt in Hass 101, get some Christians to help you.)

"men, instead of worshiping him, were serving demons." while "Confucius was scolded in his faithlessness and repented his ways." and the fundamentalist teachings of Roberts gave Hong his understanding of Christianity, practicing iconoclasm.

"Great importance was attached to the indoctrination of new recruits." (pg. 215)

"The ideas seem to be generally taken from the Old Testament, with little or nothing from the New." (pg. 218)

"It appears to be mainly a compilation drawn up by the rebels themselves... he certainly would not have directed the offering up of animals, wine, tea and rice even though these offerings were presented to the Great God." (pg. 218)

Parenthood respect

Virtuous masters (traditional confucianism)

Mention of demons

From p. 223ff., list down the various schemes of the Taipings. Evaluate their effectiveness.

All officials rewarded with hereditary stipends from the court

Every family in each military district is to provide one man to serve as a militia man. During an emergency, they are to fight under the command of their officers to destroy the enemy and to suppress bandits. In peacetime, they are to engage in agriculture under the direction of their officers, tilling the land and providing support for their superiors.

The distribution of all land is to be based on the number of persons in each family, regardless of sex. A large family has more land, a small one to less.

Land distributed should be mixed.

All land in the country is to be cultivated by the whole population together. Move people if insufficient land

Distribute harvest to relieve distress (what if all is drought) No inequality

Does these documents account for the decline of the Taipings? Why do you think the gentry did not support the Taipings? (here you have to refer to Crossley)

"The main obstacle to Taiping progress in the early years of government paralysis and local unpreparedness was the resistance of individuals to the loss of family, property." (Crossley, Pg. 111) due to the scene of hard work being given away. And the Taiping offered no compensation, "overcame with threats of execution, and the psychological reinforcement provided by the fanaticism of tens and thousands of fervent believers." In addition, "Religious conversion was mandatory; refusal meant execution" which led to resistance by the Confucianist gentry.

**Gp 3. Primary source: Ebrey, ed. "Mid-century Rebels"**

What did “A statement of voluntary surrender” (320) and “Memorial of Li Yuying” (321) tell you about the social conditions of China generally. Do the sources suggest that the peasants join banditry willfully?

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320 / The Qing Dynasty

arts should be selected as our members. We must eliminate the very old, the very young, and the disabled. In other words, we will eliminate all those over sixty years of age and all those under sixteen. Only by following this method can we strengthen our forces. Do not transgress this order.

15th day of the fourth month, 1853

A STATEMENT OF VOLUNTARY SURRENDER BY MEMBERS OF THE GUANGXI ROVING BANDIT GROUP

We men from Guangdong—Da Liyu, Zhang Zhao, Zhang Guibe, Wen Xi—and we men from Guangxi—Tian Fang, Huang Shou, and Liang Fu—make this appeal.

We were born in a time of prosperity and were good people. We lived in towns and were taught to distinguish right from wrong. But because of continuous flooding in our area, we could not get a grain of rice to eat even if we worked hard in the fields, and we could not engage in business because we lacked the funds. As a result we all joined the bandits.

Not long ago we came to Guangxi to try to make a living. We met others who had come from our hometowns. We pined each other because of our sad situation, and together we began to imitate outlaws in order to relieve our hardships. In other words, no one forced us to become the outlaws. We were driven to join them because we were desperate. Given the chance, we would have returned gladly to our normal way of life.

We thought constantly of our families, but we could not return to them. Indeed, we were drifting on a hungry, painful sea and knew not where we would reach the other side. We hope Your Excellency will forgive our past sins. We hope you will think of the great benevolence of our imperial house and give us a chance to start a new life.

We, humble people, Big-Headed Yang, Lo Da, Hou Jiu, Wang Liu, Li Xiongjie, report our grievance and appeal to you. . .

We hate the army runners who recently made heavy demands on us and disturbed our villages. They used the excuse of establishing a local militia to cause trouble for the good and honest people and to give opportunity for the wicked ones. The words they used were virtuous-sounding, yet the deeds they actually perpetrated were most wicked. They allied themselves with government officials and formed cliques that they could oppress our village and falsely reported that certain rebels had been captured with the bandits. This was due to personal grudges against the accused or to the fact that they wanted to obtain rewards. They burned down our houses and took all we had; they robbed us of our property and threatened our lives. Therefore we banded together to insure our own safety. Those who still remain in the village may run away someday while those who have left can hardly come back. Therefore, for each ordinary person who ran away, there was one more bandit, and the numbers of bandits became greater and greater. Since there are so many of us, we could not survive except by pillage, nor could we save our lives if we did not fight against the imperial troops that were sent out to exterminate us. As a consequence, we have offended the court and hurt the merchants.

We have always wanted to correct our behavior and to purge ourselves of our beastly nature. We would have liked to return to our homes to enjoy long and happy lives, but we have been left roaming around, wandering through unknown places because the officials did not have mercy on us. Usually after interrogating a bandit, they would kill him or force him to leave. There are those who sincerely wanted to return home. There were those who were secretly hiding their lives. If we had surrendered to the officials, we also would have had to depend on their mercy. The thought of it tortures us day and night. Now, fortunately, Your Excellency has arrived in this area with a commission to pacify the people. You have loved the people like your own children; you have disciplined yourself strictly; you have worked diligently for the good of the nation and have relieved the suffering of the masses. We hope that you will understand our situation and judge fairly. We hope you will treat us kindly and extend your benevolence to us. We are willing to sell our weapons and buy cows for farming. We render all our respect and gratitude to you.

We respectfully report our situation to you.

MEMORIAL OF LI YUYING, JUREN DEGREE HOLDER, AND TAN DUANYUAN, SHENGYUAN DEGREE HOLDER, FROM WU PREFECTURE, GUANGXI PROVINCE

Our dynasty has followed the teachings of the ancient sages. As a result everyone in Rong county has lived in harmony for a long time. The population was increasing, and the resources were plentiful; even our dogs and chickens never had to fear disturbance. . . However, in 1846 bandits and rebels began gathering on the east side of Liangxiu and disturbed our local tranquility. As their power grew, their influence spread. They even captured the city and took the government officials prisoner. There was no order in the city, and the rebels roamed everywhere. Gentlemen members were killed and captured; women were raped. Corpses were left lying all over the ground; houses were left in ashes; the farmers' fields were thick with weeds. It was said indeed to see these things happen. . . They pillaged property even at great distances from their base and attacked people who were under their control to pay land taxes to them. They conspired to force officials to do this. There are reports saying that loyalist forces had escaped to areas that had fallen to the rebels. The bandits used official seals and issued false edicts to the populace. It was intolerable to have these ruffians dominate the local government!

Last year we were lucky to have the governor and the governor-general decide to lead out their armies to destroy the bandits at Xunzhou. The governor then promised to transfer the army to Rong county where the local militia was trying to consolidate its positions pending the arrival of the government troops. The militia has been fighting for a long time and have become quite weary. I am afraid that, if the local militia collapses, the bandits will roam all over the country and prove very difficult for the government troops to control.

The local militia is capable of mustering ten thousand troops, all battle-tested veterans who hate the rebels. It is our opinion that, if only we could get a skilled commander, the militia would be quite effective against the rebels. Unfortunately, we have not been able to get an experienced officer to lead them. There have been constant arguments over battle plans, and the militia has never acted in unison. As a result we have often been defeated by the rebels. The prefect and governor-general appointed a pair of officers to supervise the local militia. They issued orders, gave out banners and seals, but did not come to take command personally. The local militia, therefore, has not been united and cannot contribute much to alleviating the critical situation.

Now that the governor of Guangxi province has dispatched his army to wipe out the bandites in Xunzhou, we hope that, after finishing with the bandits there, it will come immediately to Rong county to exterminate the rebels and save the people. If Your Excellency sympathizes with all that the people have suffered, please hasten to have the army come here to suppress the rebels. . . We might suggest that you consolidate the militias of Teng, Pingan, Beilin, Chenji, and Xing counties under your command so that the bandits may escape our troops, hopping back and forth between the borders. When the government armies arrive in Rong county, have them train the local militia so that it can put up a better defense against the bandits. We would suggest also that you proclaim a general amnesty for those who were forced to join the rebels. We have confidence in the strategy of encircling bandit hideouts; we are sure they could not resist your attacks and their days would be numbered. . .

Huang Pengfen and Feng Weireng are two leaders well respected by the local militia. If you

How were the declarations of Xiamen small swords (319) different from Taipings' general program? Hint: Compare with *Tiantiao Shu* (Spence, 219 ff.)

Xiamen: "Qing needs to be overthrown."

Taiping -> need to be unified.

"All the people should carry on with their work and trade as usual" as opposed to Taiping's opposition to trade with foreigners. Also, do not be afraid of my soldiers as opposed to the spate of executions.

"Only the young and the strong and those with experience in the martial arts should be selected as our members. " Choosy as opposed to accepting everyone as the Taiping did.

#### Gp 4. Primary source: Spence, ed. "The Crisis Within."

Had the disdain displayed by the Ming gentry for the peasantry dissipated in Qing? How do you know? List the reasons stated by Qian Yong (129 ff.) Why “evil customs” should be controlled?

Nope. In the Forward, "It exhibits the scorn felt by the literati for folk religion and 'heterodox' festivals' and illustrates the impulse felt by the elite to rein in the wild and unrestrained behavior of untutored peasants, villagers and city dwellers "(Pg. 128)

It provides social gathering and avenues for recourse and rebellion.

- Blaspheming the ghosts and spirits -> and quotes the analects to back himself up. "The stupid commoners do not know what they are doing and so they follow them."
  - Confusing the ritual code. "This is a debasement of ritual practice. But the monks and Daoist priests rely on such practices to make money and women use them to disport themselves."
  - Squandering money. "They use their limited funds for this useless expense... Although these people bring this suffering on themselves it also comes about because of evil local customs."
  - Disrupting normal occupations. "That the stupidity of small people has reached such a degree... and this disrupts natural timing and their professional schedules."
  - Mixing of men and women. "There is no worse injury to customs than this!"
  - Causing fires. "If something unexpected happens, it is difficult to come to the rescue.. Situation would be uncontrollable."
  - Promoting gambling. "This causes endless harm to an area."
  - Causing fighting. "Without intervention to mediate the problem such disputes can lead to homicide."
  - Attracting robbers and thieves. "If bandits from various places mix with the masses, it is difficult to find them out but easy for them to steal."
  - Damaging social customs. "friends and relatives are constantly coming and going and this makes the people fall into sin."

<sup>10</sup> See Hall, *Feminist Christianity*, 2 (122 ff.).

"Although I was physically worshipping various gods and buddhas, I still held evil and obscene notions in the heart." He wasn't sincere in praying.

When he was given a text by a Buddhist monk, he questioned his belief. "Could I really be pardoned for all the evil I had done? I was really afraid that things were not so simple."

It's also the fear of hell.

Do you think those Guangxi public executions in 1851 had any desired effects on potential Taiping recruits? (137)

"It was evident that they had suffered the most dreadful privations. " if they could do this to their enemies, why can't they do this to their citizens!"

The people were very young.

"I was struck with the reflection that in all countries, the political scaffold has been elevated instead of degraded." ->  
Giving them more martyrs and elevating their position.

Liang Afa wanted to show his conversion (so he pulled down someone)

And most converts would not actually be secure/self-esteem in themselves.

How did Zeng Guofan justify his handling of the Taipings? (147)

"Zeng's efficiency as the commander was hampered by the chronic lack of funds. His situation improved, however, when he was given official sanction to take control of the tax revenues in the provinces where his armies were operating."

The Taiping rebels "have inflicted bitter sorrow upon millions of people and devastated more than 5000 li of Zhou and Xian." Basically, the taiping are terrible people, robbing the rich, desecrating the poor. Women are treated badly for those who bound feet, cruelty and brutality rampant.

The Taiping are also unreasonable. "Only heaven can be called father. "Peasants are not allowed to till the land for themselves and pay taxes. "Merchants are not allowed to trade for profit. Scholars may not read the Confucian classics.

Unlike other rebels. Where Li Zicheng did not molest the Temple of the Sage, and Zhang Xianzhong sacrificed to Wenchang. The Taiping desecrated guardian deities and shrines.

Zeng Guofan is very loyal

**Gp 5. Primary source: G.J. Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* (1862), chp 14.**

Pg337ff. or pg 349 ff. What was the Taipings like? How credible was wolseley's account of the Taipings?

Worsley was already against the fanaticism of the Taiping. This colors his view. "it is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that in their joy at so much apparent spiritual good, they should lose sight of the great evils attendant thereon."

"Whilst all present repeated a doxology, which was originally composed by him for the use of his scholars at Canton."

"[Taiping Wang] wrote that "Mr Roberts should become a proselyte to the blasphemous pretensions of Tian-wanism, and go forth into the foreign world to convert it over to this novel faith." They confer titles, assume their own position. Based their court upon the Qing traditions but with their own adaptations. (pg. 338)

Retain the pigtails, but plait with a lot of red silk.

Wear their hair in a head turban fashion

"Both the attempted revolutions were punished with the most barbarous severity; every man, woman and child belonging to those two powerful rebel leaders having been put to death. (pg. 339)

Tian Wang lives secluded from male society, surrounded by his concubines and wives, in a badly constructed palace, but copies the royal court.

Royal procession followed, mixed along with "the style in which they are worded would be blasphemous in the extreme if it were not so essentially ludicrous" -> looked down on their procession and documents.

"This last being the above-mentioned son of the great impostor." evidently he didn't believe any of it.

"It is unnatural, say they, that a son should be equal to his father.

Pg.341. How kindly did the English and he Americans view the Tapings?

#### (Optional)

Reilly (2004). The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. (Reading Guide)

Why were the years 1847-1850 the tipping point for Hong?

Because he had repeatedly failed in his examinations.

He was given time to grow. "Hong and Roberts met face to face." (pg. 103) and "Hong returned to Guangxi to continue to build upon his own beliefs and his own congregation, the Society of God-Worshippers." Also, "By 1850, Hong's group of most trusted followers included businessmen who knew how to negotiate with local warlords and distant Qing officials, pirate captains, smuggling bosses and mercenaries". In addition, there was personal interest involved, "Tiandihui and other secret societies saw a theme of Ming restorationism in Hong's vision" while "Hakkas and Miao particularly identified with Hong's message of liberating the oppressed". The officials "did not have the time or resources to go looking for trouble" and "Hong's followers handily beat off the government troops."(Pg. 104, Crossley)

By analyzing the Taipings' ideology and violence, do you see any possible parallels with present day IS movement?

Started with political discontent, backed by religious texts interpreted differently and powered by racial divides

How are they different? Why do such religious movements often declare that the ends justify the means?

IS -> Damage of foreign stuff

Cohen (1961), "the anti-Christian tradition in China" (Reading Guide)

To what extent did xenophobia in China play a role in opposing Christianity?

Xenophobia -> foreign import of Christianity

So why did the Hakkas take so readily to Christianity? (you have to read Reilly)

Cos Hakkas are visitors (in dialect) and they weren't welcome in a home province. Sought refuge in Christianity

"The group called 'Hakka' were often in competition with the 'local' population of Cantonese speakers for land, crop sales, water access and in some cases, mining rights." (Crossley, pg. 102)

Will it be fair to say that Cohen adequately account for the lack of traction of Christianity in China? What other factors were involved in 19th century China?

Foreign dispute, anathematical to the Confucianist way of thinking.

Other forms of religion available.

## Actual Tutorial

Tuesday, June 4, 2019 12:40 PM

The Chinese is sensitive to religion.  
Falun Gong -> surround people's hall in Tiananmen.  
Spread of Christianity = Taiping Rebellion.  
They are afraid of this kind of thing.  
Psychological trigger point.

Grp 1: Tiantiao Shu -> This is the program behind the Taiping Rebellion. When you analyze how the Americans tackle the ISIS, they tackle the program.  
When they fought against the Nazis, they need to know what Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf. They need to know what's the mind behind it.  
What exactly did the Taiping believed.

Pg. 220 -> The 10 commandments.  
Elaborated for seven to ten.  
Almost exactly the 10 commandments of the Christian.  
Point number 6 > Do not kill or injure men. But in the 10 commandments if it says do not murder.  
(Not killing people, but killing demons)

Family proprietary -> Something similar to Confucianism.  
When you have a foreign religion coming in, the points of commonality is accepted by the locals. If you are a smart missionary -> In Spain. How did Christianity believed? The Black Madonna is a fertility god, black in color. So when Christianity reached there -> you find points of commonality.  
At that point, the reverence for Jesus mother -> the Madonna. = Black Madonna.  
Examining from a sociological view -> how do you spread the religion.  
Why would certain things catch the attention of the people.

Pg. 225 -> maintain the land  
If the land is not good, then move.  
"Commune system". When the communist party introduced land restructuring, there was an alarming similarity with the Communist land reform and Taiping communal ownership of land.  
Why would they have this?  
On Wang Yangming -> a communistic living.  
In the 1950s, when they talk about this commune, where did they take this from? It is in Chinese history. Communistic ownership of land. How certain ideas can get duplicated.  
Continuity and Discontinuity (An idea under the current. When we talk about change and continuity?  
This is an important thing to think about)

Look at the date 1863. you have Marx at this time (where rebellion carried out in 1843). But this thinking about communal living is floating around.  
Compare to Hong Xiuquan's living style -> no polygamy, but corruption of the religion sees harem;  
Roberts was disgusted  
This paternalism is a big feature of protestantism and puritanism. They are very strict about things observed -> for example, sabbath.  
This obsession about sex -> split the women and men away from each other.  
If you read Max Weber -> Protestant Ethic -> Puritan. Sex is an obsession.  
It's very repressed -> main driving force but you repress it. Because there is this disparate (officially, they frown upon free sex) and unofficially, he keeps concubines. The common thumb -> people who behave in a puritan way are actually hypocrites, because it's something that really drive them. Zeng:  
"Taiping has this strange obsession"  
In religion -> celibacy is celebrated, but if you can't then don't pretend that you can.

A lot of movements in China involve brainwashing. They constantly drill into people. This is overt. (in your face) or subliminal.  
Pg. 219 -> Same ideology as ISIS -> whatever reward you have is not this life. It's in your next life.  
That's why the original band of the Hakka warriors, who died as early as 1856. The core group of Taiping warriors had died off -> the fervent believers.  
Why do they believe -> they ascend to heaven to enjoy dignity without end.

Grp 3:  
Corruption is the death of any nation -> they stamp it very hard.  
They have a tradition of the local militia -> trained by the local themselves.  
The rich men -> gentry will pay him to go and train. Whenever he fought in the front -> he'll lose.  
He'll be in charge of big strategic planning.  
This is telling about the state of preparedness -> How they lost.  
Bandits ->  
Triads -> if you go to their place, they will have Guan Gong. They are all back stabbing bastards.  
Those who are giving in, the onus on them is to prove their own loyalty.

Indigenous organization -> tap into this movement . But it's a tag on as and when it is convenient.

Grp 4:  
It's gentry vs farmers!  
The divide is very severe.  
Intellectuals vs peasantry. As China urbanizes (crosses the 50%) this kind of disjunction would get less and less. People are more educated. They treat the peasantry very badly. Why Taiping spread so fast is because the gentry couldn't be bothered to find out what the peasantry believed in.

Liang Afa puts down buddhism. Talks about the psychology -> why does the new convert -> rationalize the previous one was bad. What does it reflect about inner psyche? Insecurity. And also characteristic of new converts -> holier than the Pope.

Their ferventness is focused on gender or sex. Those who are voracious against homosexuality. It's an issue I must conquer.

Grp 5:  
The Qing government signed the Opium Treaty.  
Mao took the formulaic Taiping program seriously. Who did they appeal to? How do you organize the nation?

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# Xiangguan (Rural officials/乡官)

## A political, military, and religious hierarchy modelled after the classical system of local control described in the Zhouli

General	Colonel	Captain	Lieutenant	Sergeant	Corporal
<b>Junshuai</b> 军帅	<b>Shishuai</b> 师帅	<b>Lvshuai</b> 旅帅	<b>Zuzhang</b> 卒长	<b>Liangsima</b> 两司马	<b>Wuzhang</b> 伍长
5 shishuai units	5 lvshuai units	5 zuzhang units	4 liangsima units	5 Wuzhang units	
12,500 families	2,500 families	500 families	100 families	25 families	5 families

They used this to mimic the commune system. The limits to communal living is 100 families. People do not feel devoted to such a big association.

Why so much deviation? Expediency-> no choice

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### Group 2: Elite and Peasant during the Taiping Occupation of the Jiangnan

**Xiangguan(rural officials/乡官)** A political, military, and religious hierarchy modelled after the classical system of local control described in the Zhouli(P.382). The most important task was the gathering of the revenue and supplies needed for the war. The system fell short of the ideal because (A) it was imposed based on geographical areas; (B) it lacked depth: three lowest tiers of xiangguan were not filled; (C) there were extra positions that were not part of the ideal. The Taipings recruited a wide variety of people with diverse skills to xiangguan positions. The ideal public elections were replaced by appointments in practice. The main selection criterion was expediency as they know little about the newly conquered land but had to quickly set up a local bureaucracy to collect taxes (P.384). Various motivations of xiangguan included the sympathy with the rebel cause, the noble desire to protect people from the abuses of the Taipings and the other xiangguan and the greedy desire to accumulate wealth(P.388). However, most xiangguan became corrupted in office (P.389).

**Class Character of Taiping Rule:**

**Feudal Power Theory:** Concentrates on the failures of the rebels and, in doing so, emphasizes the continuities between local society under the Qing and local society under the Taiping. (P391,Para1)

**Peasant Power Theory:** Dwell on the points of discontinuity between Qing and Taiping society, giving a more reformist slant to the rebel occupation of the Jiangnan.

