

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 475 612

SO 034 775

TITLE China: Tradition and Transformation. Curriculum Projects. Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Program, 2002 (China).

INSTITUTION National Committee on United States-China Relations, New York, NY.

SPONS AGENCY Center for International Education (ED), Washington, DC.

PUB DATE 2002-00-00

NOTE 405p.

PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01/PC17 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Area Studies; *Asian History; *Asian Studies; *Chinese Culture; Clothing; *Cultural Context; *Curriculum Development; Food; Foreign Countries; Global Approach; High Schools; Higher Education; Political Issues; Social Problems; Social Studies; Thematic Approach

IDENTIFIERS *China; Chinese Civilization; Chinese Literature; Fulbright Hays Seminars Abroad Program

ABSTRACT

This collection of 15 curriculum projects is the result of a summer seminar in China for teachers and scholars. Projects in the collection are: (1) "Perspectives on Modern Political/Social Issues in China" (Sandy Conlon); (2) "Ancient History X Projects/China" (Michael Corey); (3) "Education and Development: China, a Case Study" (Marcia J. Frost); (4) "Homo Erectus in China: Zhoukoudian and Peking Man" (Nancy Hazam); (5) "Getting to Know China and Its Diversity" (A Technology-Based Project) (James E. Kerr); (6) "Chinese Cuisine: A Reference Guide for Students and Teachers" (Marion Makin); (7) "China/US Relations" (Maureen McCorry); (8) "Three Kingdoms Project" (R. W. Purdy); (9) "Following Tripitaka: Hsuan Tsang in History and Literature" (Paul Ragan); (10) "The Ancient Shu Culture, Evidence of Civilization" (Leah Renzi); (11) "Aspects of Miao Costume and Clothing" (Judith Lynn Sebesta); (12) "China and Industrialization: A Curricular Unit" (Curtis L. Thompson); (13) "Breaking Down the Wall: Suggestions for Teachers Starting on China" (Matthew Wernsdorfer); (14) "China Project Report" (Pat Wine); and (15) "China Economic Development vs. Environmental Protection Case Study" (Wesley L. Winterbottom). (BT)

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2002 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Program

China: Tradition and Transformation

Curriculum Projects

SO 034 775

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Fulbright-Hays—China Project—2002
“Perspectives On Modern Political/Social Issues In China”

Designed and submitted by Sandy Conlon, Steamboat Springs High School, Steamboat Springs, Colorado

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: This project is a small part of a study unit on China for 11th and 12th graders in a required integrated World History/World Literature course, which meets five times a week for 90 minute blocks each day. The readings and activities described below are intended to help students understand the complexities of revolution and transformation in China during the late 19th through the 21st century. The project focuses on ideas and themes in Jung Chang’s *Wild Swans*; selections from Rae Yang, *The Spider Eaters*; and selections from Liang Heng & Judith Shapiro, *Son of the Revolution*. Students are also asked to read and present sections in the following historical accounts of political and social issues in 20th century China: Weston and Jensen, *China Beyond the Headlines*; Fairbanks and Goldman, *China: A New History*; and J.A.G. Roberts, *A Concise History of China*.

OBJECTIVES (consistent with our District RE-2 and high school Social Studies & English objectives):

1. To acquaint students with a variety of historical and literary perspectives regarding revolutions and the rise of Communism in China, as well as its impact on and aftermath in the lives of the people.
2. To help students gain clearer insight into the complexities of life in modern China.
3. To help students understand that though cultures are often separated in time and space, the desire to live a meaningful life, to be accepted and valued by one’s family, friends, and community is a pervasive human desire that often clashes with political circumstances and goals.
4. To help students gain some understanding of the notion that revolution or change often involves unintended consequences and ironic results.

5. To help students understand the importance of Confucian thought in relation to social and political behavior.

6. In our discussions of the content of various readings, students will also be asked to reflect on, write about and discuss those readings in relation to the following broad questions:

- a. What are the differences and similarities in two or more accounts of the same phenomenon, and how can truth or accuracy be determined?
- b. When is rebellion against authority justified?
- c. What are the responsibilities of government?
- d. What is a successful revolution?
- e. What is justice?
- f. How has revolution transformed China?

TEACHING/LEARNING PRACTICES—STRATEGIES: The course and project are designed and conducted primarily as a cooperative-learning seminar but also includes the following:

1. Lectures—formal and informal
2. Individual research presentations
3. Small group discussions—Teacher and student led
4. Seminar presentations—Student led
5. Open forums
6. Written reflections, analysis of reading, comparing & contrasts, etc.

MATERIALS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES:

1. All students will read in Wild Swans with Study Guide/Reading Check questions for open forum (see attachment #1). There are three WS written tests (see attachments 2&4), matched with the three arbitrarily determined reading sections: pp. 21-139; 140-378; 379-508.