→ Both theories recognize that the rebels nowhere nearly implemented their revolutionary land redistribution program. Both theories attribute the failure to the **exigencies of war** and the **opposition of the landlord class albeit to different extents**. In fact, the conservative and reformist elements coexisted.

**Western Scholarship:** Taipings co-opted the existing local leadership to serve as xiangguan, thus perpetuating antebellum power structure in the occupied territories. Gentry enjoyed uncontested dominion over local society. (P391,Para2)

**Policies used, 1860**

**Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty (天朝田亩制度)**

- On paper, rebels prohibit rent collection and promote the expropriation of landlord property and its redistribution to the landless, and the divestment of the elite of its power (P.379)
- In reality, there was difficulty in implementing the system due to the war effort: revenue is needed to fund the Xiangguan

Peasant Power Theory -> For the benefit of the poor, policies were implemented. The composition of Xiang Guan -> those from the peasant class.

Neglect the fact that there were a decent number of xiangguan from the landlord class  
Feudal Power theory -> they came in to implement Taiping, the majority from the landlord class ->

They didn't exactly do as what they said.

The Western Scholarship theory -> made an extension to feudal power historians -> Composition of the Xiangguan was not the landlord class, but people in power.

They try to keep the gentry from the Qing dynasty.

They don't have the expertise that the gentry has. Who paid out what? Usually literate people. The Taiping in effect are forced to use these people.

They are not going to be loyal to you.

The revolution cannot be completed. Because in 1949 -> They turn this upon its head -> the CCP was

faced with the same problem. The same gentry are still holding the same position.

Use Class struggle -> this existing lot are the oppressors. They have the struggle sessions. The whole village will struggle against this, and the village constantly have this strata of people who are the class enemies. You still have literate people, who are not the original gentry. Who are still literate, but not so bright. But now beholden to the CCP who have given them power. These people would work very hard for the Communist party.

Large parts of China were occupied by Japan. They did what the Taiping did. They used the same local gentry.

Self preservation -> a lot of these villagers -> the head of the clan will decide which family member will join the Japanese. Which member would join the anti-Japanese forces.

The cousins will join two different sides.

This would ensure continuity of the clan's lineage.

(P391,Para2)

### **Policies used, 1860**

#### Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty (天朝田亩制度)

- On paper, rebels prohibit rent collection and promote the expropriation of landlord property and its redistribution to the landless, and the divestment of the elite of its power (P.379)
- In reality, there was difficulty in implementing the system due to the war effort: revenue is needed to fund the war against the Qing (P.383)
- There wasn't a total restructuring of the rural society as prescribed in the system but neither was the original system under the Qing undisturbed (P.380)
- The land redistribution program was not widely known and the rebels were no longer exploiting its appeal to garner peasant support. (P.395)
- Policies that were contradictory in nature (P.395)

#### Tenant Payment of Taxes

- Land and tax records were burnt and existing landowners were reluctant to report their holdings. Many lands were abandoned (P.396)
- The implementation of this policy varies from place to place (P.397)
- Opinions of such a policy are generally well received, being liable to pay tax came the assumption that the land ownership belongs to them and taxes they paid is less than the rent they have to pay the landlord (P.397)

#### Amendments to policies 1861-1862

##### Partial abandonment of the previous tenant payment of taxes policy

"Landlords should resume the collection of rents and the delivery of taxes...enabling those landlords who had suffered under the zhuodian qizheng policy to regain some control over their land and its cultivators." (P400, Para1)

At this stage of the rebellion -> this system no longer known by people on the ground. They don't use this system to attack peasants to their causes.

(P391,Para2)

### **Policies used, 1860**

#### Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty (天朝田亩制度)

- On paper, rebels prohibit rent collection and promote the expropriation of landlord property and its redistribution to the landless, and the divestment of the elite of its power (P.379)
- In reality, there was difficulty in implementing the system due to the war effort: revenue is needed to fund the war against the Qing (P.383)
- There wasn't a total restructuring of the rural society as prescribed in the system but neither was the original system under the Qing undisturbed (P.380)
- The land redistribution program was not widely known and the rebels were no longer exploiting its appeal to garner peasant support. (P.395)
- Policies that were contradictory in nature (P.395)

#### Tenant Payment of Taxes

- Land and tax records were burnt and existing landowners were reluctant to report their holdings. Many lands were abandoned (P.396)
- The implementation of this policy varies from place to place (P.397)
- Opinions of such a policy are generally well received, being liable to pay tax came the assumption that the land ownership belongs to them and taxes they paid is less than the rent they have to pay the landlord (P.397)

#### Amendments to policies 1861-1862

##### Partial abandonment of the previous tenant payment of taxes policy

"Landlords should resume the collection of rents and the delivery of taxes...enabling those landlords who had suffered under the zhuodian qizheng policy to regain some control over their land and its cultivators." (P400, Para1)

#### Reduction in rent

"The Taiping administration,..., lightened their burden primarily in the hope that they would then feel obliged to deliver at least the decreased rents, which, in any case, were more than many peasants had been willing to pay when left to their own devices." (P401, Para2)

#### Set up xiangguan bureaus to collect rents

"Proponents of feudal power theory... the rebel government allow the continuation of the landlord-tenant relationship, that argues, it also created an infrastructure to facilitate the collection of rents."(P402, Para2)

"The bureaus were slated to serve the government first and landlords only incidentally, an ordering of priorities..." (P402, Para2)

#### Landlord registration of land is made a precondition for receiving rents

"Without official documents certifying that they had duly reported their holdings, landlords were not entitled to collect rents privately." (P404, Para2)

"Tenants were permitted in 1862 to buy the certificates for the land...and the tenant did indeed became the legal owner in the eyes of Taiping law."(P404, Para3)

They are isolated from the land (because they call someone to do it). . . . .

So the landlords were not entitled to collect rents privately without land certificate and reporting their holdings.

The screenshot shows a web browser window with multiple tabs open. The active tab displays a document from edimension.sutd.edu.sg. The page content discusses land rights and the Taiping War. It states that without official documents certifying landholdings, landlords could not collect rents privately (P404, Para2). It also notes that tenants were permitted to buy certificates for land, becoming legal owners (P404, Para3). Below this, a section titled 'Aftermath of Taiping War' lists several bullet points detailing the social and economic impacts, such as widespread landlessness, disrupted trade routes, and a shift in power away from the central government to local bases. A 'Summary' section at the bottom provides a general overview of the reforms and their outcomes.

**Landlord registration of land is made a precondition for receiving rents**

"Without official documents certifying that they had duly reported their holdings, landlords were not entitled to collect rents privately." (P404, Para2)

"Tenants were permitted in 1862 to buy the certificates for the land...and the tenant did indeed became the legal owner in the eyes of Taiping law."(P404, Para3)

**Aftermath of Taiping War**

- Huge swaths of fertile land left uncultivated (Crossley, pg. 116)
  - Middle and lower Yangzi areas were decimated (Rowe, pg. 198), scenes of slaughter, starvation and destruction (Crossley, pg. 116)
- The most important trade route between Wuhan and Jiangnan was disrupted - normal ships could not pass
  - British and American steamships allowed the West to dominate domestic commerce (Rowe, pg. 198)
- Qing government changed drastically following the war (Crossley, pg. 117)
  - Suppression of Taipings and appointment of new Tongzhi emperor, Zaichun aged 5 (1861)
  - Most of the ruling was left to Zaichun's regents, who created reforms to foreign policy and government
- Distinct local economic, political and military bases emerged in Tianjin, Shanghai and Fuzhou drew power away from centralised Qing government (Crossley, pg. 118)

**Summary**

- Classless society through land and political system reforms (Ideally, improve the lives of poor and powerless)
- Compromises were made in the interest of maintaining revenue for war; reforms failed.
- Effects of policies were asymmetric: reaffirmed existing power relationships in some areas and disrupted them in others.
- Tenantry was better off not because of reforms but because they refused to pay rent.
- Short-lived, but left the memory of rebellions among the survivors. People remembered it through songs, stories and literacy.
- It is the watershed between people lives, and people later regarded the pre-rebellion era as the golden age.
- Jiangnan elites were shaken by the rebellion.
- Cities, towns and villages were devastated, commercial activities and agriculture work could no longer

## Tutorial Question

Tuesday, June 4, 2019 5:11 PM

### Week 4 Recitation – Self Strengthening Movement

#### Gp 1. "On the Adoption of Western Learning." (Recitation Qn)

[15] Why did Feng think that they "need not bother about rare skills or cunning arts"? What are some advantages China would have with the possession of western knowledge?

Feng points out that they could use Western knowledge to improve their country. He advises that "All western learning derives from mathematics" and that "if we wish to adopt Western learning, we must study mathematics."

In addition, the skills that he advises, of astronomy, "of assistance in fixing the calendar; geology "clearing sand from harbors" ... "of assistance to keep her water flowing" and agricultural and sericultural tools, and things required for the various crafts, they mostly use mechanical wheels, which require little energy but accomplish much. These are "beneficial to the national economy and the livelihood of the people."

Since he wants to combine "Chinese ethical principles of human relations" and "Confucian teachings" along with Western techniques, it behooves him to encourage the possession of Western technique, but not of the cunning arts as this goes against the Chinese thought, and rare skills since it cannot be applied.

[16] "surpassing" and "humiliation" are two main lexicons used by Chinese since the 19<sup>th</sup> century to justify modernization. What other leitmotif were used by Feng? What are their functions & purposes? What were some main factors which caused this "humiliation"?

That China is the best (first para, pg. 72) yet ruled over by barbarians, such that China needs to improve itself.

"What was once substantial becomes merely decorative, what was foolish becomes clever." (pg. 73) a comment on Western society valuing skilled labor as opposed to scholar officials.

Therefore, Feng encourages to use technology without adopting their social customs.

[17] & [18] From the two memorials submitted by Li Hung-chang, what were the opposition's main arguments? In light of the US embassy reports (1880), to what extent was Li successful?

"Chinese scholars and officials have been immersed in the inveterate habit of learning commentaries [on the classics] and writing fine script... but what scholars and officials use is not what they have studied."

Such that they do not value the military men, and look down on the sharp weapons as "some strange and indecent craft" while "amazed that these sharp weapons are so strange and marvelous" such that it exceeds the level of quality.

#### Gp 2. Yung Wing 容閩, My Life In China & America (1909), chp 19. (Recitation Qn)

Do you think Yung Wing contributed to the failure of the education mission? Why was he unable to translate the support by Li into political cache? What were the reasons for the failure of the Burlingame treaty? Why do you think Chen Lan-ping behaved in such a way? (Here you have to read Desnoyers) Why was Anson Burlingame unable to provide more support for the Chinese? What does this tell you about the domestic politics of America? Why do you think naval students were still being sent overseas (Elman, pg. 300 ff.)

Yung Wing went to Yale and wrote his memoirs in English. Famous guy, intimately involved in Reform but destroyed him because he was exiled. He supported the wrong guy (Guangxu was arrested.)

Failure of the education mission :

1. Racism -> external factor
2. Bears personal responsibility because he is constantly criticizing the failure of others.

Pg. 71: Talks about the commissioner that was installed. Find fault with everything had been done.  
Clandestinely started a stream of misrepresentation to Peking.

Brush it off -> he should have dealt with this problem: "malicious fabrications." Li Hongzhang was the hero of Taiping along with Zuo Zongtang. He just tried to cover his ass (Yung Wing). Brush off what the commissioner reported to the viceroy. That Chen Lanping is a timid man by nature and trembled at the sight of the smallest responsibility.

Don't badmouth your boss. His entire memoir is an exercise on: Everyone is to blame; in English

Pg. 72: Answer to the Viceroy about Wo's accusations.

3. Sensitive information: so failure to send groups over.

1. Pg. 70, 1876... Chen Lan Pin plenipotentiary has political influence, Yung was the commissioner of Education. You want to offend your boss -> Boss

- a. Yung Wing was a Christian. He was flawless in his language. He thinks he's smarter than his boss.
- b. They are trying to stop this mission. Woo Zi Dong.
- c. You have your boss, and your mother trying to stop them. Yung has not enough power to override their decision.

2. Burlingame was this American lawyer to allow Chinese students to study -> Pg. 74: There was just this background prejudice against Chinese people, and nobody took it seriously.

#### Gp 4. United States. Embassy (China), Progress of western education in China and Siam (1880). (Recitation Qn)

Cheshire (Mar 29, 1880) listed no less than five major problems with the Chinese attempts at self-strengthening. What were they? List the ways which Chinese failure at self-strengthening contributed to negative stereotypes of the Chinese in general. Why did most Chinese stop at only pidgin English? How did Cheshire's criticism correspond to the news report by Shanghai Courier (Jan 30, 1880)? In what ways were they different? Why was this so? Were there any notable exceptions to the rule?

Lack of encouragement from the authorities -> students not called for the government or to attend Peking college.

Encourage the study of Math and so on, and focus is on the English language.

Only the rich could afford the time and money to study overseas.

Factors -> China was better -> everything that was self-sufficient.  
Talk about humiliation and where you can find the evidence that the Chinese felt this way -> good for qn 1. It is not something imaginary. It is true -> their intellectuals talked about this constantly. ("our shameful humiliation." (pg. 72))  
"Chinese are more intelligent than barbarians and previously not utilized."

All the other foreigners carry their own translators. Officials and military believe that there's no belief to learn alternative language. -> Qing officers didn't believe in it, they believe they could never learn from the foreigners.

China institutions are superior to Western institutions.  
This American -> he's able to perceive all of this so accurately -> Usually as a foreigner, you can't see many nuances. What do embassies do? They do this report of your country and send it back.

Religious schools that focus on religious studies and not secular knowledge. So Math and Science.

Could not set up French and German Department

Study enough English to get lucrative appointments.

The pidgin English that was developed.

The failure of this self strengthening movement -> the Tatars are more bound or loyal to the government. The Han Chinese are more keen to learn new stuff -> the government think they betrayed the other.

School didn't even come through.

Shanghai Courier respond?

The Chinese felt important to understand Chinese as a medium.

But the Chinese did not want to accept the sciences wholely. The field of studies was not valued by the Chinese themselves.

Turn to pg. 12: Siam.

Siam was trying to reform, they were surrounded by the French and British and were trying to maintain their independence. Vietnam (French) and Burmese (British) The Malays (British).

Gp 5. Charles A. Desnoyers, "Self-Strengthening in the New World: A Chinese Envoy's Travels in America," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 60, No. 2 (May, 1991)

What was the main mission of Chen Lan-ping?

Chinese Education Mission: School in the US, Chinese students study languages. First priority is the language.

Losses are huge -> exclusion controversy -> dissolution of the education mission. Related to the Chinese people living in the US. He didn't make any progress.

Why he didn't make any progress -> racial prejudice complication

-> Chinese Question -> Pg. 212 -> attacks would happen, (lynching coolies) and traditionally, we know in 1960s, they lynched the African Americans. The Chinese were brought in huge numbers.

He was unable to converse in English.

The Japanese also did the same mission, same period of time. But the Japanese side went all out to learn English. Chen did not do so. They sort of reserved learning English for lesser people like Yungwing. The high officials did not do so.

They will try to learn a little bit of English. The results could be seen in the Sino-Japanese War.

To what extent was he successful in his mission? How far would you say that racial prejudice had a large part in complicating his work? Why do you think Chen's views of America remained "naive"?

## Optional

Rowe, China's last empire : the great Qing (HUP, 2009)

Why and how did regional powers grow at the expense of the central government?

Xianfeng Emperor was busy (being depressed) and there was a faction struggle.

"The process of decentralization grew out of regional armies, especially those from Hunan and Anhui, that were personally loyal to their commanders rather than to the throne or the empire as a whole."

"These armies were supported by extraordinary revenues, most notably the transit tax on commercial goods." (pg. 205)

"Only a small percentage was every effectively remitted upward to the throne."

"Seguieng into such posts, of course, gave these men control over collection of the one source of revenue that had escaped them in the past... the weakened Qing court gradually lost many of the other checks and balances over its most powerful regional officials."(pg. 206)

Why did Rowe use the term "refeudalization"?

Both centralization of authority under the government and feudalism paid to one's masters were subsumed under the same head. (Pg. 208)

In what ways was the Sino-Japanese war a greater disaster than the Opium War?

Loss of face

"Li Hongzhang's Anhui's Army and his Beiyang Navy, which he had tried systematically to build up since the 1870s, competing unsuccessfully for funding against the Inner Asian campaigns of Zuo Zongtang and the luxury spending of the empress dowager... they were technologically inferior to their Japanese Adversaries in many key areas. (pg. 229)

"Li's army was totally routed"

"Ever since the war, the focus of Chinese foreign policy has been to undo its results whereas the focus of Japanese foreign policy had been to confirm them."

"yet more broadly, the war showed the world for the first time how astonishingly weak the Great Qing Empire -- which had been aggressively flexing its muscles around its peripheries for several decades -- really was."

"flood of imperialism across East Asia."

Elman, "Naval Warfare and the Refraction of China's Self-Strengthening Reforms into Scientific and Technological Failure, 1865-1895," (presentation)

Why did Jiangnan Arsenal cease to be a shipyard after 1885? (295ff.)

"the Chinese fleet of iron and wooden ships quickly fell behind the new ironclad ships of Europe."

"Chinese training could not keep pace with Western technological progress."

"difficulty of transporting iron and coal from inland provinces to make steel in coastal China"

"imported steel remained prohibitively expensive to make the ships domestically."

"Jiangnan Arsenal adapted its machinery to produce the most advanced foreign guns and small arms for military use."

What does this say about resource allocation? What are the main arguments of Elman?

Resource allocation was strongly influenced by interest. As seen in the Fuzhou Yard saga, "The yard also faced a curtailment of operating funds due to the decline of interest by Beijing and provincial officials."

Elman's argument - > that China had the prospects of doing well, and that the idea that the Self-Strengthening Reforms were a failure, as they won Qing interest (when they had.)

What was the significance of "the gap between China and Europe had been closed technologically" (317ff.)

It wasn't that China was backward, but that "1) the political and regional disorganization of the empire" such that there were various shipyards/officers competing for too few resources. And "naval personnel were insufficiently trained and had a poor grasp of modern naval strategy."

What do you think Elman mean in "the construction of China's backwardness?"

Superstition, opium and Civil Examinations. According to Allen, "Native studies failed to grasp the universal lessons of modern science" and lacked physics.

It needed to be backward for the 'missionaries' to make their case.

"Impatient perspectives of China's efforts to westernize after 1865, unfortunately, underestimate the crucial role the missionary translation of science, the industrialization in the arsenals, and the new government schools played in the emergence of modern science and technology."

Such that the backwardness is "an artefact of the impact of the Sino-Japanese War after 1895.

# Lecture

Monday, June 10, 2019      4:00 PM

Self-Strengthening Reforms.

自强

Wong Feihung -> Protagonist from Southern China who has this phenomenal agility. Similar movies in India -> about cricketing. It's about how China will come up stronger. It's a bit like a person with OCD.

They are sensitive about sex, and anything that is conservative.

Our text from Freud -> those who were suffering from some anxiety. They are always thinking about sex. That's because sex preoccupies their mind all the time. Similar analogy for China -> language about self-strengthening is because China got whooped by internal and external disputes. If not for Zeng Guofan -> not to do anything, tell Li Hongzhang to disband the armies.

Usually people do not disband their armies.

China was having serious problems -> serious reforms. But successful?

1. Why the need for reform.
2. What are the patterns for reform
3. Obstacles for Reform
4. External Impact
  - a. What are the external threats they faced in the aftermath of this.

In the Qing Dynasty -> three periods of reform

1. Self strengthening 1865-1890
  - a. Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang
2. Hundred Day's Reform 1898 (Next Lecture)
  - a. Kang Yuwei, Liang Qichao
3. Late Qing Reform
  - a. Cixi, Ronglu, Zhang Zhidong, Yuanshikai, Liu Kunyi

Japan started 8 years later in the Meiji Reforms. (1868). Commodore Perry and the Black Ships, to bombard Kyoto.

1877 Satsuma Rebellion

What you have is a parallel universe.

At the end of the 1895, the Japanese succeeded and humiliated the Chinese. They formed the Hundred Days' Reform and the Late Qing Reform, and then why they failed.

They launched a revolution in 1911 when they couldn't take it anymore.

What's the international context?

After the sacking of Beijing in the Second Opium War (1860), foreign powers decided to preserve integrity of China

Showed that China was the sick man of the East

International Law as basis of new relationship

Treaty Port Privilege -> most favored nation clause

Foreigners encroached on China Frontiers: Nepal, Burma, Vietnam, Korea.

China was the regional hegemon, the states that said 'you're the bigger brother'

Territorial integrity came under threat

1884 with France -> China loses Vietnam

1895 with Japan -> China lost Japan

(Show British comics of Japan and China)

The comics were printed -> NYC (Digital Humanities)

And immediately caused a firestorm in MIT because a lot of China students were angry for uploading this.

Two of the professors in MIT, Downton were involved in this firestorm of media controversy.  
This is the event that was more than a century old, no intention of humiliating China.  
These were the comics that the Chinese produced about the external armies

## 1. Why the need for reform?

They used the Gatling Guns against the Gansu Rebellions. They just needed to equip their regiment with these guns.

Feng Guifen -> Assistant to Lin Zexu. He reflected on his years, talked about how China lost both opium wars.

The Western learning, Lin Zexu told him to get the materials.

"Western books on mathematics, mechanics, optics, light, chemistry and other subjects... contain the best principles of the natural sciences."

He advised that a number of Western teachers be hired

Teach their languages to a select number of outstanding Chinese students

Found favor with Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan.

Zeng Guofan (1862)

- "considering the reform of government service and the securing of men of ability as urgent tasks, and then regard learning to make explosive shells and steamships and other instruments as the work of first importance. If only we could possess all their superior techniques, then we would have the means to return their favors when they are obedient."

Li Hongzhang

Pointed out how successful the Japanese were learning from the West

"If we have nothing with which to make ourselves strong, then the Japanese will imitate the Westerners and will share the Westerners' sources of profits" -> to target China

門徒

Officials in the Tsungli Yamen advised the Emperor:

"We should seize the opportunity, at a time when in the southern provinces our military power is in great ascendancy and foreigners are delighted to show us their superior techniques, to make a substantial study of all kinds of foreign machines and weapons in order to learn their secret completely... The friendliness or opposition of foreigners always depends upon the strength or weakness of China."

Sometimes when you read -> put in modern context -> still rings true. Because nobody respects you if you do not respect yourself. Only in a position of strength.

In the context of the Trade Wars -> Huawei -> It seems that seemingly not able to use Google Android System. When can you practice that? When the other has a monopoly over something. We are going to create app stores and whatever. It shows a clear understanding -> you cannot afford to buy another system's things.

For Singaporeans -> what was the first industry -> Weapons -> CIS (Chartered Industry Singapore) -> Bullets (M-16)

## 2. Patterns of Reform

What are the things that China embarked upon?

There was little agreement on pattern of reforms

They were about to win the Taiping Rebellion

The entire Jiangnan was in a mess

Taxes were in a shit space

- i. Only rehabilitation of areas devastated by Taiping
- ii. Restore gentry lands [only partially successful]

### iii. Modern weapons against rebellions

First weapon they made -> Gatling Gun -> used on internal enemies. This has always been the concern -> internal enemies.

First Period (1861 - 1872)

-scientific knowledge, technological education.

Second Period (1872-1885)

-Industrial phase, improved infrastructure i.e. Roads, telegraph lines

Meiji Emperor had a lot of capable helping him, completed both in 9 years.

China had a lot of power struggles.

Let's take a look at the famous things.

1. Jiangnan Arsenal (1865)
2. Fuzhou Naval Dockyard (1867)
3. Telegraph administration
4. Imperial Maritime Customs
5. Imperial Bank of China

Government Departments

1. Tsungli Yamen (Zongli Yamen)
  - a. China's new Foreign Office
2. Tungwen Kuan (Tongwen Guan)
  - a. Training of interpreters
  - b. Train people to learn a foreign language.
  - c. William A. P. Martin 1865

You can imagine all the diplomats or those who do foreign business will come from that university.

They employed people like Martin

Official Position.

1. Officially sponsored Industrialization
  - a. Guandu Shangban
  - b. I will supervise you to do your industrial miracles
  - c. Li Hongzhang and Zhang zhidong
2. Kaiping Henan Mines 1878
3. Wuhan Steelworks
4. Tianjin Machine factory (1870)
5. Textile mills, cement, glass, paper

China Merchants' Steamship Navigation Company

Hanyang Iron and Steel Mills

Zeng Guofan has little income revenue in the devastation

Li Hongzhang became a governor, all his protégé become governors.

How to get money? Three sources of revenue -> 11,000 per year (shit) from Court

Trade between provinces -> second source of revenue

Third source -> your officials (district officers will give you a kickback. Like a sum of money supposedly is the taxes they collected from their district as a gift. It is corruption, but it depends on how the governor uses it)

A lot of the money is used to grease palms.

Although Zeng Guofan is not corrupt, he needs to get permission from the Empress Dowager.

He doesn't have a point of contact. Before he reaches her, he would pass this guy. He needs so much money for bribery -> five girls and 2 boys -> no helpers.

As more and more money comes to him -> invariably so much money passes through his hands.

Chinese government sent overseas Scholars ->

1872: 120 teenagers sent abroad to US schools; halt in 1881 (The students learn baseball instead of Confucius)

A handful also sent abroad for training in shipyards and arsenals  
Xu Jianyin, Hua Hengfang, and Xu Shou were the earliest Chinese staff of the translation office of the Jiangnan Arsenal

### 3. Obstacles to Reform

Now Li Hongzhang advocates reform, but an eye to his own wealth. He is focused on wealth gathering is because he needs to pay people. But slowly, the percentage... "Every dog that barks for Li is fat"

#### Interpretations from US scholars

1. Aim and bias was too restricted and did not enable China to strengthen itself freely (Joseph Levenson)
2. Fundamental flaw in this was that Confucianism did not respect material gain, the very pillar on which development would be based (Mary Wright)
3. Capitalism could not be introduced successfully in China, which hindered its economic progress (Frederic Wakeman)
4. These are giants in this field, not because Dr. Pang agreed with them.

What are the most important things in the aftermath of the Opium War

Prince Gong and Wen Xiang.

1. They murdered all their regents to consolidate the power.
2. Prince gong helped the dowager.
3. Besides being cosmopolitan and well-spoken. Open-minded.
4. Established the Zongli Yamen and the Tongwen Guan (Foreign Affairs)
5. Try to modernize a small force of bannerman.

#### Empress Dowager Cixi

1. He didn't respect her enough.
2. Because he's a product of a chauvinistic society
3. Empress Dowager has the imaginary dick
4. She was jealous of the Prince Gong (after being met with disrespect)
5. Utilizes several things
  - a. Restore the conservatives
  - b. (Enemies of Prince Gong). She made sure that the conservatives could cause trouble to Prince Gong
  - c. Balance against Yixin's reformers
  - d. Jie Dou Sha Ren
6. Yixin dismissed in 1865 and 1873
  - a. Mental Castration
7. Gong unable to give full support to Li Hongzhang's reforms.
8. Prince Gong was the one that supported her. Ruthlessness of Empress Dowager.

#### Conservative Faction

1. Prince Chuan Yixuan (xenophobia)
2. Wang Tonghe (ideologues)
3. Wo Ren
  - a. Disrupted Wen Xiang's move to recruit scholars into foreign service
  - b. Argued that Foreign technology -- Daoist magic, scorned foreign teachers
  - c. Discouraged people from foreign studies.
  - d. Was a Manchu, talked about how western technology corrode moral fabric of society
  - e. "If these subjects are going to be taught by Westerners as regular studies, the damage will be great... the way to establish a nation is to lay emphasis on propriety and righteousness, not on power and plotting. The fundamental effort lies in the minds of the people, not in the techniques
  - f. "Chinese learning as the base, Western studies on the side"

Students saw no guarantees that William A. P. Martin's curriculum

1. "They pursued their English studies in a very perfunctory spirit, the greater part of their time and energy in being Chinese"

Self-Strengthening movement never really took off (Spence)

1. A succession of experiments than a movement
  - a. Isolated phenomena
2. Lack of support from the imperial government
  - a. Immanuel Hsu
3. Chinese Government was unwilling to commit itself
  - a. Complete reevaluation of the Qing economic and educational system
  - b. Real Industrial breakthrough: Efficient government coordination of projects)
  - c. Or courageous entrepreneurs with freedom of action and access to fluid capital
  - d. Both were lacking
  - e. (Money used from profits were used for R & R)
4. Work was left to the local officials
  - a. Zhang Zhidong
    - i. Likes to buy machinery, and make no use of it.
    - ii. Iron mill away from running water.
    - iii. Viceroy of Hubei and Hunan reform
    - iv. Meekly followed the empress dowagers
    - v. Noted for his very impractical schemes
    - vi. Buy much machinery and allowed it to rust and go to waste
    - vii. Plunged into projects without any understanding of their complexity
    - viii. The reformers were not well-coordinated
    - ix. Chinese not sold the best by the Westerners
5. Bad government participation
  - a. "official supervision and merchant management"
  - b. Dependent on government funds = more government interference
  - c. Decisions by unqualified officials
6. Reform movement marred by extreme corruption
  - a. Li Hongzhang: richest man in the world
  - b. Used his official power to add to his wealth; so much so that a particular Chinese proverb of the time runs: "Every dog that barks for Li is fat." (Miller, 325)
    - i. Owns several silk stores, pawnshops all over the empire, hundreds of thousands of acres of land
    - c. "During his long official career, he had always an eye to his own interests, his own purse." (Charles D. Tenney, 1888)
    - d. Gentry spearheading the initiative did it for personal gain
    - e. Not for the nation's benefit.
4. External Impact
  - a. Treaty of Shimonoseki 1895
    - i. Tussle over Control of Korea
    - ii. China was not supported by US and Britain
    - iii. China Lost land and sea battles
    - iv. Indemnity of 230 million taels
      - 1) Reinvest to Imperial Japanese Army
      - 2) Have to loan at high interest from America
    - v. Japanese manufacture in China
    - vi. Cession of Taiwan and Liuqiu
    - vii. Opening of Chongqing, Suzhou, Hangzhou to trade
  - b. China had failed to save herself from foreign encroachments
    - i. Scatter-approach adoption of Western science and armaments
    - ii. Russia were pressing in on the north
    - iii. British ensconced in on the Yangtze

- iv. Germans in Shandong
  - v. French in Southern China
  - vi. Apalling humiliation by the foreigners
5. Assessment of Self-Strengthening
- a. Aim of the movement was not economic growth, but rather economic stability
  - b. Last great effort to reassert the validity of Chinese traditional institutions
  - c. Frances V. Moulder -" Burden of Western intervention was much heavier in China [than Japan]

#### Four Major Takeaways

- 1. Overseas Chinese scholars
- 2. Link between Confucianism and Reofrm
- 3. Zhong xue wei ti, xi xue wei yong

# Lecture

Monday, June 17, 2019 4:06 PM

Nobody denied Sun's charisma. The person who had this kind of charisma: Sukarno. Indonesian leader. Mesmerize stadium of 50 000. In World War II, demagogue who came close was Hitler himself, where he talks, the energy level is discernable. They all display the same principle: great magnetism, stage presence and huge self-assurance. Religious preachers and political leaders -> great stage presence.

We're talking about the 1911 revolution. If you go to North America -> won't say anything about overseas Chinese. We're talking about it because Sun was influential with every part of Southeast Asia.

People will donate money.

To tackle this question -> view it as a mystery -> to make it more interesting. The end of the dynasty came suddenly: who was responsible for it. Who killed the owner or something like that. What we know for sure: because there are a lot of debates. There are a lot of interpretations. When you have so many, need to narrow down to what are the facts that nobody debates.

## **Popular feeling against the dynasty raising.**

Local uprising in the city of Wuhan in October 1911.

Fifteen provinces announced their independence during these seven weeks

Provincial assemblies across China

A republic

Sun Yat Sen for president

Sun Yat Sen didn't plan this. The ten uprisings -> spectacular failures, no more than 500 participated. Spectacular in money laundering that the overseas Chinese was successful. Nothing to do with Sun: what does it say? What it does say is that the 10 uprisings lay the foundation of feelings amongst the people who identified Sun as the epitome/emblem of revolution.

This is when he succeeded. People don't even need to think.

## **A massive civil war was avoided.**

What we had then was Yuan Shikai, leader of China's most powerful army. He decided to join the revolutionaries in an expedient way. Only Yuan could force the emperor to abdicate and he did. The abdication was on 12 February 1912, and Puyi, the 6 years old abdicated. Someone decisive, who can influence the change. He decided to go with the revolutionaries.

Yuan held the advantage:

He had better troops than revolutionaries

Foreign backing. If the Qing fell to the revolutionaries, the foreigners were afraid that they would not retain indemnities, so they want someone who had the ancien regime

Sun turned the presidency over to Yuan in return for promises that Yuan would move the capital to Nanjing.

## **Scope of Lecture**

3 schools of thought

Big picture

Context

Background

Political Reform

Changes in Qing society

Overseas centers

## **Heroic (Taiwan) emphasizing the revolutionary heroism of a few leaders**

The narrative was that Sun and his followers were far-sighted and capable men and women

Lost access to power after 1912 due to the treachery of Yuan Shikai.  
Retelling by KMT was of heroic story of sacrifice, struggle and victory against the odds.  
Revolutionaries regrouped under Sun to fight for national unification  
1911 Revolution was a prologue to the national revolution of the 1920s: Chiang was seen as the successor to Sun's thought

All narratives have their own problems. There are some elements of truth, and gaps.  
In this interpretation, the main problem is the exaggeration of the virtues of Sun and the evils of Yuan.  
Especially the virtues of Sun.  
Qing army commanders were unwilling to join the revolution if not for the fact they were controlled by Yuan. There were some that were influenced but not all. The revolutionaries were the minority, and Yuan put his stamp of approval. He was someone from the ancien regime, people were more comfortable.  
The Chinese elites -- gentry and wealthy merchants saw no reason to prefer the Qing over the revolutionaries  
Face of the 1911 Revolution belonged to Yuan Shikai (Jackie Chan movie showed the involvement of Yuan very well.)

### **Marxist interpretations of 1911**

Mainland China will use Marxist lens to examine the whole thing. They agreed with the heroic stance, because you notice that Sun was respected in CCCP. He talks about the bourgeoisie revolution, followed by the proletariat revolution. So it's their job to finish the revolution.  
He accepts the first school but puts the events in a large social framework. Marxist interpretation always values the social background. This is valuable because traditionally, politicians look at the elite. It brings a useful element. Mainland China talks about the 1911 as the "bourgeois" phase of the rebellion against a backward and "feudal" monarchical depotism.  
Communism revolution as heir to the 1911 revolution, and derives legitimacy from it. Everybody wants to be the heir.  
The 1911 Revolution became incomplete, because it fails to attack feudal forces in the country side. The ideology of Bourgeois ideology of nationalism, and points out areas of conflict between the government and local elites.

There are some problems:

Mainly because the Marxist interpretation, putting the Sun as representing new social forces, and Yuan represented feudalism. If not for Yuan casting his dice, the revolution might not have happened. History was inconvenient.

But class structure during the late Qing was extraordinary fluid

The lines between modern bourgeoisie and traditional merchant were hazy

Hybrid official-merchant

Industry 6-7% of agricultural investment [\$80 m]

City gentry retained ownership of land

Marxism was talking about an industrialized society -> China was agriculturalist. This hybrid official-merchant was manifested everywhere: representing the Qing and business interests.

Huawei CEO -> PLA officer. Set up his business.

China's industrial context was still in the infancy.

(No worker for Marxism)

### **Western historians and social scientists**

We looked at long term, and we look at French school -> look at patterns, and used the useful elements from the interpretation into it. Interpretations is about standing on the shoulders of giants.  
The key role then is this emphasis on conservative social forces in the overthrow of the Qing.

Ultimately, they overthrew, but hesitated over time

Devolution of central power to the provinces and counties.

Further militarization of Chinese society.

You find that every province was militarized, provinces fighting against each other.

They concluded, as opposed to heroic Sun, but that 1911 was not a product of deliberate creative action

The old system collapsed due to its decay.

### **Complicated picture**

The local elite feared popular violence. If your grandfather lived through the Taiping Rebellion, in the aftermath of the 1911 rebellion. You're not going to go for the rebellion. You're going to be very conservative.

Local revolutionaries do not attain power; don't want someone too radical.

-Feared popular violence

-make sure the radicals who had fermented the revolution did not claim power

-Opposed land reforms and unions

They were really conservative, and looked for Yuan as representative of their own issues.

If you have the opportunity -> go to Wuhan.

### **Political Reforms**

This part, after the late Qing Reforms. They had to sign the Shimonoseki in 1895. The Japanese rubbed their noses in the dirt. This was significant.

Admiral Ting of the Chinese forces committed suicide. 10 officers leading the Chinese forces also executed because they were blamed for the loss. The Chinese intellectuals were beginning to realize that the self-strengthening reforms were not enough to pick over the surface of Western technology. China should look to the dynamics, contempt poured over the conservatives.

Famous reformer Tan SiTong wrote to a friend. "You have never dreamed of or seen the beauty and perfection of Western legal systems and political institutions." Why does he dare to say that? Because China lost because it did superficial reforms. He was executed in 1898. He was part of the members of the Hundred Days Reform.

What happened? The emperor: Guangxu, with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. He launched comprehensive 'self-strengthening' and Empress Dowager: seemingly attacked.

The Hundred Days Reform failed (even as a response to the Shimonoseki) and Yuan betrayed the emperor, by revealing the list to the Empress Dowager.

### **Reforms created forces demanding further changes**

China faced with another crisis:

Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Shandong people, promised to have some mystical power. Killed some Christians, and the foreign powers intervened, looted the Summer Palace, and Chinese paid the indemnities. They had to be paid 450 million taels, to be repaid over 39 years.

They used the money to bring in scholars except for Japan. Japan used the money to modernize their army in the Sino-Japanese War.

Empress Dowager launched the Third phase, Xinheng Reforms. It would also prove a failure because after this was the 1911 Revolution

She agreed to everything the Hundred Days Reform proposed.

Provincial Level elections

National assembly

Constitutional monarch

(From Xu Shuang)

### **Dedicated to ending Qing Dynasty**

The Qing government proven to be inept, who killed off the reformers, exiled the Emperor. The intellectuals had no hope for the Qing. The reformers were dedicated to bringing down the government. They were disappointed.

Famous example: Revolutionary Sun Yatsen. (1855-1925)

He began to gain a lot of respect amongst the elite.

In China, we're still talking about an agrarian society, 10% elites.

He had a reputation as a patriotic figure dedicated to a modern republic. Most people don't support

these people.

High prestige among many of the emerging middle-class elites in China.

Sun Yatsen had no qualms in cooperating with everyone in order to bring down the Qing: even the Japanese.

Raising sponsorship and support from a wide-ranging combination of diaspora Chinese, the newly emergent middle class and traditional secret societies.

A lot of people followed him.

1. Chinese version of Isis Bomber: Wu Yue-> tried to bomb the provincial government -> the thing go off prematurely. Failed bombing attack in 1905.
  - a. In today's parlance: he's been radicalized.
  - b. 侠客 : 十步杀一人 , 千里不留行
  - c. A lot of movies in this greater China world -> Thanks to Jin Yong
2. Female heroes : Qiu Jin
3. Wei Shencai
  - a. Coolie/tin miner in Malaya
  - b. Came to Singapore for a visit and joined the TMH in 1907.
  - c. It was full of elites.
  - d. He assassinated the Manchu governor of Canton, Fu Qi
  - e. Five days before the scheduled Canton revolt, April 8th 1911.
  - f. Spoilt the market, and alerted to Sun's uprising.

### **Changes in Late Qing Society**

Local elites took charge of the post-Boxer reforms, but they were not revolutionaries. They were shifting to a new kind of critical conditional loyalty.

(Shifting loyalties to whoever provided benefits)

These are the elites who really mattered.

### **1905 abolition of examinations**

Huge number of angry local elites -> they study for this exam.

Government abolished their raison d'etre at a stroke. It was worse when you're not a mind for business

Without some link to the imperial center, rural elites lost their legitimacy

Many young Chinese began to study in Japan, Western Europe, and the United States.

Luxun in 1905, Zhou Enlai in Japan, 1918.

### **Fusion: Successful gentry and merchants.**

On the eve of 1911 Revolutions. Elites were taking part in trade. Once you abolished reforms, They become managers of quasi-public companies, guilds, water control associations -> radicalized hot spots.

A lot of people talked about the country in public spheres, in tea houses, in journals. In the Imagined Community (of Benedict Andersen) -> Beijing -> talked about the birds

Public sphere is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state" (Jürgen Habermas, 1962: 176)

This galvanized all these elites.

### **Overseas Centers 华侨为革命之母**

The Huaqiao -> Chinese overseas.

Interestingly, the first overseas centre of revolt was in Japan. They won the Sino-Japanese War, a lot of Chinese go back to learn.

There were sympathetic Japanese. 7000 Chinese students in Tokyo

Turned to all kinds of new schools and new careers from soldiers and police to accountants and doctors. This is called the professionalization (rather than the imperial examination style on Confucius and the Five classics)

Japan was desirable to Chinese: Cheaper; culturally less alien and the language easier to read.

It was largely free to discuss anything

Japanese translations: Western thinkers from Rousseau to Marx.

Wang Jingwei: famous, was in Singapore

Xu Xueqiu

Sun went to Japan, had numerous mistress. At every significant waystation: 1886-1970 -> Japanese conspiracy -> Otsuki Kaoru

"In the past, both Taiwan and China wanted to hide or avoid this piece of history, but there is no need to now. The strength of great men in history lies in the truth. Sun Yatsen was a man, not a god."

### **Awakening of nationalism**

Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao escaped to Japan to get reforms. These people came up against Sun and his revolutionaries.

These two were trying to gain money from the same pool to buy arms to aim for insurrection in China.

In Singapore and Penang -> important areas for Sun.

In Penang -> another lady: Chen Cuifen, who was an item: Admin manager and transport. They never denied their relationship. Nobody called him out.

Tong Meng Hui branch in Singapore in 1906; others in Malaya

Novel methods of political mobilization, organization and indoctrination

Competed in the area of education

Through the press, held mass rallies and struggled for control of social organizations

Organized reading clubs and popular travelling drama troupes.

### **Singapore and Malaya were important to Sun as a source of funds and manpower**

Appeal to the emotions

Seen as suppliers of money

But moved to Penang in 1910

### **Strengthened a sense of a new and stronger Chinese national identity?**

Men and money for the heroic bungling of the April 1911 putsch in Canton

More money for independent provincial governments in Fujian and Kwangtung

Limited support for Sun's movement up to the Wuchang Uprising

Poorer classes were generally more responsive

Revolutionary violence: unsettling for overseas merchants

Suddenly wider especially after Wuchang.

In terms of people who donated to TMH: the poorer people usually donated, but the richer people were wary. Only when the 1911 revolution in Wuhan was successful did they decide to donate more money.

Song Qingling never remarried, and never left China at all.

### **Questioning Nanyang Significance**

Ultimately, they were all failures

Sun's constant agitation and presence did radicalize significant portions of Chinese in China

That's why many provincial assemblies followed their example

Teo Eng Hock : criticized overseas Chinese.

Flashing their previous revolutionary involvement

A badge of honor to secure positions and to climb the career ladder

Ask themselves whether they actually earned the honor.