2. All students will also read and discuss the principles of Confucian thought (see attachment #5).

3. During the course of this project, there will be four lectures and discussions by the teacher: (a) Overview of recent history from Qing to the present; (b) Lecture and discussion on social and political conditions that gave rise to the Goumindang and to Chinese Communism; (c) Introductory outline of older customs, beliefs, and social relationships; and (d) many informal presentations reflecting on China and her people, as I experienced them during my recent trip to China.

4. Start by asking students what they know about China; use either “chalk-talk” or small group compilation of ideas and information, then large group sharing.

5. Handout two page excerpt on foot-binding from first chapter in Wild Swans, as well as two articles on beauty practices in the U.S. Students write reflections on the excerpt and the two articles, then discuss questions from study-guide handout in open forum (see attachments #6&7).

6. Students will select one or more readings—number is dependent on the number of students in the class—from the following sources to present in lecture or seminar format; format to be arranged ahead of time. Students will include in their presentations responses to the five W’s—Who, What, Where, When, and Why. Among other details, students will also be required to relate what they read to other readings and to show similarities and differences between their selections and other pieces read by the class:

a. The Spider Eaters, by Rae Yang:
pp. 31-73; pp. 115-145; pp. 174-199.

b. Son of the Revolution, by Liang Heng & Judith Shapiro:
pp. 3-29; pp. 61-71; pp. 81-137; pp. 176-200; 217-331.

c. A Concise History of China, by J.A.G. Roberts:
Ch. 5, “China in the Late Qing,” pp. 162-205; Ch. 6, “Republican China, 1911-49,” pp. 206-255; Ch. 7, “China Since the 1949 Revolution,” pp. 256-299. Due to the length of these chapters, students will work in pairs to highlight and present the information.

d. China: A New History, by John Fairbanks & Merle Goldman: Ch. 20, "The Cultural Revolution 1966-1976," pp. 383-405; Ch. 21, "Post Mao Reform Era," pp. 406-450; and the Epilogue: "China at the Close of the Century," pp. 451-455.

e. China Beyond the Headlines, edited by Timothy B. Weston & Lionel M. Jensen (A Symposium at the University of Colorado in 1997). In these presentations, students will identify and discuss the central thesis, arguments, and evidence in their presentations to the class:

--Jeffrey Wasserstrom, "Big Bad China and the Good Chinese: An American Fairytale," pp.13-33;

--Susan Blum, "China's Many Faces: Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious Pluralism," pp. 69-93;

--Xiao Qiang, "Promoting Human Rights in China: An Activist's Perspective," pp. 97-111;

--Wei Jingsheng, "China's Road to a Democratic Society: Perils and Prospects," pp. 113-120;

--Tong Lam, "Identity and Diversity: the Complexities & Contradictions of Chinese Nationalism," pp. 147-167;

--Henry Rosemont, "China's New Economic Reforms: Replacing Iron Rice Bowls with Plastic Cups," 171-189;

--Vaclav Smil, "Development and Destruction: The Dimensions of China's Environmental Challenges," pp. 195-214;

--Harriet Evans, "Marketing Femininity: Images of Modern Chinese Women," pp. 217-239;

--Tim Oakes, "China's Market Reforms: Whose Human Rights Problems?" pp. 295-322.

Methods of Evaluation:

1. Reading essay tests for Wild Swans.
2. Students will keep a “Seminar Log” where they will record their questions and observations on lectures and student presentations, as well as a “new knowledge” and “what else do I want to know” sections.
3. Students will be evaluated on the accuracy of the information they present and on the thoroughness of their preparation. The evaluation rubric will be something like: Outstanding=20 pts.; Missed Some of the Critical Points but Great Effort=15; Presentation Needed More Work=10.
4. The thoughtfulness of questions and comments during various presentations usually is an indication of student engagement and understanding of the materials.
5. Students will be asked to write and submit several reflections on their own and other presentations, using such questions as:
 - a. What were the big ideas in your reading?
 - b. Why are they important?
 - c. How do they contribute to our understanding?
 - d. How are they related to other things you have read during this project?
6. Students will write a final essay, in consultation with the teacher, reflecting two or more perspectives regarding an issue, event, person, or idea in the readings and discussions.

Miscellaneous Attachments(some are not directly related to the project):

1. China History Test—1 (attachment #8)
2. China—Old and New—Unit Test (attachment #9)
3. Reading and test schedule for Wild Swans (attachment #10)
4. Two vocabulary worksheets and vocabulary test (attachments #11-13)

Wild Swans, pp. 42-139

Some Things To Think About

1. What kind of person is great grandfather Yang and what happens to him in this section? Cite textual evidence to support what you say.
2. What kind of person is Dr. Xia?
3. What happens to the three sons of Xia?
4. Three or four arguments the family gives opposing his marriage to Yu-fang (46-7).
5. The real reasons they don't want him to marry her.
6. Why do the Xias leave Yixian?
7. Be able to locate Manchuria, Yixian, and Jinzhou on a map.
8. Describe the wedding ceremony of Yu-fang and Xia (50).
9. What does the mother's name mean--De-Hong (52)?
10. Who is Big Old Lee and how does he relate to the mother?
11. What terrible thing happens to the mother when she is five?
12. What unique way to women in Jinzhou learn about the world and share their lives with each other?
13. What foreign power inhabits Jinzhou when the Xias arrive?
14. What dramatic changes take place in the Xias' life when they move from Yixian to Jinzhou (55-57)?
15. Why does Xia receive two plaques?
16. Describe the scenes the mother is shown during the Fair of the Town God's Temple and the purpose (61).
17. Of what significance is Pu Yi to the political aspects of the story thus far?
18. Why does Xia become an enemy of Pu Yi?
19. What is Pei-O's job in Jinzhou, and what humanitarian acts does Xia do with

Dong?

20. The Japanese assault on China begins in 1937. Why is Jinzhou important to the general war?

21. How did the Japanese try to intimidate the young school girls of Jinzhou?

22. What is the significance of the school children and the flies and rats?

23. What were some obvious signs that the Japanese were losing their foothold on Jinzhou and the rest of Manchuria?

24. How do the Xias save Ms. Tanaka?

25. Who replaces the Japanese in Jinzhou in 1945 and what do they do with the factories?

26. Who are Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, and why are they important thus far in the story?

27. Why is the mother ultimately not interested in the young Mr. Liu?

28. What are the differences between the Koumintang and the Communists, and why are they important to the story thus far?

29. Why does Xia advise the mother not to break off the relationship between herself and Mr. Liu?

30. How does the mother end up going to the university?

31. What happens with Han-chen and Yu-lin?

32. How does the mother get interested in the Communist Party, how old is she, and what, specifically, does she reflect on and feel strongly about when she decides to join the party?

33. How does Xia lose his money?

34. When the Koumintang occupy Jinzhou in 1947, what happens to the citizens of Jinzhou?

35. How does the mother "force" the Koumintang to pay the teachers' salaries?

36. When the mother (Xia De-Hong) and other student leaders are arrested, what do her captors do to her and why?

37. When the Communists begin the assault on Jinzhou in 1948, what irony is there when Hui-ge helps De-Hong smuggle the detonators to the supply depot?
38. When the Communists liberated Jinzhou, what were some immediate benefits for the people?
39. What experience does Wang have at the age of seven that makes him admire "communism?"
40. When Wang becomes administrator in Chaoyang, what are some of the first things the Communists do in the city?
41. Why is the mother attracted to Wang, and what kind of person is he?
42. What radical views of Chinese men and women were espoused by the Communists?
43. In what several ways is De-Hong's marriage different from the grandmother's first and second marriage?
44. What is the status of Hui-ge in this section?
45. What are the contradictions between practice and belief in De-Hong's experiences with the Women's Federation?
46. What specifically does the Communist Party have to say about individual needs, peoples' personal lives, self expression, etc. (134)?
47. What distasteful things are people encouraged to do under the Communist Party, in this section of the story, and why (135-137)? Be specific?

Wild Swans, Test 1—Open book, no notes.

Name _____

Write your responses in ink on your own college ruled paper, following standard writing format, AND attach this sheet to the back of your responses when you are finished. In each response, you need to include the important information and line citations for quoted material. If you do not remember the correct way to punctuate or write a line citation, please ask, or do the following: first line citation (Chang 27); the second citation from the same source (53). **Each item below is worth 10 points.** You must do _____, then choose any _____ others to respond to.

- A. Discuss why the Xias leave Yixian and the important and dramatic changes that occur in their lives when they move to Jinzhou—two page minimum.
- B. Discuss the arguments the Xia family gives opposing Xia's marriage as well as the real reason(s) they don't want him to marry—two page minimum.
- C. Discuss what happens to Xia's sons and why—two page minimum.
- D. Compare and contrast the political purpose and actions of the Koumintang and Communist Party under Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong and why they are important to the story—two page minimum.
- E. Discuss how De-Hong ends up at the university and the significance of her experiences there in relation to the story—two page minimum.
- F. Discuss the reasons or sources of De-Hong's early interest in the Communist Party and how it actually develops—two page minimum.
- G. Discuss important differences between Yu-fang's two marriages and De-Hong's and tell how the marriages reflect important social changes—two page minimum.
- H. Discuss the significant ironies and contradictions which De-Hong experiences personally both before and after her marriage—two page minimum.
- I. Discuss how her captors treat Xia De-Hong and the other student leaders when they are arrested—two page minimum.
- J. Discuss four or five characteristics of the traditional Chinese culture and the ways in which they either do or do not contribute to the well-being of society—two page minimum.