Teo was one of the most fervent supporters.

What was inconvenient to say: Street for Mistresses.

Teo was the Rubber Magnate: Began Revolutionary newspaper, 1903; joined the TMH.

**Hu Hanmin: belittled overseas involvement**

Limitans of their previous revolutionary work and understanding of the party

Many Overseas Chinese were superstitious

Fooled by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao's Protect Emperor party

Overly rated the importance of titles and officials.

Post-revolutionary era, Nanyang Chinese had lost their revolutionary Spirit

Involved only for money and power

Turning disunited

Coming under the influence of the Reorganization Clique (of the KMT)

Populist -> student driven

Wang Ching-wei faction

Baleful influence of the Communist Part of China

## Tutorial

Tuesday, June 18, 2019 1:20 PM

The study of how history is being created and written at the time. How people write their memoirs, how they remember. Why give more emphasis on this or that.

The screenshot shows a web browser window with multiple tabs open. The active tab displays a presentation slide with the title "Sun-centered orthodoxy". Below the title is a bulleted list of two points:

- History centered around Sun Yat-sen
- Need for credibility after failed Second Revolution

To the right of the list is an image of a book cover titled "SUN YAT-SEN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION" by HAROLD Z. SCHIFFRIN. The book cover features a portrait of Sun Yat-sen.

Sun being the central figure, how he paved the role to education. This is following the orthodoxy. It's a narrative, a central figure, with the TMH leading to revolution.

Orthodoxy -> main story or main narrative. The Singapore Story orthodoxy is set up by LKY.

Why this order came about was after the failure in the 2nd revolution, Yuan Shikai declared his emperor, Sun tried to lead a second revolution and failed and he needed to raise his political parity, to make sure he is still strong. To show that he's a great leader who is able to make the revolution a success.

Although that was what history was written about, it's not entirely true.

The screenshot shows a web browser window with multiple tabs open. The active tab displays a presentation slide with the title "The reality of the Xingzhonghui". Below the title is a bulleted list of three points:

- Yang Qu-yun had control of finances
- He Qi was in charge of policies
- “Pragmatism” & “flexibility”

To the right of the list is an image of the same book cover as the previous slide, titled "SUN YAT-SEN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION" by HAROLD Z. SCHIFFRIN. The book cover features a portrait of Sun Yat-sen.

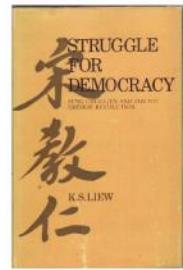
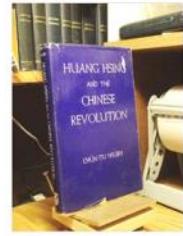
Predecessor of the TMH. He wasn't really the leader, his finances were in charge of someone else.

They try to make a weak argument that he's pragmatic and flexible, but he's not really the big leader he was out to be.  
There were other books that didn't follow the orthodoxy.

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## Unorthodox works

- Tongmenghui disharmony
- Sun's “dictatorial and intransigent” leadership
- Centrifugal tendencies
- Gongjinhui



This book was written by son-in-law of Huang. It's usually how big and significant. He tries to elevate Huang Xing as equal to Sun Yet Sun. It still has the same story. Of the TMH being united, going together and performing the Revolution. The narrative is still very similar. This is not a very good.

KSLiew. Song Jiaoren. -> Teacher. It's the exposé of the TMH. He was upset at SYS because he was trying to push his decisions. Raising the money, so everyone should listen to him. Dictatorial and intransigent leadership. There's this Gongjinhui, a different central branch. There's a lot of factions. The Wuchang Uprising, it's not by SYS's side, but Central Chinese branch.

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**Sun-centered Orthodoxy**

- Much of Chinese history of and around the 1911 period describes Sun Yat-sen as the leader of a united Tongmenghui which single-handedly overthrew the Qing Dynasty
- This was due to the backlash that Sun faced after the failure of his "Second Revolution" - Sun had no political legitimacy as a result, which prompted his group to glorify him and paint him as the undisputed leader of the entire revolutionary movement
- This was not entirely true, which is admitted even by scholars who follow the orthodoxy, such as in Schirriff's *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (1968), where he states that Yang Qu-yun had control of the finances of the Xingzhonghui, while Sun deferred to He Qi in "matters of policy and program"

**Unorthodox works**

- *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution* (1961) went against the orthodoxy in a way by claiming that Huang was equal in status to Sun. However, the author, Chun-tu Hsueh, was Huang's son-in-law, which meant that biases were very likely. This work also still followed the orthodoxy in the sense that it claimed that the Tongmenghui was united.
- *Struggle for Democracy* (1971), written by K.S Liew, goes against the orthodoxy in a much stronger fashion by claiming that the Tongmenghui was not united. Liew claims that the Tongmenghui was mostly simply a union of different provinces where the loyalty of party members was to their province rather than to the central leadership (i.e. Sun).
- Furthermore, Liew also claims that there were centrifugal tendencies in the Tongmenghui - Song Jiao-ren was unhappy with Sun's leadership, while there were also efforts to expel Sun from the Tongmenghui.

**Radicalism**

- "by 1911 there seems no separate camp of "radicals" at all, as all join the political struggles on more or less equal terms" (page 152)
- By 1912, Sun Yat-sen and most of his colleagues are appealing for national unity behind Yuan Shih-kai (page 152)

**Revolutionaries and Reformer**

- The revolutionaries were able to establish their front organizations by "simultaneously taking advantage of opportunities afforded by the modernization movement and of the relative degree of freedom traditionally enjoyed by members of the local elite" (page 154)

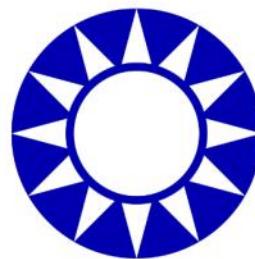
**Relations with the Peasant Masses**

- The student revolutionaries of 1911 and the peasants lived in different worlds and neither were sympathetic with the other" (page 155)
- The revolutionaries "were able to approach the educated society leaders, particularly the transitional segment, from the basis of fairly similar backgrounds and certain shared attitudes". (page 155)
- As "revolutionary romantics," many of the radicals' actions and beliefs were informed by the continuing influence of their traditional education and upbringing. (page 156)
- Conversely, insofar as radicals were "modern," they cut themselves off from the peasantry.

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## Tong Meng Hui

- Secret Society of Chinese
- Was the predecessor of Kuo Ming Tang



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## Radicalism

- Su Bao case of 1903
- Xu Xi-lin and the great female revolutionary Qiu Jin - "heroic sacrifice"



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## Revolutionaries and reformers

- No sharp distinction in China
- Revolution formed by the elites

10 of 23

## Gap between elite and peasantry

- Peasants attacking modern schools for increased tax
- Allying in rather traditional formulae



Your concerns are about something else. Workers will not be concerned. Not about democracy, but that their factories would be shut down. Significantly, the protest leaders have an element of 'nothing to lose'. I doubt so; too smart. It involves a lot of sacrifice.

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## Gap between elite and peasantry

- Cut themselves off from peasantry
- Promised common land ownership, light taxation, small armies and shelter



The author in the original book over emphasized on the conflict. The communist party was proud in the post 49, because they address land ownership. Why would people listen to CCP, but how would they address this. Benefits were transient, but they try to do so.

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## Religious Nature of Revolution

- Conservatism and superstition as fount of revolution
- Religious vs Socialist approach

Revolution could also be seen as a religious revolution. Friedman argued that Conservation and superstition. What you see in the Taiping Rebellion where the peasants rebelled. Return to the starting point. Renewed continuity.

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**Yuan Shi-kai (page 154)**

**Revolutionaries and Reformer**

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- Conversely, insofar as radicals were "modem," they cut themselves off from the peasantry. (page 156)

**Revolution as Religious Restoration**

- In *Backward Toward Revolution: The Chinese Revolutionary Party* (1974), Friedman rejects Rankin's notion that "radicals were hopeless divorced from the peasantry, nor her suggestion that the conservatism of the peasantry made them unrevolutionary" (page 156).
- Friedman argues that "conservatism and superstition of the peasantry could become the very fount of revolution" and explains that revolution in the view of the peasants was a "restoration" (a "return to the mythical starting point") to "renewed community". He also points out that the "peasants' peculiarly 'backward' notion of revolution did not preclude an alliance with the group of revolutionaries around Sun Yat-sen" (page 156-157).
- Chinese Revolutionary Party (CRP): group of "radical intellectuals of ultimate concern" willing to move "backward towards revolution" (page 157)

- CRP (formed by Sun Yat-sen after failure of 1913's Second Revolution) regarded as a step backward from liberal parliamentarianism of Guomindang - CRP's return to secret society formulae and oath of personal loyalty to Sun
- As noted by Liew, Friedman argues that parliamentary democracy was unworkable in China

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- As noted by Liew, Friedman argues that parliamentary democracy was unworkable in China and that revolution required "a high degree of discipline" (page 158). Sun had a fixation on oath, which may have served as instilling "iron military discipline".

**CRP Religious Nature**

- Friedman's theory of revolution and facist conception is greatly similar - by focusing on religion and psychic phenomena instead of on economics, class, or social structure, he cannot analytically distinguish a progressive from a facist revolution
- Spiritual aspect to the revolutionaries' fearless remaking themselves into selfless soldiers "who didn't recognize the word impossible" (pg 160) - poor villagers joining a bandit brotherhood and finding in it "a more universal familiar-religion"
- Friedman's narrative of White Wolf, a bandit, contained evidence for religious conceptualizations of the revolutionary process in action, language or symbol
- Friedman uses White Wolf to discuss about "the familiar crisis in China" and that "villagers experience the revolution as a reknitting of the family" due to the rumor of Huang Xing's marriage to a Japanese princess. Friedman concludes that White Wolf's "major message" was a "ethno-nationalist" message directed against Yuan Shi-kai
- Friedman's approach challenges us to attune to religious language and symbolism in the Chinese revolutionary experience; however if there is no more evidence than what Friedman has presented, it is only a theory fertilized by imaginations

**The Masses**

- "Profound social and economic crisis" was exacerbated by the Qing reform as new tax burden for the lower class and new opportunities for the gentry to advance their administrative and economic position -> Riots & Local Outbreaks (pg 174)
- Formation of the secret societies among the radical intellectuals. (pg 175)
- The lower class secret society members who participated in political protests did not do so as passive pawns of elite manipulators, but because they saw some potential political or economic advantage to be derived from their participation. (pg 175)
- Polarization of classes - Radical Populist (People who fully in favor of most of the reforms - modern schools, New Army, local self government, modern police force etc.) vs. Non-radical(e.g. Conservative landlord military forces (pg 176)

**Contradictions and Dialectics**

- Political Progressive & Social Regressive: Social Regressive** - The mass neither benefited from nor welcomed that increased power was indicated by pre- and post-1911 attacks on the reforms of which elites were both the architects and the benefactors. **Political Progressive** - Constitutionalism, republicanism, and talk of "people's right were unquestionably a political advance over the Confucian monarchy of the Qing. Also, the contradiction between the lofty ideals of the radical intellectuals(e.g. Nationalism, Anarchism etc.) and others have found so prominently displayed in the pages of the revolutionary journals of this period. (pg 181)

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- Two schools of thoughts about the influence of 1911 Revolution.** 1. **The origins of the later Chinese communist revolution** (exists in the form of "isms" or community and cultures) 2. **The development of Warlordism**. (The revolution enhances the power of the gentry and local elites in the process of dynastic collapse. Leading to the development on regionalism and provincialism in modern China.) (pg 179)

**Role of gentry class & rising bourgeoisie in the revolution**

**A. The debate of Ichiko and Wright**

Overall belief:

- Ichiko Chujo: No great change economic and social changes after the revolution

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"the gentry who held the local self-government posts were conservatives and not at all interested in westernization. They were only interested in constitutional reforms for their own self-preservation." (pg.163)

- Wright: the reform is significant in Chinese history and the gentry class also tried to bring in the economic and social changes during that era.
- "the gentry do not seem to have been isolated from the main currents of the time... they were the leaders of the local self-government associations and dominated the provincial assemblies... Resistance to Western encroachment, domestic social reforms, constitutional government." (pg. 164)

- Motivation
  - Ichiko: an instinct for self-preservation
  - Wright: a nationalist urge to strengthen China through constitutional reform
- Significance of social change
  - Ichiko: the gentry remains power until 1949
  - Wright: a new world after the revolution, the young, women, military men, overseas Chinese and industrial workers gaining power and social status
- The viability of Qing reform
  - Ichiko: the elite reform is not in a significant effect, the social order in the late Qing is extremely unstable
  - Wright: a successful self-strengthening would be possible in the long run if there is a strong monarchy

**B) The hypothesis of cleavage between different levels of elites:**

- Urban elites: "...the threat of imperialist partition was both more visible and more real..." "sought to strengthen both China and itself by Westernizing local and national political institution." (pg.167)
- Towns & Xian elites: "was not so active in pressing for local self-government as an answer to the national emergency but did see in these new political forms an ideal opportunity to strengthen and institutionalize its local political power." (pg.167)

**C) Emerging of Bourgeois Class**

- "While in the interior, the fused merchant-gentry stratum trend to prevail, along the coast the bourgeoisie had achieved greater articulation as a distinct class." (pg. 169)
- "In the years before 1911 a 'bourgeois ideology' of nationalism and constitutionalism gained currency, and the bourgeoisie played an important role in the boycotts of foreign goods and the agitation for parliamentary government."
- "There were too few of them and they were too little differentiated from the gentry to be able to free themselves from subordination to them" (pg.169)

**D) Regional differences in the importance of bourgeoisie vs the Gentry**

- "In Canton, gentry and merchants seem to be in separate camps. In Shanghai, the two seem well merged, although in that most commercialized of Chinese cities, the role of the bourgeoisie in the alliance seems stronger than in any other place"
- "In the North, as one moves further from China's great commercial centers, the domination of officials and gentry seems even more pronounced."

Page 3 of 3 1588 words

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experience like revolution as a reminder of the family due to the family of White Wolf's marriage to a Japanese princess. Friedman concludes that White Wolf's "major message" was a "ethno-nationalist" message directed against Yuan Shikai

- Friedman's approach challenges us to attune to religious language and symbolism in the Chinese revolutionary experience; however if there is no more evidence than what Friedman has presented, it is only a theory fertilized by imaginations

**The Masses**

- 'Profound social and economic crisis' was exacerbated by the Qing reform as new tax burden for the lower class and new opportunities for the gentry to advance their administrative and economic position -> Riots & Local Outbreaks (pg 174)
- Formation of the secret societies among the radical intellectuals. (pg 175)
- The lower class secret society members who participated in political protests did not do so as passive pawns of elite manipulators, but because they saw some potential political or economic advantage to be derived from their participation. (pg 175)
- Polarization of classes - Radical Populist (People who fully in favor of most of the reforms - modern schools, New Army, local self government, modern police force etc.) vs. Non-radical (e.g. Conservative landlord military forces (pg 176)

**Contradictions and Dialectics**

- Political Progressive & Social Regressive: Social Regressive** - The mass neither benefited from nor welcomed that increased power was indicated by pre- and post-1911 attacks on the reforms of which elites were both the architects and the benefactors. **Political Progressive** - Constitutionalism, republicanism, and talk of "people's right were unquestionably a political advance over the Confucian monarchy of the Qing. Also, the contradiction between the lofty ideals of the radical intellectuals (e.g. Nationalism, Anarchism etc.) and others have found so prominently displayed in the pages of the revolutionary journals of this period. (pg 181)
- Two schools of thoughts about the influence of 1911 Revolution.** 1. **The origins of the later Chinese communist revolution** (exists in the form of "isms" or community and cultures) 2. **The development of Warlordism**. (The revolution enhances the power of the gentry and local elites in the process of dynastic collapse. Leading to the development on regionalism and provincialism in modern China.) (pg 179)

**Role of gentry class & rising bourgeoisie in the revolution**

**A. The debate of Ichiko and Wright**

Overall belief:

- Ichiko Chujo: No great change economic and social changes after the revolution

**B) The hypothesis of cleavage between different levels of elites:**

**C) Emerging of Bourgeois Class**

**D) Regional differences in the importance of bourgeoisie vs the Gentry**

**Cleavage between Elites**

- Urban elites: westernizing local and national political institution
- Towns & Xian elites: ideal opportunity to strengthen and institutionalize its local political power

**A Nascent Bourgeoisie**

- Emerging of commercial bourgeois class
- Popularity of “bourgeois ideology” of nationalism and constitutionalism
- Too weak for the leading role

**Bourgeoisies vs Gentry**

- Canton: separate camps
- Shanghai: well-merged and the role of the bourgeoisie in the alliance was stronger

**Bourgeoisies vs Gentry**

- Contradiction inherent in the society

“The social categories overlap, and the members of certain social groups do not always act as anticipated...” (p.g 173)

The masses

- Social & Economic Crisis -> Riots & Local Outbreak
- Formation of secret societies

Contradictions and Dialectics

- Two schools of thoughts:
  1. The origins of the later Chinese communist revolution
  2. The development of Warlordism

#### The Masses

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# Lecture

Monday, June 24, 2019 4:10 PM

Crisis of the Republic  
May Fourth Movement  
Politics, new political solutions  
Collapsing into Warlordism.

There's this association with patriotism and nationalism. Patriotism could be just your ethnic group.  
Example: in Ming Dynasty, if you're talking about loving your country, it's about Han Chinese.

Today, Nationalism encompasses a lot of other groups. The outer Mongolians who are descendants of the Mongols.

How do the Chinese, at least the ethnic Han, understand Patriotism?

Here are some quotes:

That are common when they talk about the form of nationalism in mainland China.

What are some of the ideas of nationalism? Ideas that are shared by many people: the Imagined Community. The ideas where if you are Chinese culturally, you may be ethnically Chinese, you may not know this. Who is Fan Zhongyan?

After 1911: 37 years failure and broken promises, poverty, corruption, and China's weakness in the international system (CCP's interpretation)

Whenever we talk about Germany post WWI, Weimar is associated with corruption, but also with the greatest bloom of creativity happened in Germany. It cleared space for new ideas and a powerful cultural renaissance. With unstable political situation comes creativity.

"Freedom of speech and cultural production -- richer than any era in Chinese history"

**The new "Republic of China was not Republican"**

Old Qing bureaucrats simply stayed in their jobs. E.g. FP & Education  
Culture, society and the economy seemingly unchanged.

When CCP took power in China, a lot of the power were nationalist.  
It seems unchanged.

In reality, there was a seismic change.

The seismic change came in terms of thinking: the word Revolution became a common word for change. The threshold had been breached.

**Yuan Shi-kai ended the Republican experiment**

Sun Yatsen made way for the militarist leader Yuan Shikai (12 Feb 12)

In Aug 1912, China held its first general election: KMT -- largest party

Parliamentary democracy did not last long

KMT PM-in-waiting was assassinated at Shanghai railway station (Mar 1913) by YSK  
SYS was seemingly eclipsed.

**Nationalist Party itself was outlawed.**

Sun had to flee to exile in Japan

Lack of parliamentary representation.

**Japan's imperialistic Designs**

**WWI began**

Declared war on Germany 23 Aug 1914

Occupied Jiaozhou and its port Qingdao

Laid the 21 demands Jan 1915.

This is the document where Japan sought to control all areas in the Chinese economy and government

China would have become a partial colony or protectorate of Japan:

Yuan Shikai accepted on 9 May

-- reject the demands in Group 5

Why did Yuan Shikai accept his demands?

Japanese government was promising support for Yuan's campaign to be recognized as emperor.  
SYS had promised the Japanese a lot of things. The 21 demands were based on a conversation that the Japanese had with SYS over sake.

Yuan passed away in June 1916.

The country was split into rival regions

Ruled by warlords

The warlords corresponded with the Taiping rebellion armies

This manifested in a vicious way after Yuan Shikai's death.

Whoever controlled Beijing was recognized by the international community as the official government of China.

If I'm the warlord in Guangxi, I don't care about what you say. So nobody cared. You can't assert your strength because you have not enough soldiers.

### **The May Fourth Movement.**

It's the grandmother of all bombs.

#### **30 April 1919: Catalyst: Versailles Peace Conference**

Supposedly, China can get Shandong, recognized as an independent nation

Double-dealing by the Western Allies and Chinese politicians who had made secret deals with Japan

-- Shandong province handed over to the Japanese

-- Part of Allied side in 1917

Wilsonian liberalism vs Leninism.

-- Competing ideology of anti-colonialism.

Because it's perceived as bullshit, the other side of the ideology that all imperialistic powers served to undermine third-world countries took root. All these countries are capitalist, seek to enslave your country. China seems to be the target.

The outcome of the Versailles peace conference was not to the expectation of the Chinese and broke out in public demonstrations. By students in Beijing in May fourth.

3000 students in Beijing were involved.

- Destroyed Minister's house

This movement was captured by the young people

- They were educated, cared about what happened to China, and they are politically conscious.

Not apathetic. They demonstrated against imperialism and feudalism. Mass print media.

Barring the fact that they have no social media like Facebook. They were able to organize stuff.

### **Political protest**

It formed the blue print for student action is born

Student nationalism

Mass movements

Sense of urgency

New tactics, new organizations

Strikes, boycotts, student unions, street lectures.

## **New Cultural Movement**

Instrumental in galvanizing the youth.

Calls for modernization

Re-emergence: New Youth

Hu Shih: A preliminary discussion of literature reform, Jan 1917

They reject the involvement of bureaucracy because they believe it has a dead hand over organization.

Both Science and Democracy. This hits at the roots of the political movement that it has to be for the people.

Change has to be fully incorporated. They were advocating full-fledged. Modern culture along with modern democracy.

All the moderates and the radicals believed there had to be change along this two axis, but how fast should the change be. And which one should be first, political or cultural.