Write in ink, double space, no backwriting, AND you must attach this handout to the back of your paper in order to receive credit for the exam.

Wild Swans--# 2

Directions: Choose one of the following people and develop a thoughtful, coherent essay, in which you discuss the person and her or his life in relation to the rise and various implementations of Communism in China, as presented in Wild Swans. In your essay, consider such questions as the following:

- How does the character initially become involved?
- What are the basic principles or beliefs that attract the character?
- How does the character put those beliefs into action?
- What kind of changes occur in the life of the character between pp. 190-340, as a result of the character's involvement in Communism?
- What kind of disillusionings regarding Communism occur in the character and why?
- What changes occur in the Communism leadership during the character's connection with the movement?
- What changes occur in the ways people think about and practice Communism?
- What impact does Communism have on China's culture through the early '70's and why?

Choose one to focus your essay on:

- Yu-fang--grandmother
- Bao-Qin (De-Hong)--mother
- Wang-Yu (Shu-Yu)--father
- Er-Hong (Jung)--daughter/author

N.B. The questions are meant to indicate the sort of depth and detail your essay needs to contain.

Homework assignment: Go back through the reading and take notes on the changes that occur in the leadership of Mao Zedong and ways in which those changes effect the central characters and other followers of Communism in the story.

Follow standard written format, and attach this paper to the back of your essay for credit.

Attachment #4

Wild Swans, pp. 340-end

Choose ~~two~~ essay topics from those listed below and develop ~~two~~ thoughtful, coherent, detailed essays, which reflect a careful reading of the text. While you do not need to—indeed **should not**—quote lengthy passages, your paper should contain **specific details from the story, presented in your own words**. Make some sort of a plan or brief outline to follow. Each essay should be written in ink, following standard format, and both are due at the end of this class period, so **pace yourself**. *Suggested length for each essay: 3-4 pages.*

- A.
1. Discuss the several stages of growth Er Hong undergoes, while working among the peasants, in the commune or collective farm, in the factory, at the university, and when she goes to London. What does she do in each situation? What is done to her? In what significant ways is she changed by her experiences? Be sure to discuss the intellectual, emotional, and spiritual aspects of her experiences, as well as the physical conditions.
 2. Using specific examples from the last 250+ pages of Wild Swans, discuss specific ways in which Mao's reign effected Er Hong and her family. What was done to them, how did they deal with it, and how were their lives changed?
 3. Write an editorial about the death of Mao Zedong, that might have been written by Wang Yu, had he still been alive. The editorial must express the character of Wang Yu, his attitudes, beliefs, moral principles, and involvement in and treatment by the Communist Party. It should also take into consideration the changes he underwent from the first time we meet him until the end.
 4. Discuss the theme of reconciliation as it relates to the characters in the story.

- B.
5. How is Jung Chang's story different from a history book. Is her portrayal of the activities of the Red Guard and the Cultural Revolution effective? Why or why not? How successfully does Chang acquaint you with a world other than the one you know first hand?
 6. Discuss the ways in which specific events in Wild Swans reflect answers to the question, "when is it right to rebel?"

China

5

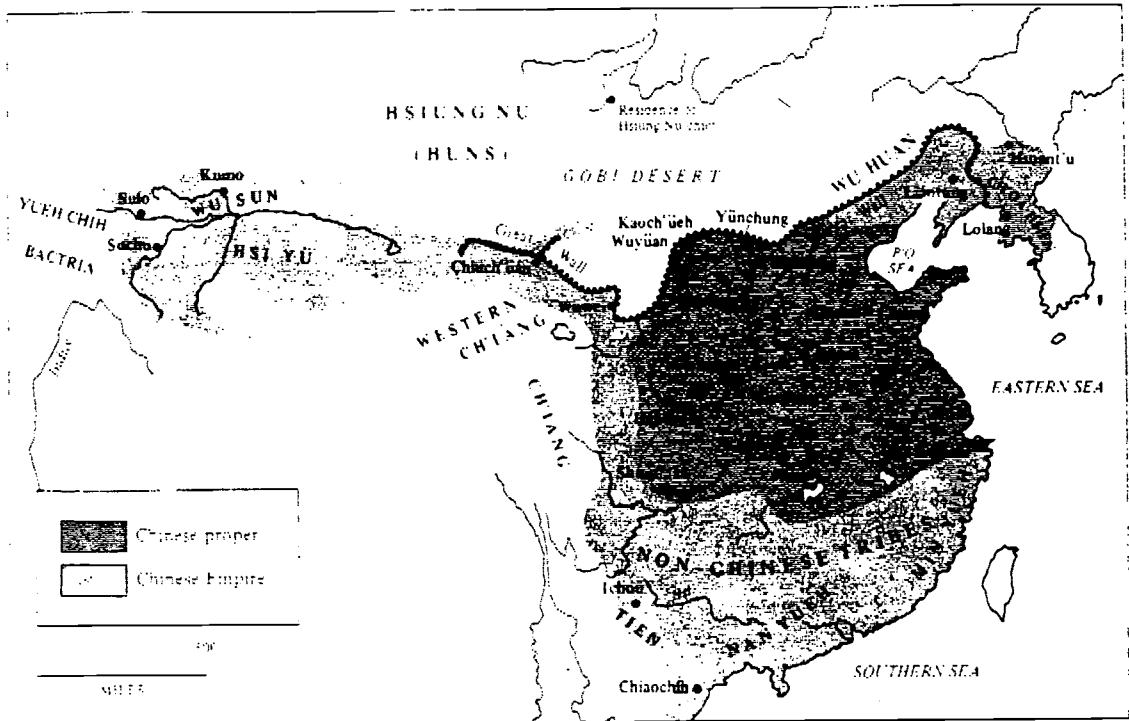
Key Chinese Values: Confucianism

Many Chinese beliefs were formed early, as civilization emerged along the Yellow River. One such belief stressed the importance of harmony in and with nature around the concept of the Way. More formal systems of thought developed later, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., during a divided and troubled period of Chinese politics. Various thinkers sought means to shore up a strong political system or live without one. Of the resulting philosophies or religions, Confucianism proved the most durable and significant.

Deemed by students a "Divine Sage," Confucius (K'ung Fu-tzu) (ca. 551-479 B.C.) was founder of a humanistic school of philosophy that offered Chou China a social and political ethos derived from idealized values of the past. As a remedy for the political chaos of his age, the famous teacher abandoned the decadent aristocratic code and offered in its place an ethical system focused on individual moral conduct, propriety, ritual, and benevolence. Arguing that the foundations of good government and the well-being of society rested on individual ethical conduct, Confucius urged the emperor and his assistants, the chun-tzu (gentlemen), to provide moral examples for society at large. Confucius believed the appointment of modest, wise, polite, and virtuous gentlemen scholars was essential for good government and that this was the best means for eliminating the immorality and amorality that undermined law and order. Idealistic gentlemen could restore the conditions prevailing under the early Chou dynasty, whose government Confucius viewed as a perfect form. In the selection from the *Analects*,

*
✓ indiv. leads to good soc

From Confucius, *The Analects of Confucius*, translated and annotated by Arthur Waley (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938), pp. 85, 90-1, 104, 105, 106, 121, 131, 152, 163, 167, 177, 178, 181, 187, 188, 197, 199, 200, 205-7, 233.



China Under Emperor Wu. About 100 B.C.

which is a collection of sayings attributed to the "Master" and set down long after his death. one finds his views of gentlemen. Since scholars doubt that Confucius put his ideas into writing, it is impossible to determine whether these views are authentically his own or those of later Confucianists.

Confucian theories of government were adopted as state ideology during the Han dynasty, and many of his concepts proved fundamental to Chinese philosophy more generally. From the following passages, consider what the main interests and values of Confucianism were. Compare these to leading values systems—typically religious systems—in other ancient and classical civilizations. How do they compare to Judaism or to Hindu or Buddhist concepts developing during the same time period in India?

The Master said, If a gentleman is frivolous, he will lose the respect of his inferiors and lack firm ground upon which to build up his education. First and foremost he must learn to be faithful to his superiors, to keep promises, to refuse the friendship of all who are not like him. And if he finds he has made a mistake, then he must not be afraid of admitting the fact and amending his ways.

Tzu-kung asked about the true gentleman. The Master said, He does not preach, what he practises till he has practised what he preaches. *Have to work to work*

The Master said, A gentleman can see a question from all sides without bias. The small man is biased and can see a question only from one side.

What concepts are at work in each?

Multiple perspectives

has neither enmities nor affections

The Master said, A gentleman in his dealings with the world has neither enmities nor affections; but wherever he sees Right he ranges himself beside it.

The Master said, A gentleman takes as much trouble to discover what is right as lesser men take to discover what will pay. *seeks the right - good*

The Master said, A gentleman covets the reputation of being slow in word but prompt in deed.