Lu Xun -> Diary of a Madman. Literary example of new culture. He is seen as the father of Modern Chinese literature. The works are mainly written between 1911 - 1927, the period of Chinese social turmoil.

Very avant-garde, cutting edge.

He had a basic education in Nanjing. He was disenchanted by Japanese nationalism chauvinism.

Catalyst: picture of Manchurian beheadings.

He advocated writings on Chinese socialism to awake the Chinese people.

You can question how radical it is. It is elitist, to be writing, compared to the ancient kind of elite.

He started a magazine called New Life, which was a dismal failure. Concerns about money-making belong to two different things. They don't want to be bogged by concerns of money. For a little while, like a traditional elite, he worked for the government in 1912.

Radical climate of opinion

Dominate the entire 20th century history of China

External: Russian Revolution & Japanese imperialism

Domestic: political and cultural issues

Confucianism

Classical Chinese Language and Culture

Roles in a modern society

They were swamped by new "isms"

All of this were kind of ideas that went into China at this point in time. All kinds of figures became idols

Political thinkers turned to a variety of '-isms'

Galvanize the Chinese politically.

## **Formation of the CCP**

It is entirely not peasant.

Tiny, urban roots.

Intellectual ferment at Peking University

-- Founder figures

Students prominent in the May Fourth demonstrations

-- later the engineered the world's largest peasant revolutions

This urban intellectual party that sat around discussing Marx would be responsible for engineering the land reform.

## **Nascent Communist talk about???**

Like-minded intellectuals

Few members, politically dangerous  
Not strong in theoretical Marxism.  
The Chinese not because they do not want to learn about Marxism, and the available materials were limited.

Intervention of Soviet assistance.  
Sinicized Marxism-- Leninism  
Indigenous roots of the Chinese revolution  
Important international element  
Indigenous roots of the Chinese revolution -> why it's so unique, doesn't need urban workers but depends on peasants.

Chen Duxiu:  
Founder of the new Youth in 1915  
Professor of Beida, 'Call the Youth'

Li Dazhao:  
Librarian at Peking University  
First to interpret and spread Marxism in China  
Revolution not Evolution  
Direct political action now  
Marxism is an all-encompassing solution for China's problems  
Influenced by success of Russian Revolution: 1917

**Political situation -- bleak?**  
The powers in Beijing are severely limited. It has the tax revenue from Maritime Customs Service. It only controlled North and Eastern China.  
Political structure of China was completely fragmented.  
The governors were autocrats  
They possessed military power.  
Formed political relationships with each other  
Long-term coalitions or shifting alliances similar to Warring States period in the fourth and fifth century BC  
Not all ruthless despots, social and economic policies varied gently.

**Basis for the rule of the Warlords**  
Political and military regional factions  
Personal and family connections  
Attendance of senior officers at the military academies  
-- Self-strengthening Movement  
-- Beiyang Military Academy 1885  
-- Provided most of the senior officers  
-- E.g. Duan Qirui  
-- & Feng Guozhang - PM  
-- provincial military governors

Zhang Zuolin: Controlled Manchuria  
He was illiterate though shrewd and calculating former bandit  
Qing Supporter  
1923 spent 76% of his region's tax revenues on warfare to increase his territory, only 3% on education.

Yan Xishan:  
Reforming general  
Shanxi  
Construction as well as warfare

Most progressive of warlords  
"Armed force is the backing of justice"  
Aggressively promoting an anti-foot-binding campaign in the province.

Zhang Zongchang: Dogmeat General  
Formerly part of Zhang Zuolin's faction  
Used trains for mobility.  
He employed medical auxiliaries, mercenaries -- White Russians.  
Governor of Shandong.  
25 wives.

Sun became a warlord  
Rejected the new cultural movement of education and reform.  
By talking about reform of the language is not translated into power.  
What SYS now did by gaining help from Japanese, he switched his attention to the Soviets as they were positioning themselves to provide with support.  
Russian -style revolution offered a practicable strategy  
To end domination of selfish politicians and warlords.

Chiang Kai Shek --> Zhejiang.  
Most powerful military figure  
Trained in Moscow and Japan  
Won succession battle in the party  
Initially, KMT in collaboration with USSR  
Southern base constructed.

**Northern Expedition in 1926**  
Fighting, bribing or persuading  
Two years later, had reunified the country  
Finally captured the great prize, Shanghai in March 1927  
But didn't free China from splits and exploitations  
Purged communists.  
Unified the country not through outright conquest.

# Essay Breakdown

Tuesday, June 25, 2019 12:16 PM

## **Taiping Rebellion:**

A lot of people did not unpack the question.

Quote meant the Taiping wrath -> At least in one paragraph. You need your thesis statement and stand -> settle the quote and know where the quote is talking about.

The C-grade essays do not address that.

Wholly negative -> Legacies are things of the past which have a direct correlation in the orient in terms of physical changes or cultural shifts in thinking.

Legacy -> in aftermath.

What's the aftermath. Immediately within the 10 years after Taiping Rebellion. Then you have the late 19th century. You can talk about 18 or 19 something. Then you have the 20th century. You can split into pre or post 1959. So three parts of this legacy. Most people talk about the late 19th century and aftermath together, and tackle the 20th century separately.

## **Immediate Aftermath: Various people in Taiping.**

How they pan out, self-strengthening reforms and weapons. How Taiping itself -> was the Christian movement, how it gendered other Taiping rebellion. Exposed the underbelly of the Qing government. Plausible things you want to talk about:

Role of Hong Renxuan (joined in 1859, Hong Xiuquan's cousin)

Zizheng Xinjian (New Treaties on Political Counsel) \_ Land system of Heavenly Kingdom ->

Self-strengthening reforms -- weapons against Xinjiang Muslims

Anti-Christians -- Boxer Rebellions (Cohen)

Exposed the underbelly of the Qing govt

Commemoration of war dead

## **Post 1900s legacies**

Provincial power especially in the warlord era post 1916

Han Chinese moved into power Yuan Shikai -- Dev of the Han Governor-General

## **Present Legacies (poorly attempted)**

Rebellion -- revolt against Manchus inspired Sun -- "Three Principles of the People"

How they suppressed Christians underground. Falungong --> seen as a cult, legacy of Taiping

Some article talked about how the Taiping had influenced him -> same dialect group

Peasant uprising -> inspired Mao, prototype rebellion

Iconoclasm -- Burnt temples = 1960s cultural revolution

Land Reforms \_ structural influences, carried out in the Great Leap Forward

Religion Control -- Falun Gong -> Christians

Gender --> Female shock troops (commandos), but harems existed too. CCP's emphasis on Gender Equality. But today Politburo all males.

## **Reform Essay -> Identify the quote**

Three difficulties -> corruption, standard. What are the repercussions? This is the part not done well. You notice that questions are around 89/90, even your essay -> managed to do the first part well, but not the second part.

## **Difficulties and repercussions ->**

You need to know that there are three waves of reforms, and the question talked about the 1860-1895 reforms. As a result of the failure, you have the other two. You can develop into separate paragraphs.

Sino-French War, Sino-Japanese war, Xinzen reform

Second repercussion could have formed half your essay

- 1860 -1895
- 1898 100 days reform led by Kang Youwei
- 1902 Xinzhen Reforms

### **Internal issues**

**Court politics:** Cixi (instrument to thwart competitors to her power)

Conservative antics

Leadership by Han elites loyal to the Qing Dynasty

Sustained investment diverted to frivolous constructions

Corruption and personal interests; rich man Li and Zhang Zhidong's inland factories.

External: Racism from US undermine efforts by Yung wing & Li to send students overseas

Repercussions

Consolidation - Xinjiang and Tibet (Zuo Zongtang) : Opportunity to witness the effectiveness

A good Essay seldom is read little ->

### **Ming Dynasty question:**

Address the quote: Dorgon -> Chongzhen emperor was alright -> You can see three reasons.

Emperor, civil officers, military officers -> What are the points you must cover. Say there are other reasons)

Leitmotif ->

**Recurrent theme in music** -> With different variations. Neiluan, waihuan -> literally civil chaos and foreign aggression.; use this as org method for essay

Another org motif -> Long term decline vs short term (fall)

### **Long term:**

Neo Confucianism - Wang Yangming's philosophy

Subject the emperor to a lot of criticism. Filled with Wang's spirit -> launch attacks on their colleagues. All of these thing did not take place when the Qing took over, so they lost the moral high ground.

Crippling Confucian blame game (subjective: inward looking): Pissed off Wanli -> dysfunctional govt Commerce --> decline in morality of officials -- materialistic outlook -> badly compensated

Entitled gentry : Agricultural utopia -- advocated by people who didn't farm

These are the very people who do not farm at all.

### **Internal divisions:**

Famines: lack of govt responses

Pain of silver currency -- inflation: economic distortion: income gap widen

Lack of internal checks -- Usurpation of power --> Eunuchs and grand secretaries

Lack military power to check rebels

Popular perceptions of corruption -- decline in the standing of government

External threats

Manchurians -- cannons

Who was Dorgon? Role of the Banner man?

### **First Question: Two people answered**

Shangri-La Dialogue

-> This year, LHL gave a speech -> (2018 ST)

Explain this phenomena in light of events in Modern Chinese history. Pull out events and match with whatever things that happen right now.

### **China's grievances**

South China Sea Issue -- Regional hegemon -- Ming Dynasty --> Furthest extent. Tributary trade, Opium War

They were the only nation on earth was a superpower. Why is it US can kidnap Paraguay dictator and invade and capture him? Why did Ming capture Sri Lanka king? Yes?

Taiwan -- Reunification -- 1895 Sino-Japanese War, 1949 KMT lost the civil war

US-China relations -- Strategic rivalry -- Korean War

Vietnam riots -- Regional hegemon --> teach them a lesson (1978 Deng's war) and Entire Vietnam War they had military and economic aid

Yasukuni Shrine -- Historical baggage -- WWII: Comfort women: Nanking massacre

**Fear of China**

African Riots --> Economic aid -> Exporting revolutions -Mao's cultural revolution

Confucian Institutions -> Cultural outreach -> tributary trade.

## Tutorial

Tuesday, June 25, 2019 12:56 PM

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3 

- Fengqian - 1000
  - Zhou dynasty (1050 - 256 BC)
    - Built into states
    - Sent away to rule in their own regions
    - Sent away to rule in their own systems
    - Sent away to rule in their own systems

4 

- Federation/Federalism
  - Chinese states from Fengqian, provinces are to rule
  - First directly selected after Thalys' rebellion
  - Imperial currency, uniform of themselves are
  - Chinese ruled local territories, autonomy, freedom are

5 

- Federation
  - Includes local states
  - State structures are controlled by the central state
  - Separation
    - Separation: political power centralized
    - Separation: natural association is applied on regions

6 

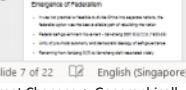
- Relationship between Provincialism and Nationalism
  - Provincialism was a regional form of government that emphasized the importance of local autonomy and self-government
  - Nationalism was a movement that emphasized the importance of a unified national identity

7 

- Relationship between Centralist and Federalist
  - Chinese hegemonic National imaginary
  - Federalist
    - Chinese states were autonomous, but their autonomy was limited by the central government
    - Chinese provinces were controlled by the central government
    - Chinese provinces were controlled by the central government

8 

- Coexistence of Provincialism with Nationalism
  - Great Changes -> Geographically -> Most maritime trade -> Most developed -> Also a place of Exile.
  - It's contested.
  - Hunan

9 

- Emergence of Provincialism
  - Chinese central government in the South has separate regions, the central government is in the North
  - The Southern government is in the South
  - The Northern government is in the North
  - Chinese provinces are autonomous, but their autonomy is limited by the central government
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Slide 7 of 22  English (Singapore)  Notes       124% 

# Relationship between Centralist and Federalist

## Contest for hegemonic National imaginary

### Federalist

Provincial groups were nationalistic, but their understanding of the nation was influenced by local or provincial identifications

### Centralist

Centralized imperial state on Chinese historiography denied the opportunity for studies concerning regional or provincial identity

Hard to gauge power of provincial identity

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- Relation of Chen Jiongming
  - Started his own government in the South
  - Continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition
  - Continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition
  - Continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition
  - Continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition

18 

- Significance of Chen Jiongming
  - He continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition
  - He continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition
  - He continued to support the continuation of the Northern Expedition

19 

- Split of June 1922
  - Chen Jiongming ordered a coup against Sun
  - More likely it was the regional loyalty of the South
  - More likely it was the regional loyalty of the South
  - More likely it was the regional loyalty of the South

20 

- Chen Qiafu (1865)
  - Chen Qiafu was born in 1865, died in 1927
  - Chen Qiafu was a general in the Chinese Nationalist Army
  - Chen Qiafu was a general in the Chinese Nationalist Army
  - Chen Qiafu was a general in the Chinese Nationalist Army

21 

- Provincialism today
  - Unifying of provincial domains, fluid in Taiwan and Hong Kong
  - Fluid from emphasizing the Great Han to emphasizing regional identities

22 

- Takeaways
  - Provincialism uses Pro-regions of human
  - Provincialism fluid definition
  - Provincialism didn't respect because of history = determine political narrative

Slide 17 of 22  English (Singapore)  Notes       115% 

# Rebellion of Chen Jiongming

- Did not agree with Sun Yat-sen's form of government
- Despite this, still showed support to Sun
- Only split over the continuation of the Northern Expedition
- Coup was led against Sun
- Seen as the highest act of betrayal to Sun Yat-sen

"My previous failures were caused by my enemies. But this time while my enemies have been defeated, the one who rises and replaces my enemy is CHen Jiongming, who has been my protege for more than ten years. Furthermore, he is so malignant and wicked-hearted that what my read enemies dare not do he has done. It is not only a misfortune for the Republic, but also a decline in moral integrity." (193-194)

Did not agree with Sun's chosen form of government and his resolve to invade Guangxi.  
When Sun planned to forge ahead with the Northern Expedition to dislodge the warlords from the provinces militarily and bring the nation under centralized control.

Gather resources, and conquer the north -> taking military manpower -> his own powerbase would be gone. Not difficult to see Jiongming was reluctant.

According to your reckoning, has the present China achieved the "seventh period"? Why do revolutionaries all over the world always use the concept of "vanguard"? How is this contradicted by his formula for building a constitutional government (pg. 171)? To evoke a sense of existential threat, the Korea example was used. How was this ironical in the light of China's machinations?

leading to the events of 1895? How does Confucianism impede political development? [pg. 172-173]  
what are the weakness of his arguments? [refer to Nathan, pg. 48] How do you explain the present great reversal? [See Hilton (2011), "China's Confucian makeover."  
Described China as fearful of revolution -> They are unable to wash away traditional thoughts. Description of traditional literature in Chinese -> chunk of very difficult words used -> Traditional Chinese literature used is a meaningful? Use of language is drastic. It looks beautiful but no substance. Confucianism attracted too much attention in the nation.

This condemning of Confucianist culture: one of the ironies: Lu Xun. He attacked all the Chinese traditions. When it came to personal life -> expects wife to cook for him.  
If you expect your women, you should wash your underwear. Maybe cook for her.  
Talk about equality -> A lot of things you need to do yourself.

"Seventh period" -> consolidation of China to a republican state -> democratic state.  
Whether it panned out in real life -> He already have other thoughts -> They should move away from bureaucratic autocratic government than by the people. But the irony is the obeying of any law for institutions. The state power is still strongly emphasized over here.  
Political power not only a small group of people. But vanguard -> introduce new ideas. It's elitist -> vanguard leading you. But in itself -> this is a bit like the Lu Xun thing. Revolutionaries who introduce new ideas into society -> it's considered heresy with conservatives preventing this new idea.  
Tension between egalitarianism (everyone has something to say) and people who will take the lead. There is always the contradiction. If not handled well, talking about solidarity and elitism.

Deng Yingchao -> Zhou Enlai's wife. The key cadre  
She was one of the few who took part in May Fourth.  
In that passage -> the blueprint on what to do.

Why do you think historians have branded the May Fourth movement a watershed in Chinese history? [here you have to read mi'er] How is this extract useful for you in understanding the trajectory of student movement/ agitation? Compare with the student agita#on in the 1960s Singapore, do you see any similar#es?

Political interest in history  
Different ideologies and different isms  
Development of CCP in the latest stage.  
Hold this class about taking in new ideas and applicable in China context.  
Engage the general public  
They want to publicize their ideas to the whole public.

The screenshot shows a web browser window with multiple tabs open. The active tab is titled 'deng\_yingchao.pdf'. The page content is a historical account of the May Fourth Movement. Several sentences are highlighted in yellow, likely for analysis:

Shortly after we began the meeting, a group of policemen arrived, surrounded the group, and instantly pointed their rifles at us. Our meeting continued as if nothing had happened. It was not until it was time to assemble for the march that conflict occurred. The police refused to let us pass. So finally we just charged at them, shouting, "Police-men should be patriotic, too!" "Don't strike patriotic students!" The police hit with their rifle butts and many students were beaten. Some even broke their glasses. We fought back with our bamboo poles. Then some students knocked off the policemen's hats so that when they bent down to retrieve them, it gave us a means of escape.

Just at that moment, the speakers from the Tianjin Student Union arrived in the back of a truck. With them helping on the outside, we broke through the encirclement and the march began! We marched around the city until daybreak the next day. It was not until we had lodged protests against Yang Yide for his savage treatment of the students that we finally ended the demonstration. Yang's ruthlessness had so aroused our indignation, that we women broke with tradition and the next day appeared on the streets proclaiming Yang Yide's cruelty towards students to all who passed by.

After the October 10th incident, the situation worsened. In November, the Tianjin Association for National Salvation was closed down and twenty-four leaders were arrested. Soon the Tianjin Student Union was also disbanded. But we continued our progressive activities secretly and found a room in a student's home in the concession area to use as our office. A concession area was a tract of land in a Chinese port or city leased

gates locked and posted armed guards. Our representatives, Zhou Enlai, Guo Longchen (a woman), and Yu Fangzhou, managed to get in from a hole under the door. They were beaten once they were inside. The students became more indignant and refused to leave. At midnight, the armed guards drove the students away by brutal force, hitting students with bayonets and rifle butts and spraying them with columns of water. Many students were wounded and some had to be sent to the hospital. In this we saw clearly the ferocious face of the reactionary government and that freedom and democratic rights could not be gained without a fierce struggle.

In the following year, we shifted our priority to rescuing the arrested students. We struggled to win over public sentiment, fought against illegal arrests, and asked for public trial of our representatives. It was not until that summer, however, that all twenty-eight of those who had been arrested were finally released.

During the movement, not only were we suppressed by the reactionary government, but were suppressed by the college authorities as well. They ordered students not to leave the campus to take part in any progressive activities. On May 7, 1920, a group of us from the Women's Normal College planned to attend a meeting commemorating the May 7th Incident, the day the Japanese government sent an ultimatum to the Chinese government urging it to sign the Twenty-One Demands. When we were ready to leave, we discovered college authorities were refusing to let us. A confrontation ensued and resulted in our eventually forcing open the gate and attending the meeting.

When we returned, much to our surprise, a no

They go into small cell groups.  
How to anti-this?

After the process -> form their own small cell groups and joined the committee called "awakened society" pre communist party.

# Lecture

Monday, July 8, 2019 4:06 PM

CKS was a determined person. Before he married the Song sister, Meiling, he had a disreputable lifestyle (typical of Chinese men in this time period) Hooliganism, mixed with the Green gang. Joined the military, went to Japan to be educated. Ambitious enough to eye the Song sister, and he's on his way. A protégé of Sun Yat Sun himself.

You would know that he is nowhere close to being the protégé, there are many contenders. But he managed to emerge. It is a curious story, because you see that your achievements are attempted by yourself.

Post purge: from 1927 onwards

The narration ends at the beginning of the 2nd united front

## **The Nanjing Decade**

**Soviet playing the piano** -> Chiang Kai-shek not his own independent person. He even slaughtered his own comrades who are pro-Soviet Union. He doesn't do it by himself. For example, the Green Gang. The Story then before the Nanking decade -> how to have a nationalist government. There was political chaos.

## **How to have a central nationalist government**

Almagate with the CCP. The CCP was this innocuous urban party talking about Marx. Not much of a threat. So KMT and CCP collaborate.

They want the power behind: the Soviet Union. First United Front

April 1927: Chiang Kai-shek launched a coup against the Communist in Shanghai

In the immediate aftermath of the Northern Expedition -> he slaughtered the Communists. Power as Mao said comes from the barrel of the gun. He is the product of China. He was tutored in Japan.

End of 1928: Chiang Kai-shek imposed some sort of national order from his capital Nanjing.

He never fought a head on battle (in the Northern Expedition). Fascist wing dominated KMT;

## **Third Nationalist Party Congress, March 1929**

Right wing totallyd ominated

Chiang had placed his supporters in all the main positions

Imposed his own ideas on party and government positions

## **Political Program: Complete the period of tutelage by 1935.**

Theory of stages of government

Military Occupation

Period of political tutelage

Constitutional govt

People must be taught the theory and practice of democracy and constitutional government.

They now had time to practice

Order must be completely restored in an individual province before political tutelage gave away to constitutional government.

Xinjiang Educational Camps -> Written by Indian reporter based in Singapore -> only positive report ever read.

## **How to implement Democracy**

Self government comes from the district and county levels

From the localities towards the centre

He had this from Taiwan from Early 1955.  
What he failed to do in China he did in Taiwan.

Centre should implement education

- Send out "trained officers" to teach people at lower levels
- Competing a census and organizing a police force

The government should undertake to train and guide them [the people] so that they may know how to exercise their rights of election, recall, initiative and referendum

However: NO peasant support.

It explained the Great Leap Forward because so indebted that the peasants were willing to go along.  
His power is coming from the landlords.