The Master said, A gentleman who is widely versed in letters and at the same time knows how to submit his learning to the restraints of ritual is not likely, I think, to go far wrong.

The Master said, A true gentleman is calm and at ease; the Small Man is fretful and ill at ease. *balance harmony*

At home in his native village his manner is simple and unassuming, as though he did not trust himself to speak. But in the ancestral temple and at Court he speaks readily, though always choosing his words with care. *cautious about self-careful in choosing his words*

At Court when conversing with the Under Ministers his attitude is friendly and affable; when conversing with the Upper Ministers, it is restrained and formal. When the ruler is present it is wary, but not cramped.

When the ruler summons him to receive a guest, a look of confusion comes over his face and his legs seem to give beneath his weight. When saluting his colleagues he passes his right hand to the left, letting his robe hang down in front and behind; and as he advances with quickened step, his attitude is one of majestic dignity. *same as appropriate speech*

When the guest has gone, he reports the close of the visit, saying, "The guest is no longer looking back." *the guest's needs were satisfied*

On entering the Palace Gate he seems to shrink into himself, as though there were not room. If he halts, it must never be in the middle of the gate, nor in going through does he ever tread on the threshold. As he passes the Stance a look of confusion comes over his face, his legs seem to give way under him and words seem to fail him. While holding up the hem of his skirt, he ascends the Audience Hall, he seems to double up and keeps in his breath, so that you would think he was not breathing at all. On coming out, after descending the first step his expression relaxes into one of satisfaction and relief. At the bottom of the steps he quickens his pace, advancing with an air of majestic dignity. On regaining his place he resumes his attitude of wariness and hesitation. *sense of humility awe*

When carrying the tablet of jade, he seems to double up, as though borne down by its weight. He holds it at the highest as though he were making a bow, at the lowest, as though he were proffering a gift. His expression, too, changes to one of dread and his feet seem to recoil, as though he were avoiding something. When presenting ritual-presents, his expression is placid. At the private audience his attitude is gay and animated. *sense of appropriate ritual*

A gentleman does not wear facings of purple or mauve, nor in undress does he use pink or roan. In hot weather he wears an unlined gown of fine thread loosely woven, but puts on an outside garment before going out-of-doors. With a black robe he wears black lambskin; with a robe of undyed silk, fawn. With a yellow robe, fox fur. On his undress robe the fur cuffs are long; but the right is shorter than the left. His bedclothes must be half as long again as a man's height. The thicker kinds of fox and badger are for home wear. Except when in mourning, he wears all his girdle-ornaments. Apart from his Court apron, all his skirts are wider at the bottom than at the waist. Lambskin *fine dress*



dyed black and a hat of dark-dyed silk must not be worn when making visits of condolence. At the Announcement of the New Moon he must go to Court in full Court dress.

When preparing himself for sacrifice he must wear the Bright Robe, and it must be of linen. He must change his food and also the place where he commonly sits. But there is no objection to his rice being of the finest quality, nor to his meat being finely minced. Rice affected by the weather or turned he must not eat, nor fish that is not sound, nor meat that is high. He must not eat anything discoloured or that smells bad. He must not eat what is overcooked nor what is undercooked, nor anything that is out of season. He must not eat what has been crookedly cut, nor any dish that lacks its proper seasoning. The meat that he eats must at the very most not be enough to make his breath smell of meat rather than of rice. As regards wine, no limit is laid down; but he must not be disorderly. He may not drink wine bought at a shop or eat dried meat from the market. He need not refrain from such articles of food as have ginger sprinkled over them; but he must not eat much of such dishes.

*implied
to be his usual
he is the
consideration*

After a sacrifice in the ducal palace, the flesh must not be kept overnight. No sacrificial flesh may be kept beyond the third day. If it is kept beyond the third day, it may no longer be eaten. While it is being eaten, there must be no conversation, nor any word spoken while lying down after the repast. Any article of food, whether coarse rice, vegetables, broth or melon, that has been used as an offering must be handled with due solemnity.

He must not sit on a mat that is not straight.

When the men of his village are drinking wine he leaves the feast directly the village-elders have left. When the men of his village hold their Expulsion Rite, he puts on his Court dress and stands on the eastern steps.

When sending a messenger to enquire after someone in another country, he prostrates himself twice while speeding the messenger on his way. When K'ang-tzu sent him some medicine he prostrated himself and accepted it; but said, As I am not acquainted with its properties, I cannot venture to taste it.

When the stables were burnt down, on returning from Court, he said, Was anyone hurt? He did not ask about the horses.

When his prince sends him a present of food, he must straighten his mat and be the first to taste what has been sent. When what his prince sends is a present of uncooked meat, he must cook it and make a sacrificial offering. When his prince sends a live animal, he must rear it. When he is waiting upon his prince at meal-times, while his prince is making the sacrificial offering, he (the gentleman) tastes the dishes. If he is ill and his prince comes to see him, he has himself laid with his head to the East with his Court robes thrown over him and his sash drawn across the bed. When the prince commands his presence he goes straight to the palace without waiting for his carriage to be yoked.

On entering the Ancestral Temple, he asks about every detail.

If a friend dies and there are no relatives to fall back on, he says, "The funeral is my affair." On receiving a present from a friend, even a carriage and horses, he does not prostrate himself. He does so only in the case of sacrificial meat being sent.

In bed he avoids lying in the posture of a corpse. When at home he does not use ritual attitudes. When appearing before anyone in mourning, however well he knows

*ritual
beginning for
the traveler*

him, he must put on an altered expression, and when appearing before anyone in sacrificial garb, or a blind man, even informally, he must be sure to adopt the appropriate attitude. On meeting anyone in deep mourning he must bow across the bar of his chariot; he also bows to people carrying planks. When confronted with a particularly choice dainty at a banquet, his countenance should change and he should rise to his feet. Upon hearing a sudden clap of thunder or a violent gust of wind, he must change countenance.

When mounting a carriage, he must stand facing it squarely and holding the mounting-cord. When riding he confines his gaze, does not speak rapidly or point with his hands.

(The gentleman) rises and goes at the first sign, and does not "settle till he has hovered." (A song) says:

The hen-pheasant of the hill-bridge,
Knows how to bide its time, to bide its time!
When Tzu-lu made it an offering,
It sniffed three times before it rose.

Ssu-ma Niu asked about the meaning of the term Gentleman. The Master said, The Gentleman neither grieves nor fears. Ssu-ma Niu said, So that is what is meant by being a gentleman — neither to grieve nor to fear? The Master said, On looking within himself he finds no taint; so why should he either grieve or fear?

The Master said, The gentleman calls attention to the good points in others; he does not call attention to their defects. The small man does just the reverse of this.

The Master said, The true gentleman is conciliatory but not accommodating. Common people are accommodating but not conciliatory.

The Master said, The true gentleman is easy to serve, yet difficult to please. For if you try to please him in any manner inconsistent with the Way, he refuses to be pleased; but in using the services of others he only expects of them what they are capable of performing. Common people are difficult to serve, but easy to please. Even though you try to please them in a manner inconsistent with the Way, they will still be pleased; but in using the services of others they expect them (irrespective of their capacities) to do any work that comes along.

The Master said, The gentleman is dignified, but never haughty; common people are haughty, but never dignified.

The Master said, It is possible to be a true gentleman and yet lack Goodness. But there has never yet existed a Good man who was not a gentleman.

When the Master said, He who holds no rank in a State does not discuss its policies, Master Tsêng said, "A true gentleman, even in his thoughts, never departs from what is suitable to his rank."

The Master said, A gentleman is ashamed to let his words outrun his deeds.

The Master said, The Ways of the true gentleman are three. I myself have met with success in none of them. For he that is really Good is never unhappy, he that is really wise is never perplexed, he that is really brave is never afraid. Tzu-kung said, That, Master, is your own Way!

The Master said, (A gentleman) does not grieve that people do not recognize his merits; he grieves at his own incapacities.

prescribes
ritual
expressions

✓

The Master said, The gentleman who takes the right as his material to work upon and ritual as the guide in putting what is right into practice, who is modest in setting out his projects and faithful in carrying them to their conclusion, he indeed is a true gentleman.

The Master said, A gentleman is distressed by his own lack of capacity; he is never distressed at the failure of others to recognize his merits.

The Master said, A gentleman has reason to be distressed if he ends his days without making a reputation for himself.

The Master said, "The demands that a gentleman makes are upon himself; those that a small man makes are upon others."

The Master said, A gentleman is proud, but not quarrelsome, allies himself with individuals, but not with parties.

The Master said, A gentleman does not accept men because of what they say, nor reject sayings, because the speaker is what he is.

The Master said, A gentleman, in his plans, thinks of the Way; he does not think how he is going to make a living. Even farming sometimes entails times of shortage; and even learning may incidentally lead to high pay. But a gentleman's anxieties concern the progress of the Way; he has no anxiety concerning poverty.

The Master said, It is wrong for a gentleman to have knowledge of menial matters and proper that he should be entrusted with great responsibilities. It is wrong for a small man to be entrusted with great responsibilities, but proper that he should have a knowledge of menial matters.

The Master said, From a gentleman consistency is expected, but not blind fidelity.

Master K'ung said, There are three things against which a gentleman is on his guard. In his youth, before his blood and vital humours have settled down, he is on his guard against lust. Having reached his prime, when the blood and vital humours have finally hardened, he is on his guard against strife. Having reached old age, when the blood and vital humours are already decaying, he is on his guard against avarice.