#### **Ideological basis of the Nationalism:**

Chiang Kaishek: Strong endorsement

- Human emotions (nationalism)
- Law (democratisation)
- Reason (people's livelihood)

New spin on it!

#### **Major Problems of Nanjing Government**

##### **i. Failure to reconcile with warlords led to a series of civil wars**

In his Northern Education -> Chiang was good in expediency.  
Chiang pitted against a coalition including Feng Yuxiang and Yan Xishan  
The Warlords were not vanquished, but became his allies, and the alliance was inherently unstable  
The CCP had no problem, they had reform and they took out the landlords  
Supported even by members of Chiang's own government, notably Wang Jingwei  
Chiang won the war, support from the Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang  
Extremely destructive war: 250 000 casualties.  
No such thing as scratching each other's back.

Land Repossession.

##### **ii. Party Organizational strength went only as far as Chiang's Bayonets**

Provinces nearest the capital, Jiangsu and Zhejiang (nominally supported by others)  
Numerous military and political opposition for virtually the whole decade  
Less than half China's provinces had established regular party committees by 1933  
Less than 18 percent of counties had party branches  
Most of them in the provinces of the Yangtze Valley (Sheridan, 1975, 214)  
Especially weak in the countryside. They are supported by landlords -> biggest constituents in the peasants -> not going in China)

How agrarian China is. China achieved 50% urbanization 3 years ago

##### **iii> Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and corruption**

Authoritarianism

- Real power tended to be centralized
- Inner-penetration of business and politics
- Chiang's power rested on his ability to control key factions in the army: bribery and nepotism
- Use the money to control others

Worsened considerably after the War Against Japan.

September 1936: If we do not weed the present body of corruption, bribery, perfunctoriness and ignorance, and establish instead a clean and efficient administration, the day will soon come when the revolution will be started against us as we did against the Manchus

He knew the problems -> But these very problems were his key entry points to power.  
If there wasn't a Sino-Japanese War -> there might be a chance of forgiving this.

#### **Iv His contacts with the leading Shanghai Financiers**

Need to reward his backers with contracts.

He borrowed at preferential rates from bankers to fund his army

Chiang and the Shanghai financiers supported each other.

Reward them with state contracts

Chiang outsmarted any rivals because he is in Shanghai. He could outbuy his rivals.

#### **Iv Numerous factions in the KMT**

##### **CC Clique**

**Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu, both close friends of Chiang Kai-shek**

Organization Department of the Nationalist Party

Place supporters in relevant positions

Party and government apparatus, education agencies.

Youth organizations, trade unions

One of Chiang's two secret police organizations.

The power to appoint -> if you can appoint -> He got his friends to organize this:

##### **Whampoa Clique**

Graduates from the Whampoa Military Academy

Its main operational organization was a highly disciplined group called the Blue Shirts

Organization

Strongly influenced by the fascist doctrines of Nazi Germany

Extremely powerful during the 1930

Chiang was the first Superintendent of the Whampoa Academy

All these people follow their allegiance to him.

It comes to the person of Chiang himself.

This is the beginning of the cult of personality.

Within the army, schools and police

Operated a secret police organizations that carried out counter-intelligence

Political assassinations

To be initiated in the Blue Shirts -> need to kill someone. It's exclusive

##### **Verdict:**

**KMT 'atrophied even more than did the governmental administration as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's transformation of the revolutionary movement into ...' Eastman**

#### **Imperial powers and Chinese nationalism**

**Biggest power that threatened China: Manchukuo in Manchuria by Japan.**

Japan's ambitions

Their economic interests are tied in China -> were absolute

Uncertain world economy

Market and resources of China came to be inextricably linked in many Japanese minds with the health of the Japanese economy.

Solution: Conquer Manchuria

Set up Manchukoku

Fearful of Chiang reimposed control over North East

Manchuria Incident: 1931:

Japanese created a pretext to enable them to invade and seize Manchuria

They had huge economic interests.

They killed Zhang Zuolin in Manchuria

#### **CKS's reaction: Destroy Communists first**

Fuzhou speech in April 1933

The state's greatest worry is not so much the dwarf pirates (Japanese) as Jiangxi's local bandits  
(Settle internal threats first)

5 encirclement campaigns

Employ the best German  
Nearly crushed the Communists  
Even employed Airpower to bomb the bases  
Dec 1930 - 1934  
Tangku Treaty : May 1933  
Cede the Northeast to Japan  
CKS traded territory for time to deal with communists.

The Communists and KMT

**Long March Oct 1935**

CCP and its Red Army escaped from the south Jiangxi to the North of the country and established a new base  
1/10 survived  
9000 left

Xinhua Interview : 1987:

And 30 Yrs later, it is still in print, it is still read, it is still an incredibly exciting story" said Stephen Salisbury, son of the author, when Xinhua interviewed him in the year commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Long March.

Dec 1936: CCP captured Yan'an  
Became the capital of the soviet government  
Sought support from the Muslim minority, from the Mongols of the North, and from the peasants  
They got the support of the majority.  
69 000 to 7 000  
Secret society Gelao Hui, a peasant movement.

**CCP concentrated on 3 things**

I) Resisting the Japanese

Enabled the CCP to say that it represented the peasants in the Chinese nation  
Mobilize the peasants  
Tap into nationalism of the period, create nationalism in the country side. It will help the CCP a long way in identifying their brand name.

II) Promote a social revolution in agriculture

Improve the production and productivity of the soil  
Promoted peasant involvement in government  
Chief organs of power at district and regional levels were people's councils  
All adult villagers having the vote, no matter what their class  
Encourage the peasant to form mass associations  
(set up in a small area that they controlled first)  
Volunteer groups and co-operatives  
CCP was able to begin to forge a new relationship between state and rural society  
Very strong nationalist and development tone

III) Rectification Campaign (1942-1944)

What about these people who have been romanticized.  
You cannot operate to individual people, but listen to the party.  
Yan'an Talks (1942, May)  
Ideological and political conformity, create a cadre, that even if my radio cannot reach him, need to know what to do and execute party interests

Yan'an: archetype for intelligentsia purge -> 1950

State Encouragement -> intellects responded -> state response -> intellects sent down to countryside

Forced to accept authority of party

Punishment: labor reform or execution.

### **2nd United Front**

Japanese encroachment across the North  
Refugees from Manchuria  
Made the policy far more relevant  
(Zhang xueliang kidnapped him~)

December 1936: when Chiang Kai-shek was trapped in the Xi'an mutiny  
Mao and his emissary Zhou Enlai were prepared to seek a genuine, though perhaps temporary united front

Summary:

CKS obsession with politics and org first  
Structural weakness of Nanjing Decade  
Dealing with national problems  
CCP sought social reform of peasants first  
Saved by Japanese incursion  
Dealing largely with party problems.

# Tutorial

Tuesday, July 9, 2019 1:30 PM

In what ways are CKS arguments similar to Ming Dynasty Zhang Tao's? What are CKS's solutions? Compare this with Taiping's Christian message. What are the differences?

New life movement? Before that happened, the editor wrote a short portion. Why the ideology didn't work?

Borrowed from old Confucian values

The revolution not so long ago, rejected the society, they wanted to move away from Confucian values

And the May 4th movement. They rejected it, and now they wanted to reinvent. The KMT trying to say to go back to past ideas, wait for better idea to come. CCP is opposite. Struggling for class revolution, help a better world.

Link this back to what you commonly know: It is like a party manifesto. You need to convince people what is your vision: and this is one classic failure in a party vision. You just had 1911 Revolution, revolution entered their ideology. You just read Su Fei Ri Ji. And now you talk about Values?

Last problem -> combination to Confucian ideology and Christian Ideology. Confucian ideology tries to appeal to the old powers. Christianity appeals to urban middle class, who are educated in the West. These two groups are the minority, but not the peasants. They are neither Confucian or Christian, so it doesn't make any sense.

While they talked about Li Yi Lian Chi. Never say how it can be applied in society complex. Not as sincere -> superficial thing that they said. They wanted to appeal to gentry class, and urban middle class. So they had the Confucian and Christian kind of values. Could be spread to gain the support.

It's very intellectual class.

Christianity as a new religion -> Chiang was prominent and converted, and in order to see that it's a modern Chinese, you have to be a Christian. It's played out in no better way than in Singapore. The early modern pioneers who learnt English, they were Christians. Because it's seen as upwardly mobile. So there's this twin phenomena: it's very atas ->

Not trying to solve any problems but say something moral. The point is: if you are from a landed class -> you won't join the Communist. You don't want to share.

By default, the Communist appeal to dispossessed.

First part is talking about the difference between

Hong Xiuquan used Christianity as means to gain followers, did not understand the Bible and the Taiping rebellion used a version that they understood to create equality among followers and eradicate Confucianism.

Murdered the Christianity? -> using religious story to fulfill his own political agenda.

Explain story: Jesus as a revolutionary. And they are doing the same thing. Jesus brought out the new spirit to society. Promote social and economic reform.

New Life Movement -> understand by political sense? No, it did not.

But if you married Song Mayling -> He just converted. He wanted to show his enthusiasm. And capture his real life movement. It makes sense as a new convert.

Gp 3: What are some basic policies? How did the CCP package their ideas in a more attractive form? Was there any substance at all?

Why would they include Sun YS's thing. They want to claim continuation. And Legitimacy.

Agrarian revolution -> want to have land distribution. Land reclamation -> I am going to

redistribute your assets.

Go for national unity -> appeal via nationalism against the Japanese

Writers for May Fourth movement were presenters.

How attractive? Sincere -> questions that Edgar Snow asked -> KMT not part of China, the New Life Movement is alienating to Muslim and Mongols. It's towards the Han majority. Mao's operations is inclusive. It's interesting in the sense -> you talk about stuff your opponents are not talking about. What people don't like, what people like.

China tried to export the revolution, especially in the archipelago. Like Communist Party of Indonesia or Malayan Emergency.

Pg. 445 : This interview in 1936: "Without confiscating the estates of the landlords, without meeting the main democratic demand of the peasantry, it is impossible to lay the broad mass basis for a successful revolutionary struggle for national liberation. In order to win the support of the peasants for the national cause it is necessary to satisfy their demand for land.

Pg. 447: "We are always social revolutionaries, we are never reformists. (We over throw something. In revolution, someone is going to get killed)

The other is social revolution. The latter must be achieved. ...

Gp 5:

Hind Swaraj:

Chiang: Western values are spiritless

The internal beliefs and values are more important. Gandhi: hates technology for the sake of hating technology. HE hates the technology that imperializes the country. These are the instruments that colonize your country.

China's destiny: After Pearl Harbor, the verge whereby Japanese army wanted to invade India via Burma.

Gp2:

WY M and Propaganda: A member of the Communist Party should possess the finest and highest human virtues and take a clear-cut and firm Party and proletarian stand. (pg. 346))

BUT the land reform is the key. Everyone can talk cock. That's difficult. But they can do it, because they are not beholden to them.

# Great leap Forward -> Disaster

Monday, July 22, 2019 4:05 PM

When you talk about silences of the past:

Purposes and methods

Features of GLF

Mao's personality

Impact

It is a man-made disaster that the CCP recognizes.

Why did GLF attract so much attention?

Mao's government: natural disasters

Revisionist: sanfen tianzai, qifen renhuo

He assigned blame accordingly; 30% is natural, 70% is human. The paramount leader gave the permission to examine this disaster

Post Cold War: Human errors.

Do not assign total blame to Mao. It's not just one person's fault, there are many factors.

CCP or China, in the post period after Mao announced that China had gained independence, was that the CCP controlled three things:

Control of inflation: revenue doubled

Recovery of production: 80% industrial

Land reform: 40% changed hands.

KMT did not attain this: they had to squash CCP and Japan

First Five Year Plan:

Soviet Model: Heavy Industries, central planning

Real national income: 9%

Industrial output: 18.5% per year.

The Soviet Industry method: Need to extract from the farmers to pay for heavy industrialization

They do not have enough grain to sell for industrialization

Falling grain output threatened economic plan

Requisition

Close down private farmer's market

Pressed peasants into producer co-operatives

Industrialized farming.

Now, the peasants were leaving the co-operatives

The party split into two parts: more collectivization: they argue that they have all the grain, needs to go towards industrialization, force peasants into cooperatives.

Farmers have the liberty to plant; and have their own private markets

This was the first real political crisis in the CCP leadership.

For CCP: the original sin started from here: two bands split

Splits within the leadership and between political and economic goals

Two positions on the best way forward for dealing with the crisis in grain production

A. Wanted to Consolidate

a. Improving the operation of existing agricultural co-operatives

B. Creation of socialism as the main goal

a. Not only extract more, change the person's mind

b. Necessary to change the farmer's orientation: removed personal profit

- c. Production for national need
- d. Using ideology to change people's mind (like Taiping Tianguo)

### **GLF: Purposes & Methods**

Purpose: Agriculture surpluses extraction

Organizational changes + campaigns

Mobilize manpower resources

-> breakthrough, rapid pace of development.

Increase production on the cheap; making use of what you have (manpower)

Rapid Industrialization

Huge investment in heavy industry -- urban areas

Industrialize and modernize very quickly

More dependent on increased yields from its domestic agriculture

The ends justify the means.

You are achieving communism. You then have China, with Stalin.

The new person: visit North Korea: sacrifice 900 000. Because one whole generation is gone: with villages with no males. The Korean war did the same thing to China (with no males)

You need to extract your resources, organize manpower and motivate them.

To do that: they used the organizational process from Taiping:

Organization of mutual aid groups, lower level and high level agricultural cooperatives

Try to find 10 families, share between cooperative groups, production went up

The logical fallacy : five families work, combine 10 families, work better. Why not larger?

There was a significant increase of grain yield.

It created a climate of triumphalism. Without very little artillery, very little things like airforce. For a tier 1 superpower to standstill in Korea:

GLF (1958) -> Better scale of production with bigger units

Mutual aid teams: 5-15 households

The basic farmer himself, as compared to KMT time. Their lives better before Great Leap Forward.

It seemed that this government gave them a better life. They had things like fertilizer because fertilizer was your shit. And new ways of life, new farm implements, new organizations.

Poor farmers began to feel that the Communist Party was representing their best interests

Policies could not be wrong

The farmers were given a stake in their farming, and had their own land.

It is logical to trust the party.

### **How do you motivate people?**

Political campaigns before GLF: 1947 - 52: Land Reform 土地改革

1950-1953: Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries

1951-1952: Three-Anti//Five-Anti campaigns

Penetration of CCP power down to village levels

Village leaders: owed their power and authority to the party

Willing to push the party's benign policies

Difficult to resist superior's initiatives

Commune and county government officials

Did not know much about conditions of rural life

Extract huge funds

Gigantic people's communes:

Commune too big

1958: Bumper harvest: false impression that people's communes worked

Irresponsible local officials ordered farmer's to plow the fall crops under in order to plant winter

wheat to meet their superior's quota.  
Conventional knowledge -- careful grain storage, usage, ignored -- euphoria  
Engage in steel making or irrigation projects.

Public Dining Halls of being the major culprit of the famine?

Enjoyed farmer's support in the beginning  
Never had eaten so well in their life  
Wasteful compared with individual household cooking  
Threw away he leftovers carelessly  
Sad reality: wasteful life style.

**Mao's personality:**

He was the one who successfully fought the Americans to a standstill.

Party meetings in Wuchang, Nov 1958:  
Violence in the mass campaigns  
Dangers of famine sweeping the country  
Need to send investigative teams out to check the reality of production  
Impossibility of reaching the steel, grain, and earth removal quotas  
Falsified reporting at all levels that was riddling the entire venture with contradictions  
Faked compliance

He knew that there were limitations to the Party (and him)

One of his generals: Peng Dehuai: In one of the meetings in Lushan: He criticized Mao: Things are not going well: He pointed out the shortcoming of Great Leap Forward  
As if he didn't know that Mao sent investigative teams. If you are a leader that can accept problems: I'll file it up. But the problem is: Mao is not like that. He felt kind of : I've already done something, no need to raise it.

He exploded: He immediately conducted a series of small group meetings

Challenged cadres to choose a side  
Labelling: Peng accused of "right opportunism" i.e. not "left" or socialist enough  
Impossible for anyone to Question policy  
Mao dismissed Peng from all his posts and relegated him to political limbo.

Force of Mao's words at Lushan was terrifying for cadres

The extraction of rural surpluses continued to support villages  
Village cadres reported bonus yields while agriculture was collapsing  
PRC continued to export grain:  
Vietnam?

Crops almost ready for harvest were uprooted in favor of new planting plans  
Deep plowing to a level of three meters  
Irrigation faulty -- increased soil salinity  
Hit by colossal floods  
Severe weather: conditions in 1959, 1960, 1961 only made things worse  
Grain procurement from fields where almost no crops grew

Peasants pushed into ceaseless projects -> detract away from what they did best: agriculture

Eating green crops: took them before crops were harvested;  
Crops lost  
Worsen shortage  
Rationing in halls  
Officials stole grains to make sure that their family had enough to eat

Demographic Catastrophe:  
1960: China's population fell by 10 million  
Estimates of the cumulative deaths from the Great Leap Forward vary from 16 - 27 million

3-5x the number of deaths caused by the equivalent policies pursued by Stalin in the USSR in the 1930s.

Import in plants from Yunan and Guangxi provinces.  
Wild hogliver: Shaped like pig livers with a dark red color  
Wild plants from Yunnan and Guangxi provinces  
Each family got a big quantity of them free of charge  
Very hard to swallow and digest

Mao criticized himself in this 7 000 meeting in Beijing from Jan 11 to Feb 7 in 1962  
The Central Committee planners decided to buy large quantities of grain from Canada  
Three selfs and one contract: free market, private plots, fiscal responsibilities and individual household farming

Mao's resistance: tikai dangwei nao geming.  
What Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi: got away from collectivization, let's implement sanzi yibao.  
Mao had the beginnings of the Cultural Revolution -> strike back at the political enemies. Get rid of the party apparatus.

Takeaways of the end of this lecture:  
There were no grain riots  
Organized relief efforts of the Maoist state  
Mao's mistakes and Mao's merits were paradoxically entwined  
Mao's severe dissatisfaction set the stage for the Cultural Revolution  
The party's reputation was so high in the first 10 years.

In this bumper harvest of 1958:

Page of notes: Assume the role of one of China's leaders and explain why economic development is important to China's national security

Yin Zemin: I would say that economic development is needed for our growing population. Because we need to feed an additional number of people, the "great leap forward" is needed to improve our agriculture. In fact, our pace is too slow, it is "beyond the power of an agricultural producer's co-operative consisting of a few dozen or hundreds of households.

In fact, other projects such as 'water-conservancy projects, afforestation, combating drought, and flood prevention' are necessary for the benefit for the nation. Besides the obvious physical outcome of reducing the impact of disasters, it provides jobs for the local economy. This is evident in how "small co-operatives spontaneously joined hands, and socialist co-operation between co-operatives of different townships, different counties, and even different provinces was carried out." Water seeks a new level, and since there are jobs available, people can gather. In fact, organizations that are 'small in size, meager in items of production and low in the degree of collectivization are becoming handicaps to the further development of productive forces' (Cheng, pg. 409)

This economic development is not just necessary for the personal welfare of the Chinese people, but for removing counter-revolutionaries and opponents of improvements that we are creating. This includes "bourgeois rightists, landlords, rich peasants" that see us as a rival and thus would do anything in their power to oppose the party, including dissuading the people from what is good and right for them. They would stir up discontent, despite the rectification campaigns that we have carried out.

We would have them undergo re-education campaigns. These people would expropriate the working people's property (Mao, Lushan speech), and "had not properly studied political economy", nor "laws of value, and renumeration according to work done." (pg. 135) In fact, I'm not opposing the re-education campaign for all; just that it would take time. So, I would have started off with the basics of political economy. Perhaps with a study campaign. But not that everyone should attend university, as that would take 15 years of progress that we could have made. In any case, we would have unity via economic development, and the undesirables would have to work with us through proper education.

Economic development in the form of collectivization would eliminate waste for us, such that we could use once dedicated valuable resources for direct economic progress such as the projects that I have mentioned earlier. For example, canteens. When we gather people together to eat together, we are eliminating wastage, we would prevent people from throwing away uneaten food at the end of the day. With communal canteens, labour and material could be saved as a cook can cook food for multiple households, rather than just one.

Another means of eliminating waste would be in the form of small blast furnaces. They say that the iron that we produce is wasted, fit for nothing but cooking pots. I believe that it is an expression of the enthusiasm of the Chinese people. And cooking pots is better than letting the metal waste away. We cannot afford the foreign furnaces that the West offers, so we make our own domestic production. Provided that we "came to grips with the problem and worked really hard", the iron we produce could be even better than what the West provides. In fact, if we would have self-reliance, that would be the best rather than trying to import from foreign nations.

We would also provide for women. Previously in feudal times, the women would be held at home by their husbands, and open to familial abuse. By liberating the woman at home, and following Engel's advocacy of sexual equality, we would employ twice the population than previous governments. In addition, mobilizing women to work in factories and in collectives would free up the men to hard labor that the women cannot do. With women, full co-operation would be achieved as their

potentialities can be brought into full play.

By putting women into the workforce, their children can be placed in creches and looked after by a single nursery. Once again, this is collectivization in action. By reducing the number of caregivers, we can mobilize a greater populace, and improve the efficiency of the labor force. Taking care of children in a nursery would maximize the labor potential and free up labour-hands, besides minimizing the resources needed to look after a child in a single household. This would improve the economic situation of the household as they do not have to worry about looking after the child.

Work is also properly divided. It would be divided between farming, according to the needs of the women involved, and the capabilities. For example, strong young women could go to work in fields, and family labor can be divided equally. The pay would be appraised according to the work they did. And the co-operative that we organized would bring in cash for the household.

# Lecture

Monday, July 29, 2019 4:06 PM

## Cultural Revolution and Foreign Policy

Peng Dehuai -> offended Mao at the Lushan Conference in front of 7000 cadres that this was not the thing to do. It's about managing your boss's expectation.

Mao vividly recalled that he doesn't have a child, but Anying was his heir. And saw that Peng was responsible for it? Privately, hints that he blamed Peng for.

Max Weber talks about protestants: but charismatic leadership.

### Scope of Lecture

Ideologies, Power Struggles, Purges

Phases of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976)

CR and Foreign Policy

Legacies of CR

### Ideologies, Power Struggles Purges

This event was apocalyptic in terms of repercussions and death.

### Growing Division

- Mao Zedong vs Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping
- Charismatic leadership vs bureaucracy
- Facing the prospect of losing his place on the political stage

Weber talked about Charismatic Leadership. People who are in the government who are operating. If Mao did not seize the initiative especially in the aftermath.

Mao was in fear of losing relevance in the political stage. He could really plot his way through. You find that his political enemies: He certainly saw as political enemies. They saw him as someone who needs to own up and step aside. And for other people to take over.

Let's talk about Mao's Ideology. What he wants?

- A kind of revolution that is voluntaristic. There's elements of self-sacrifice, doing for the best.
- Emphasized the potential for people, once mobilized to struggle, to transform both themselves and the world through the power of their wills
- Why talk about this?
- His experience showed him that this was possible: he won a civil war.
- China is a really poor country.
- Only assets are people
- Don't motivate them? What else to motivate? Nothing else!
- Commitment to Continuous Revolution and "class struggle"
- It's especially for people in startups -> they become jaded. It's no longer exciting.
- A lot of camaraderie. A lot of people left and people don't feel committed anymore. So they start up another country. They are serial -> they get on the high of seeing people enthusiastic and doing their all.

### Factions

- Military Faction
  - o Followers of Lin Biao vs others who prefer a strong conventional PLA
  - o People's military vs regular military
  - o Improvement in relations with Russia favored by PLA
- Government Faction
  - o Composed of governmental officials in administration

- Ideologically closer to party bureaucrats but members has close personal relations with Mao
- Zhou Enlai identified with this faction

### **Phases:**

#### **Rise and fall of red guards**

Purge of Party Cadres

Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping

1966 demoted

1967 Arrested

Purge of intellectuals

Bajin -> purged; committed suicide

Deng Xiaoping was mentally tough; so he had a positive outlook in imprisonment.

#### **Mao's little Red Book**

Collection of quotations excerpted from Mao Zedong's past speeches and publications

Requirement for every Chinese citizen to own, to read, and to carry it at all times during the later half of Mao's rule, especially during the Cultural Revolution.

#### **Red Guards Role in the Cultural Revolution**

First phase of red guards -> hated by the children of the high cadres

They will attack their teachers and principals

Attack the "Four Olds" of society, old ideas, cultures, habits, and customs of China at the time.

Red Guards travelled throughout China

They made posters, speeches, criticized Party Leaders

Committed violent acts in the name of the Cultural Revolution

There are cases with two factions of Red Guards.

#### **Chaos of the CR:**

Temples, churches, mosques and cemeteries looted and destroyed.

Aug - Sep 1966: 1,772 people casualties Beijing

Sep: 704 suicides and 534 deaths, Shanghai

A lot of personal vendettas get carried out

'Natural reds' vs ordinary or bad class

Backgrounds

1967 Incident in Wuhan -> led to civil war.

#### **End of the CR?**

In October 1968, Liu Shaoqi was expelled from the party, died Nov 1969 in his own piss.

July 1968 disbanded the Red Guards

Generally seen by historians as the end of the Cultural Revolution

Mao had witnessed the removal of a potential rival in the party and therefore saw no need for the Cultural Revolution to continue.

#### **Rise and fall of Lin Biao (1969-71)**

Supposed to be Mao's Second man

The successor to Mao Zedong ->

In 1971 Lin allegedly tried but failed.

To assassinate Mao

To flee to Soviet Union

9.13 eroded Mao's credibility.

He became increasingly paranoid.

Lin Biao was a military man. Unlike Liu Shaoqi, he's taking action.

The hero of Manchuria sucked at the planning.

Unfortunately this shootdown of the plane: Lin Biao told as second man, most trusted ally.  
Now they see: Lin Biao as an enemy? What's wrong with Chairman Mao?

### The rise and fall of the Gang of four

#### 1972 - 1976:

The power struggle between the radical "Gang of Four", led by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife  
She was young and full of ideals as an actress. The life there sucked at Yan'an. Mao  
doesn't have good tastes. He looked for those easily available.  
Jiang Qing had a string of failures as an actress, and she translated that into Bang Yang  
Xi.

The moderates led by Premier Zhou Enlai

#### Fate of Deng Xiaoping:

Zhou brought back many disgraced leaders, including Deng Xiaoping, 1974  
Deng himself during this period was his ability to be affable. This is a great talent: the situation  
is stressful.  
He was exiled to the South : he made a lot of friends amongst the generals. And when this  
power struggle broke out, when he was about to be purged, to bring down Jiang Qing.

They launched a coup d'etat

1976: purged Deng again

Deng preparing for Civil War

Zhang Chunqiao, Jiang Qing, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen: 1976: each was tried and convicted  
of crimes associated with the Cultural Revolution.

They showed excerpt of the clips.

### CR and Foreign Policy

May Fourth Movement brought to extreme

#### 180 degrees change in Foreign policy

Although we're revolutionary, we're practical -> We're trying to be reasonable in the 1950s. Trying  
to avoid the pariah status

IN the 1960s it was overturned. You must replicate Maoist revolutionary models overseas. This  
became the flexible approach being abandoned. They became inflexible and wanted to spread the  
Revolution throughout. Everything was abandoned.

Where can this be seen? In the Sino-Soviet split.

Mao saw this and use it to brand his domestic critics that they were not revolutionary enough, and  
that they were traitors. If you don't denounce with him, you're traitors. Foreign element to whip up  
support for himself.

China put herself as the leader of "rural underdeveloped countries front"

Chairman had no fully defined program -> only to destroy his enemies.

Chen Yi: under Red Guard attacks (Foreign Minister)

Zhou Enlai's attempt at personal survival (cannot save other comrades)

Salvaging some semblance of rationality

Mao's cult of personality

Facilitating Mao's unchallenged domination of the policy-making process

Thrust Chinese embassies into other countries' domestic affairs.

### Spill-over onto China's relations abroad

- Chinese Embassies became involved in organizing local Maoist activities
- Aided such revolutionary activity
- Inciting overseas Chinese to disregard local laws
  - Encouraged to embrace Maoist ideology
- Emulate the Cultural Revolution in their own countries

#### Case Study 1: Hong Kong and Macao, late 1966, 1967

In mobs of Maoist youths battled police, demanding the immediate British and Portuguese evacuation of those areas

1967 riots threatened to destabilize the colony

Beijing issued statements lauding the Hong Kong rioters and condemning the Hong Kong police "Spill-over" onto China's reputation

#### Rangoon Riots June 1967

Right of Overseas Chinese students in Rangoon to wear badges showing Chairman Mao  
Burmese authorities prohibited the badges

The students supported by personnel from the Chinese embassy in Rangoon, ignored the prohibitions.

Confrontations developed, escalating into Full-scale anti-Chinese riots which more than 100 overseas Chinese were killed

Beijing responded by condemning the Burmese government, calling it for its overthrow.

#### Chiang Chong Chian @ Gao Lao

Mastermind of Singapore Chinese students' riots in the 1950s (2014)

Instigated by some people

The documents are in the Special Branch Office.

The students were instigated -> but the students would say that they are true nationalists. When this joker had his memoirs published. Turns out that this guy was the instigator. The Hock Lee Bus Riots was instigated by this. What he did was he met with key student leaders, to strategize. His careful to reveal his true status.

Escaped Operation Cold Store. Went into Indonesia. And then his karma caught up with him, and made to do self-criticism.

Forced to make self-criticism in underground meetings, Indonesia.

Exiled from party, CPM.

#### Euro New Left

A lot of countries emulated Mao

Student-worker rebellion in France in May 1968

Beijing lauded New Left

Rising global tide of world revolution inspired by Mao Zedong

#### China's African Policy

Was heavily influenced by ideology

Using free aid as the basis to build bilateral relations 1963 - 64, "non-interference of internal affairs"

CR: pro-Soviet communist parties in various African states

#### Vietnam War

Johnson's caution worked ! (1963-69) Will China intervene? Yes, he's right. China will intervened because it's been radicalized.

Secret agreement between Hanoi and Beijing

If the American launched a ground invasion of North Vietnam, China would send ground troops.

Believed that the success of North Vietnam had ideological significance.

A way to embarrass of USSR

Lead anti-imperialist movements of the Third World

#### Soviet Threat increasing

Russia had their own problems, but they had no problems with conquest

Teach Czech a lesson of true Communism.

Replace the current leadership with their own leaders.

In 1969 - Xinjiang Soviets eliminated 1 Chinese brigade. (2500)

1970: Soviet 30 divisions -> 10 000 along the border of China -> warning to China, prelude to Invasion.

The Chinese were really terrified -> Soldiers were used as garrison duty to maintain peace. The commander of the Far East forces was the commander of the Nuclear forces. They were prepared to send signals to use Soviet force.

Rumors of Nuclear Strike

USSR maintained strong ties with Mongolia

Thwart Chinese influence in N Korea.

China found themselves facing problems from the North -> AGAIN! Soviet threat this time!

Soviet threat was at China's Doorstep

In 1969: Two groups of soldiers clashed at the Ussuri River.

The Chinese got too enthusiastic and started fighting. The lieutenant leading the platoon died. The division came with more support -> nobody is thinking. Both side had heavy weapons (mortars)

Now, they finally turned to the United States.

This is indicative of this person who is flexible: World Table Tennis Championship, Apr 1971. The Chinese responded through ping pong diplomacy.

1971, PRC became the representative of China in UN (replaced ROC)

1972, President Nixon visited Beijing.

(Travelled via Pakistan)

### **Legacies of CR**

Tourism?

Tourist package in China: take part in Cultural Revolution photoshoots

# Exam

Monday, August 5, 2019 4:11 PM

1. Overseas Chinese: Kuhn, Mackie and Wang -> topic, but not the specific question-> Basically, Singapore as a sovereign country stuck between large countries.
2. Post 1976 Reforms: social, political and economic changes

-> Globalization and its discontents -> Washington Consensus -> American world view -> said that the American worldview for economic development is wrong. This book should be read -> Harvey -> marxist theorist  
Vogel -> Old war horse, talks about anything under East Asia

Tiananmen and beyond -> They are discussed together -> dissatisfaction stemmed from economic reforms, which came from Cultural Revolution

-> Comes from when they attempt to reform -> people who are entrenched in the old system, they are top dogs, and it's not that easy to reform.

It's not to do anything -> Management 101 -> Is to observe the alliances in the company and association that you are in. Their association -> you observe the alliances and pluck into this network.

## Themes

**Return of Deng**

**How and Why of Opening Up**

**Context of Tiananmen**

**8 steps to a Tragedy**

**International Pressure (esp from USA)**

You are presenting from the perspective of who? Came from the Eastern Bloc. It's a rare perspective -> how do fraternal allies see this thing that is happening in China?

East Germany itself was collapsing. What you're reading is a writing of a bureaucrat whose job is gone. East Germans who worked in Stassi pretended that they were not, so that they cannot be traced.

Everything was plotted:

Imprison Gang of Four Oct 1976

Four Modernizations

National Defense

Science and Tech

Agriculture

Industrialization

With these four modernizations -> know that they can go back to Beijing -> Academy of Sciences

Deng had strong support from the Old Guard (who suffered during the Cultural Revolution)

They always back it with some rhetoric for political purposes.

They crystallize what happened in the Four Cardinal Principles in 1979 -> and it became easier to blame Mao

So this became a formula -> Everybody, feel free to talk about the faults of Mao. Intimately connected with the Cultural Revolution

Hua Guofeng -> Heir apparent, but Deng took over everything.  
Supposedly, he got the permission to be the heir, but

### **What are the Four Cardinal Principles?**

We must keep to the socialist road  
We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat  
We must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party  
We must uphold Marxism - Leninism and Mao Zedong thought

Criticism of Mao never went 100 percent.

In no way did these political reform go together with economics, Economic liberalization in no way implied political liberalization.

### **Contours of Opening Up?**

Agriculture

Everybody in Communes? Household contract responsibility system.  
22 % of the world's population vs 7% of the world's cultivated land?

Household contract responsibility system -> 家庭联产承包责任制

Cultivation rights can be passed down to children

You are responsible for your own output -> no longer would the government force you into anything

This household responsibility system was proposed by Liu Shaoqi in 1962. now, they are reviving something that was invented in 1962.

Encouragement to sell straight to final consumers

State also reduced the price at which it bought grain

Ceased to contract for specified deliveries of key crops

Ability to finance grain imports depends upon its ability to earn export revenues, and that focuses attention on industrial and foreign trade reforms.

This is some attempt to let the market determine how much the farmers would plant, with the state not stipulating anything.

Farmers being practical, see which kind of crop brings in money.

China moved away from self-sustaining to "If I earn enough foreign cash, I can start buying crops. I don't need to plant everything" -> Buy from US and Canada.

### **Industrial Reforms**

Modernize the state owned enterprise (SOEs)

State would determine how many thumbtacks

Decision left to factories

Decide production and pricing decisions themselves

Inefficient SOEs have been closed

Others sustained by Bank credit

Fuel Inflation

Selling shares away -> privatization

Closure of the sale of the firm results in unemployment and the withdrawal of medical care

Employment opportunities elsewhere in the economy have increased

A lot of cadres saw opportunity to buy the shares of the factory to them. (Aka Huawei)

It's brutal in weeding out who are ineffective, who cannot change part enough)

Human capital cannot move fast enough (there's disruption)

Tiananmen is a huge disruption compared to factories moving.

The impact of attempt to shift from command to market economy, and in between the shift

there's a lot of disruption

A disruption that led to today -> lead to corruption, came from the distortion. Once one system changes, other parts of the economy not changing.

### Lobbying the managers of the system

Info rules subjected to change -> endemic corruption

You managed to sharpen and identify the brand. Where can you get metal? If your factory moves towards the market economy, the manager of the iron ore -> is he your grandfather? So you, as the factory former manager who needs to suck it up to this person who is still stuck in the old economy. Some areas are changed, some are not.

Seeing a system full of information distortion. Chinese way is to buy information, and grease the palm. The system is moving. Whenever there's a structural change, there's opportunity to make money the illegal way

### Foreign trade and investment

Technology of Chinese industry needed rapid transformation

The only capital they had are humans

They invite all the multinational to set up factories, asking the workers to work there

Foreign trade was the quickest method

Acquiring new technological standards

Faster pace of economic development

1980 of four Special Economic Zones (SEZs)

Firms were given special privileges and were expected to produce for the export market

To attract foreign investment and technology

Boost China's foreign exchange earnings through exports

Exports rose from 16% per annum (1979-1996)

The winners here are those who seized the opportunity, and the losers are those who did not seize fast enough. This created the atmosphere to be ripe for Tiananmen

### Background of Tiananmen

Since 1978, Backbreaking series of economic and political reforms

Gradual implementation of market economy

Some political liberalization

Since you are allowing factory managers are allowed to decide their own produce, then there is decentralization

There is movement from central planning to more decentralized decision making

Demands for pluralism in political decision making -> Since you liberalized this, you can liberalize everything.

### Balance with the ruling elite

Brush up with the elite -> two kinds who want and do not want this

Fluctuating between those who wanted to extend some liberalisation to the political system and those who opposed it

Resistance of an entrenched bureaucracy

Pressures from impatient reformers

Main issue: corruption and inflation

Opening up the market Economy

Unequal reforms

Keeps out opportunity for people to exploit.

This caused a lot of population left behind, and this anger

### Intelligentsia and student movement

Much more favorably disposed to western ideas and practices

Spirit of democracy, freedom and innovation and the pace of change that flowed from political liberalization

Many become uncritical supporters of Western ideas and institutions and hypercritical of all things Chinese

It's seen as backward to be Chinese. Things like minzhu, is something to be bandied about, to feel cool about it.

It flowed from all political liberalization. Most of the people in Tiananmen were like these.

These are from Western observers -> our system are flawed. If you embrace it wholeheartedly, you've got problems

### **External Factors**

Around the world, East Asia was experiencing this Arab Spring

Korea had the Kanju Massacre

Pace and scale of their economic transformation and the political liberalization that accompanied it

Return of Hong Kong to Chinese control in 1997

Further economic reforms

Eastern Europe -> political maelstrom of 1989

China escaped.

### **Eight Steps of a Tragedy**

#### **1. First Wave of Protests, 1986**

- a. Students and intellectuals took to the streets in most of the major cities of China during 1986
- b. CCP feared the risk of igniting popular protest
- c. Worried about the possibility of a Polish-style revolt among the workers
- d. General Secretary Hu Yaobang called for more "democratization"
  - i. Outstripped the consensus
  - ii. Purged in 1987
  - iii. Replaced by Zhao Ziyang
- e. There were a lot of oldies in the standing committee -> he was the secretary general
- f. Yang Shangkun, Bo Yibo, Li Xiannian and they stripped him.

#### **2. Accelerated Reforms**

- a. The reformers took pride that they were not vanquished
- b. The reformers regrouped, and managed to place their own people in more leading positions than they had held in 1986
- c. Accelerated the pace of reform in 1988
- d. Nobody knew how much reform to do
- e. There was no grand strategy.
- f. But limitations on political freedom and growing corruption and inflation continued
- g. Student protests gathered momentum in late 1988 and the first half of 1989

#### **3. Death of former Secretary General Hu Yaobang**

- a. His sudden death due to heart attack, April 15 1989
- b. 70th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement
- c. His death was a catalyst, a martyr to democracy
- d. Students took the opportunity to voice their frustration
- e. Corruption, inflation, press restriction, university conditions (They opened up to African students)
- f. Persistence of Party 'elders; behind the scenes
- g. Unprecedented confluence of disparate resentments escalated into upheaval

#### **4. Evolution of protest**

- a. 100 000 students and workers marched in Beijing
- b. Making demands for free media reform
- c. A formal dialogue between the authorities

- d. Evolved into an occupation of Tiananmen Square challenging the authority of the government
  - e. The government rejected the proposed dialog
  - f. Huge groups of students occupied Tiananmen Square and started a hunger strike
  - g. By June, anti-government protests of various sizes had spread nationwide to 341 cities
  - h. Shanghai was affected -> Jiang Zemin was selected because he was able to put down protests
5. Occupation Tactics
- a. Try to egg on the government
  - b. Widespread local and international attention
  - c. Tempt the government into a rash act
  - d. Demonstrate the impotence of the government
  - e. Trying to tempt Govt into rash acts, putting it at a disadvantage
  - f. They drove fear into the old Guard. The old guard just survived the Cultural Revolution
  - g. These protest stirred the historical Chinese fear of chaos and memories of the Cultural Revolution
  - h. Andrew Nathan: "miscommunication and misjudgment, they pushed one another into positions in which options of compromise became less and less available"
6. Hesitation for several weeks
- a. Huge debate at the political level
  - b. Li Peng, Zhao Ziyang diaries
  - c. Serious divisions within its ranks over the use of force
  - d. Split over its policy towards the students
  - e. Gorbachev, who had introduced political pluralism to the Soviet Union, was visiting Beijing in 15 May
  - f. Why did they hesitate? They are fighting against their own people. How do you quell them using the same force \_> without fatality.
7. Chinese leadership cracked down in June 4th
- a. Deng and a majority of the Politburo ordered the PLA to clear Tiananmen Square
  - b. General Secretary of the Communist Party, Zhao Ziyang was dismissed
  - c. The real killing took place elsewhere
  - d. A harsh suppression of the protest followed
  - e. Broadcast by international media, covering momentous meeting between Gorbachev and the Chinese leadership
8. Myth of Students vs Soldiers
- a. Killings in the streets leading to Tiananmen Square because they were preventing people going into the square
  - b. Hundreds of workers were gunned down in the streets
  - c. Most Westerners think the Tiananmen were students vs Soldiers

### **International Pressures**

I'm not denying that there were casualties \_> but be more specific where exactly.

What were US options? The president was George Bush Senior -> never in China's history 0-> sitting Chinese president that loved China

1. Policy of Engagement
  - a. Changes in civil practice can be advocated in the same of common purposes
  - b. Or at least the preservation of a common interest
  - c. Realist: diplomacy should therefore focus primarily on external policies
2. Confrontation
  - a. United States to resist undemocratic behavior or human rights violation
  - b. Idealists insisting that domestic systems affect foreign policy and are therefore legitimate items on the diplomatic agenda

Aim of Bush Senior:

"The question for me was how to condemn what we saw as wrong and react appropriately while also remaining engaged with China, even if the relationship must now be 'on hold'

Political ideal with the pursuit of peaceful and productive US- China relations

He's not going to blow it up.

Deng's luck was really good at this point in time.

**Deng's Southern Tour 1992 -> Doldrum with Congress, Senate.**

Other countries try not to get too involved -> terribly opportunistic.

Revive the economic reforms. These are the places he went to. Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, Hubei again, Jiangsu and Shanghai

The period of strict central control lasted until 1992

Deng, suddenly re-emerged on a southern tour of inspection of the special economic zones

His interpreter is the daughter.

Another green light for reform, and the pace of reform again accelerated until the death of Deng in 1997

# Tutorial

Tuesday, August 6, 2019 12:17 PM

1976 \_> Tangshan Earthquake and Mao died \_> reforms.

Overseas Chinese -> focus on post Indonesia. Now change the focus -> Read the article, and see the overseas Chinese -> Philip Kuhn -> prepare this essay. Y L Wang can forget about it.

# Essay

Tuesday, August 6, 2019 12:17 PM

"Haunts China" -> Taiwan and Korea have this problem. Germany and Vietnam does not have this problem.

"Instability" -> linked to the republic, linked to unification.

State Legitimacy -> mandate to rule. (China) This caused current from Ming Qing and Modern period. Are you fit enough to rule? If you are legitimate, through your actions, you are legitimate.

What role did they play in this period? They are in competition, they see themselves playing different roles. If your essay is describing Northern Expedition, if you organize in this way, unless you are brilliant in writing, it's a straight C because the chronological method carries a huge risk. If you divide by theme, you force yourself to be analyze by theme. You are chronological when you are lazy.

Legitimacy is understood either heaven given or through meritorious acts. Conversely, you can lose it by stupid acts. They define it as revolutionary. Founding fathers Sun Yat-sen. Song Jiaoren, assassinated at the rail way station. They had so much legitimacy, and they lost it.

CCP started weak, but gained slowly, and there is this tension

KMT role in Narrative	CCP role in Narrative
Revolutionary Party	Source of "correct policies" They are correctly pointing out to fight the Japanese KMT general Zhang Xueliang kidnapped Chiang, and was under house arrest.
Reunification -> Beifa Northern Expedition	i. Fight Japanese first ii. They got slaughtered by the Japanese literally iii. Divisions decimated in the warlord era -> huge sacrifices
Sacrifice	ii. CCP pristine image -> Yenan They controlled their image, don't really know how to enjoy, true. It's very romantic. Compared to corrupt KMT.
Recognition by foreign powers In the aftermath of WWII Chiang Kaishek met Yalta Conference	iii. Reforms
Lost it	Sacrifice - Long March, rectification
i. Wrong footing via Nationalism -- Sino-Jap War	Independence = "We have Stood up" Electrifying to Overseas Chinese -> mesmerizing talking about Independence. You have literally gained back your prestige.
ii. Lack of Reforms Warlord problems New Life Movement	Extra Revolutionary --> Soong Ching-ling stayed with PRC instead of going to Taiwan, Warlord Li Zongren returned to China, 1965
iii. Wrong footing via Fascism, New Life Movement, against the spirit	Reunification -- won the civil war

1911 -> Missing element -> revival of the "Great Man" We are influenced by Marxist historiography -> but we look at economic factors, social factors. Marxist historiography trained historians to be broader, and look at bigger factors.

But, nowadays -> Jackie Chan movie, there's always this thing about Great Man. Why is this critical -> cult of personality during Mao's time. CCP has been sensitive to this, don't want another disaster -> seems to be this revival.

For a student who needs to do this essay -> Esherick's article \_ > most points

Cheng Zheng-thrown in the river.

In history writing -> when you reach the apex of mastery of facts, the essay reaches the level where you introduce some funny element to it -> you have mastery of all the facts, and selective. You pull in facts for effect. It's to make people amused. Because you know all your facts, so you can pull in examples that talk about this. It's about the punch line. I don't expect you to do that.

You can talk about convergence of fact/fiction:

How close it adheres to facts, how far it adhered.

Overseas Chinese respect

Visionary

Sun respected by both CCP and KMT

Role of women

Jackie Chan is not known to respect women

Tang Manrou -> Why to make up this woman? You need to analyze why it is fake. What is it about Sun's background to come up with his fictitious woman.

He is charismatic to capture a woman's heart. Sun was a superstar -> so everywhere he went -> That character of Tang Manrou is to address that issue

Xu Zonghan -> Not a wife, but Huang Xing has a wife -> otherwise, son in law wouldn't write about him.

Qiu Jin -> why the silence?

How women wrote novels in the reinterpretation of Revolution -> Benedict Anderson's imagination of built economy through non-historical ways, through novels.

I.e. Nationalism \_ . Man can control Nature

Divergence.

Yuan Shikai is the most interesting figure in the entire movie -> He is the protégé of Li Hongzhang. Obviously, he's someone who's exceptional, like Yuan Shikai.

Conflict with Song Jiaoren's TMH;

Qing's reforms -- various armaments of Jiangnan arsenal; (Gatling Guns)

Triads - Secret societies courted by Sun and Chiang

Role of Japan (courted by both Sun and Yuan) -> Disappointed to find that Sun is willing to give Manchuria to Japan

Huang Xing's relationship with Yuan

Pressures faced by Qing -- Effect of Dowager's last reforms

-provincial assemblies - railway debate

Memoir Question: Choose your poison/ medicine -> student who chose that is a bit of a po fu cheng zhou. Most put in a lot of effort. Wild Swans, Red Azalea, The Cowshed, Life and Death in Shanghai. Six chapters from my life Down Under.

Focus on particular episodes \_ > Land reform, GLF, CR, opening of China etc

Or functional areas (better): suicides, homosexuality , brain washing

Hence only certain chapters in memoir are needed

But students are intimidated by Qn. Lack of careful reflection (Otherwise just consult)

Cross-referencing with other secondary sources -- Main requirement of Review Article

Why the differences

# Lecture

Tuesday, August 13, 2019 12:04 PM

Going beyond territoriality :

Meaning of China:

Earlier days: Diaspora and its discontents

Today: Developmental Aid and Investment

Commonality: anti-Chinese riots

There has always been Chinese societies, or anti-Chinese riots.

Anywhere you go, we have anti-Chinese riots because of modern aid, and because of migrants.

The commonality seems to be riots

## **Chinese Migration since 16th century**

Chinese Ming luxury goods

Lineage clans finance maritime trade

1830s Coolie trade: European protected by treaties; end of Slave trade; steam ships

Ppl ban the Atlantic slave trade -> so get Chinese coolies to replace them.

Colonial powers in SEA depended on Chinese fiscal admin and city building

Tax farmers, Europeans as patrons; gained power and wealth

Nationalism -> dire problems for Chinese minorities

But Chinese capital and Businesses maintained local economies

Local political strongman and Chinese dollars

Terrorization (Indonesia) or co-operation (Malaysia)

You'll see the secret societies everywhere.

Under Pickering -> did a thorough job in crushing secret societies but triad problems are never eradicated, only shifted underground

The Chinese, no matter which migration wave, always possess a superior set of skills especially in engineering or in accounting.

These are a set of skills that the colonial masters find it convenient. The Europeans want to know what to collect your taxes.

To calculate for you, they are seen as a race apart from the colonials

This creates resentment.

Use the Chinese as a lightning rod -> to have the locals direct their anger at the Chinese rather than the colonial powers.

When nationalism hits South east Asia, it created a lot of problems for the overseas Chinese

The laws in Malaya -> the British had laws preventing them to farm. If you do not allow them to farm, then they can only be groceries/businessman.

The business maintained local economies, so what you have is two models that emerge: the Indonesian model, and the Malaysian model

## **Jakarta May Riot, 1998**

This was significant.

Modern Historical Violent Precedents in Indonesia

1740 -> Batavian Massacre (launched by the Dutch)

1942 -> Japanese Occupation (Anti-Chinese Riots due to Sook Ching)

1949 -> Chinese seen as siding with the Dutch in the Revolution and Independence

1965-1967 -> collaborating with the Communist

1998 -> Collapse of New Order (Indonesian money came in)

## **Common Characteristics**

During the time of political transition

Eg Dutch to Japanese (political transition)

Scapegoats -> seem to be representing old regime

Chinese seen to be supporting the Dutch

Main Losses -> Largely property

New Regime would try to be close to the ethnic Chinese

Ethnic Chinese hold the reigns of economic power, so they say now I'm your protector. So they have all these resources but no political power.

The scene is slowly changing. For example -> the mayor of Jakarta is Ahok, imprisoned for two years for blasphemy. He's the first Chinese mayor of Jakarta.

### **There were two Medan riots: April 1994 and May 1998**

Before the riots, before social media. There are leaflets that "described the wealth of ethnic Chinese families and said that they were exploiting Indonesian factory workers"

They would draw the Chinese as lecherous old man to exploit the Indonesians

President Suharto has encouraged Chinese here to integrate as much as possible and to keep a low public profile

"Premanism" state -> Forced the Chinese to pay for protection. It's a racist structure.

But still attack them anyway, aftermath of student demo

Purdey: They felt a "strange sense of betrayal"

The Chinese don't feel safe, they park their money in Singapore. Then they buy condos here.

The whole stretch of condos at Geylang. That were originally bought up by the Indonesian Chinese during this time. Then you accuse them of not being patriotic. Then they massacre them. (here's the evidence! Why should they park their money in Indonesia)

### **A perfect Storm**

Student Demonstration -> shooting at Trisakti University

Power Struggle -> Suharto ailing. Prabowo vs Wiranto

Year after 1997 Economic Crisis

Stiglitz -> what the IMF imposed on Indonesia nearly destroyed the country

They imposed stringent Banking rules, and nearly tore the country apart

This student was killed and launched the entire riot.

(Jokowi has to face off against Prabowo -> old general! He didn't win. He faced off against his boss, Wiranto. Singapore was betting all his forces against Wiranto because of the good relationship. The Indonesian parliament rejected both (one crazy, one too close to Suharto) and settled on compromise candidate Habibie. Habibie called Singapore a little red dot. They needed money to ask for loans during Indonesia crisis. So the loan that you'll get, interest rate was 2.6% (charged according to Singaporean HDB).

Habibie refused to sign. So this thing might be difficult to understand -> no signing involved. Man's honor. Unfortunately, that is during the Dutch time.

Anyway, he called Singapore this Little Red Dot. If everyone had some fun, can go over and invade Singapore.

So Singapore faced with all these rhetoric from Indonesia.

Luckily, because Malaysia suffering from the 1997 crisis, Mahathir was the PM and he didn't say much

### **Economic Crisis**

1. Monetary Crisis

2. Chinese-Indonesian businessmen who were accused of economic sabotage

3. Prabowo's Banker brother was affected by the crisis

4. Indonesian currency flowing to Singapore and Hong Kong

Once they flowed to Singapore, it never left.

### **Underlying Background Reasons**

1. "Anti-Chinese Sentiment"

Punishment[?] Hostility and discrimination, are normal characteristics of these communities (Purdey)

Prabowo's anti-Chinese views

Habibie: this is the most humiliating event in Indonesian history.

Indonesian reports on ethnic Chinese rape and killed during the riots itself

2. Perception among the Indonesians that the ethnic Chinese hold the money

There are lot of Chinese who are not rich at all

Myth in local discourse -> to legitimize anti-Chinese riots

Especially when the Indonesians themselves were suffering -> take it out on the Chinese  
Rapporteur: Coomaraswamy;

Victims were lower middle class, who were poor and they were small shop owners  
in small towns or countryside.

Your stall would be looted and burnt down because you represent all their anger.

### 3. Islamic Grievances

1. Islamic leaders felt that they were victims

Amien Rais, a professor from Yogyakarta: open criticism against Suharto

Blamed Christians and Chinese

Islamic leaders felt that they were the victims of military injustice perpetuated by Suharto

Government influenced by the Christians

They also felt that the Chinese dominated the Indonesian economy.

The Chinese became a very convenient scapegoat.

### **Overseas Chinese the target of hostilities. How did the government in mainland China and the quasi-government responded?**

Muted Chinese government reaction

After two months, they did respond

Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan spoke to Indo FM July 28 -> ASEAN meeting in Manila

President Jiang Zemin spoke to Habibie in November 1998

Were the Chinese forceful?

No! 24 character instruction: keep a low profile and ramp up on business.

They have been there for a long time: can show sympathy, but not too much.

### **Beijing's strategy downplay May riots, and overseas Chinese issue:**

You are a citizen of a country, no longer to deal with China

In the public pronouncement: Jakarta's internal affair: avoided Huaqiao, and used Yinni  
Huaren (overseas Chinese vs Indonesians of Chinese descent)

Chinese Ambassador: Chen Shiqiu "is a part of Indonesia's domestic politics. Its  
resolution must come from the Indonesian government itself. The Chinese government  
must not act as if it could be the chef in somebody else's kitchen"

### **Importance of Bilateral relations**

Economic cooperation

China consistently came out from the 10 years, where they had no wish to create  
another storm, about stable relations

But willing to help Indonesia cope with the impact of the financial crisis

Sell 50 000 tons of rice to Indonesia

\$3 million grant for medicine

\$200 million economic loan package.

### **Taiwanese Government**

Small -> make a lot of noise

Demanding the trial and protection for victims

Threatened to withdraw investments US\$13 billion

"based on the principles of protecting overseas Chinese and protecting human rights"

On 9 August, Minister of Investment Hamzah Haz flew to Taiwan and apologized for the  
violence.

The Taiwanese never withdrew the loans.

### **Gestapu period:**

Suharto overthrew Sukarno and then he was overthrown in the new world order.

In this period -> Gestapu closed one eye to extrajudicial killing of the Chinese. They were  
suspected to be Communist sympathizers. About 2 million.

### **Post Cold War Assumptions**

1. Reciprocity and Mutual Benefit
2. Economic Benefits (with China)
3. Integration of Political Interest
4. Obligations of a "big Country"
5. Why this reciprocity \_> during the revolutionary period, the Tanzanian railway was built at  
great cost to China.

1. There must be reciprocity -> A lot of foreign observers saw that the first visit abroad for the Chinese foreign minister has always been to the African continent.
2. No other country did that. Especially since China was suffering from the Great Leap Forward.
3. Some commentators spoke about a strategy of **远交近攻**
6. In terms of real money: IN statistics
  1. The first policy of visiting Africa in place: it was 1.68 billion RMB. 0.08% of the GNP  
7.47 billion RMB -> 0.22% of GNP
  2. Chosen Africa as the main recipient area of its foreign aid
  3. 500 years of its foreign aid: 44.4 billion RMB
  4. They pumped in this cash, and built up to 900 infrastructure and social projects for these fifty years
7. It must be Chinese benefit as well.
  1. Indeed when it had the open door policy -> trade is important for manufacturing industries
  2. Africa seen as important market
  3. China's demand for energy and resources
  4. China wants to be a responsible foreign power, aiding other countries as well

#### **"Market oriented principles"**

1. Three policy banks
  1. China Development Bank
  2. China Export Import Bank
  3. China Agricultural Development bank
2. Concessionary aid loans
  1. Low-cost, no-interest loans to Chinese companies
  2. But oil or mineral reserves, cash crops are collateral for African nations.
  3. To prevent money from corruption

#### **Forum of China-African Cooperation**

1. Training programs
2. Coordinated debt relief programs
3. Promote economic cooperation between China and African countries
4. Mechanism for coordinating relations between China and Asia

#### **21st Century list of Anti-Chinese riots**

2006, Zambia  
 2007, Lesotho  
 2009, Algeria  
 2011, Zambia  
 Apr 2014, South Africa  
 Dec 2014, Madagascar  
 Jan 2015, Congo

Stereotype: The loud, rude and culturally naïve Chinese  
 They blamed the Chinese for not having environmental safety standards  
 The Chinese companies tend to bring in Chinese workers  
 Chinese companies: stimulate local corruption  
 Chinese racism: "Hei -Gui" 黑鬼

At least in media, they are transforming themselves -> talk about their own version of Rambo:  
**New Age Chinese government reaction?**

Curiously muted -> the Chinese would keep quiet when they had these riots overseas.  
 They would be confined to organizing evacuations and relief  
 Main priority will be national strategic interests.  
 Multi-billion  
 Defending closer to home?  
 Their posture would be more muscular

See Vietnamese riots: PLA at the border

### **Wrap Up**

- Modernization and Tradition
- Revolution and Reform
- Nationalism and Imperialism
- Foreign Impact and Internal Dynamic
- Transnationalism and Globalization.

## Article:

Tuesday, August 13, 2019 1:29 PM

### -> Bilhari Article

Trade with China -> China and US have no benefit from the trade

China required semiconductor chips from US dependent companies ->

Impact on Singapore -> Singapore is the Hong Kong of the old days -> survive by being a comprador - speak to both sides.

The screenshot shows a web browser with several tabs open, illustrating the complex geopolitical dynamics between the US and China. One tab discusses the impact of US-China trade on Singapore. Another tab highlights the dependency of US companies like Cadence and Synopsys on Chinese semiconductor manufacturers. A third tab explores the strategic importance of China's 'two sessions' and its implications for US policy. The browser interface includes navigation bars, search fields, and a history list.

These are the pro-China -> only bank in Bank of China.

These are the people that are suspect -> and the government look at Operation Coldstore -> seen as chauvinistic.

Kausikan is hammering the same group -> What is alarming that the same language used to hammer the Chinese-educated in the fifties is being used again.

Pull out Pro-Chinese thing -> Internal Security Act -> pull out those who were pro-Communist. And this guy is raising those spectres again.

This screenshot displays a political article from a news website. It discusses the historical context of the US-China relationship, mentioning the 'two sessions' and the challenges faced by the Trump administration. The article highlights the strategic importance of the Shangri-La Dialogue and the Indo-Pacific Strategy Report. It also touches on the broader geopolitical landscape, including the role of India and the South China Sea disputes. The text is presented in a clean, modern layout with a large image of a hand holding a sword.

Shangri-La Dialogue -> holier than Christmas; No longer a kissup session, but slapping US and China in the face.  
It's a love fest -> to boost confidence. Stroke -> tells everybody that I'm the big boss.

If you read between the lines ->

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1 of 1 Automatic Zoom

# The US and its Shangri-La myths

PM Lee's keynote speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue is a timely and important message to America as the US grows increasingly hostile to China's rise



Hugh White  
For The Straits Times

For many years, ever since they first started to think of China as a potential future strategic rival, America's foreign policy community members have taken the support of the rest of Asia for granted.

They have unquestioningly expected that if China ever did challenge the United States' position as the primary power in Asia, then its allies and friends in Asia would be only too eager to encourage and support the US in its task.

They have assumed, indeed, that the more overtly China challenged US strategic leadership, the more eagerly its Asian neighbours would summon America in residence

Speech writer for LSL in Shangri La

Not only just the White House -> extend to Congress who blamed China to whoever it is.

Both sides think that they are taking advantage of itself. Of good will of their labourers and markets.

What Lee is trying to say is that US need to accept China as a rising power, cannot suppress them.

Germany was the rising power in the 1920s-30s.

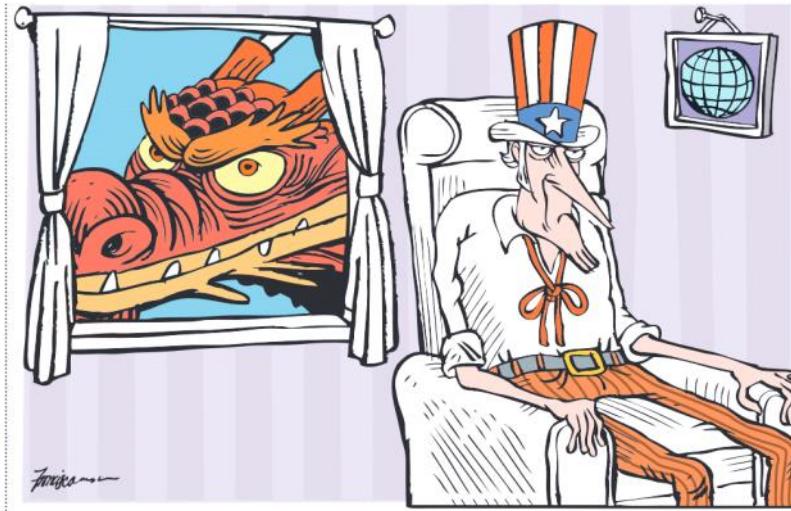
He is trying to say that China is a rising power now, and that should not stop from happening, because China has a lot to contribute. This is in the best interest of everyone. Want to force China into making things? Plugging into the world system, China is seen as benevolent, and good for everyone.

Asean Free Trade Agreement -> China tried to extract revenue taxes.

The success of country is the success of government manage to extract enough resources but not bankrupt the people it extracted from.

Zhu Rongji was involved in the special formula that extracts enough from the provinces, but not yet bankrupt them.

One of the features -> income tax. Previously, from Ming and Qing -> extraction is done through agriculture. As China urbanizes, does it still make sense to extract from agriculture. Worthwhile to have poll tax or income tax. Come from urban kind of jobs. The people are mobile, but not the identification number. This is one way to get a steady source without bankrupting the system.



The authority of this warning was all the greater because it came from none other than the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Hsien Loong. His keynote speech to the opening dinner reflected a brutally frank

The talk of a "new Cold War" is no longer just a metaphor but an increasingly accurate

strategic rivalry. The only sensible course is for America to accept China's rise and learn to live with it. Asians will welcome America remaining a major strategic player in Asia but will not

Strategy appeared, Washington's rhetoric about China has become markedly more strident. Much attention has naturally focused on the very worrying trade dimensions of Washington's

just globally but by denying it any wider regional influence in Asia.

What is lacking in Washington is any clear idea of how this can be achieved, and at what cost. US policymakers and analysts seem to continue to assume, as they have done for so long, that tough talk from the White House and the Pentagon will be enough by itself to make China back off.

This kind of thinking lay behind then US Acting Defence Secretary Patrick Shanahan's tough talk in his address at the Shangri-La Dialogue this year, when he boldly said that Chinese bad behaviour "must end".

If only it were that easy. Most folk in Singapore's Foreign Ministry understand that China's weight and power in Asia are real and still growing, and cannot simply be brushed aside. They understand that China's global ambitions and reach are not as broad as Washington now fears, but that its strength and resolve in Asia are much greater than Washington understands.

They worry that Americans too readily assume that they can win a new Cold War with China just as they did the old one with the Soviets without understanding all the myriad ways that China is not the Soviet Union. And they fear that these misunderstandings will lead America stumbling into a confrontation with China which it cannot win and which could easily degenerate into a major war.

America needs Asia's help to avoid that. It needs to be brought to understand that if it wishes to remain strategically significant in Asia at all, it must either engage