Master K'ung said, There are three things that a gentleman fears: he fears the will of Heaven, he fears great men, he fears the words of the Divine Sages. The small man does not know the will of Heaven and so does not fear it. He treats great men with contempt, and scoffs at the words of the Divine Sages.

Master K'ung said, The gentleman has nine cares. In seeing he is careful to see clearly, in hearing he is careful to hear distinctly, in his looks he is careful to be kindly; in his manner to be respectful, in his words to be loyal, in his work to be diligent. When in doubt he is careful to ask for information; when angry he has a care for the consequences, and when he sees a chance of gain, he thinks carefully whether the pursuit of it would be consonant with the Right.

The Master said, He who does not understand the will of Heaven cannot be regarded as a gentleman. He who does not know the rites cannot take his stand. He who does not understand words, cannot understand people.

6

Legalism: An Alternative System

A student of the Confucian Xun Zi, Han Fei-Tzu (d. 233 B.C.) was the principal theoretician of legalism, a school of philosophy adopted by the Ch'in after unifying China in 256 B.C. This former Confucian adopted the pragmatic view that the Chinese, perceived as antisocial and inherently evil, must be firmly controlled by an authoritative central government through strictly applied punitive laws. This harsh but effective solution for resolving the chaotic conditions that plagued the Chou dynasty included the introduction of new managerial techniques, an improved bureaucracy, enhanced communications, land reforms, and standardization of weights, measures, and coinage. Han Fei-Tzu, who served as an official for the powerful but short-lived Ch'in dynasty (that gave China its name), died from poison at the hands of Li Ssu, a jealous legalist rival. Han Fei-Tzu authored twenty books and was honored by the grand historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, with a biographical sketch.

How did legalism differ from Confucianism in its view of human nature and the proper organization of the state? Officially, legalism died with the demise of the Ch'in and the renewed interest in Confucian values. In fact, though, the Chinese state continued to combine Confucian ideals with the harsher policelike approach urged by legalists—so this division of political approach was of more than passing importance. Both legalism and Confucianism, somewhat ironically, promoted a strong state.

If orders are made trim, laws never deviate; if laws are equable, there will be no culprit among the officials. Once the law is fixed, nobody can damage it by means of virtuous

From Han Fei-Tzu. *The Complete Works*. 2 vols., translated by W. K. Liao (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1959). Vol. II, pp. 322-33. Copyright © 1959 by Arthur Probsthain. Reprinted by permission.

words. If men of merit are appointed to office, the people will have little to say; if men of virtue are appointed to office the people will have much to talk about. The enforcement of laws depends upon the method of judicial administration. Who administers judicial affairs with ease . . . attains supremacy. . . . Whoever procrastinates in creating order, will see his state dismembered.

Govern by penalties; wage war by rewards; and enlarge the bounties so as to put the principles of statecraft into practice. If so, there will be no wicked people in the state nor will there be any wicked trade at the market. If things are many and trifles are numerous, and if farming is relaxed and villainy prevails, the state will certainly be dismembered.

If the people have a surplus of food, make them receive rank by giving grain to the state. If only through their own effort they can receive rank, then farmers will not idle.

If a tube three inches long has no bottom, it can never be filled. Conferring office and rank or granting profit and bounty without reference to merit, is like a tube having no bottom.

If the state confers office and bestows rank, it can be said to devise plans with complete wisdom and wage war with complete courage. Such a state will find a rival. Again, if the state confers office and bestows rank according to merit, then rules will be simplified and opponents barred; this can be said to abolish government by means of government, abolish words by means of words, and bestow rank according to merit. Therefore the state will have much strength and none else in All-under-Heaven will dare to invade it. When its soldiers march out, they will take the objective and, having taken it, will certainly be able to hold it. When it keeps its soldiers in reserve and does not attack, it will certainly become rich.

The affairs of the government, however small, should never be abandoned. For instance, office and rank are always obtained according to the acquired merit; though there may be flattering words, it will be impossible thereby to make any interference in the state affairs. This is said to be "government by figures." For instance, in attacking with force, ten points are taken for every point given out; but in attacking with words, one hundred are lost for every one marched out. If a state is fond of force, it is called hard to attack; if a state is fond of words, it is called easy to attack.

If the ability of the official is equal to his post, if his duty is lightened and he never reserves any surplus energy in mind, and if he does not shift any responsibility of additional offices back to the ruler, then there will be no hidden grudge inside. If the intelligent ruler makes the state affairs never mutually interfere, there will be no dispute; if he allows no official to hold any kind of additional post, everybody will develop his talent or skill; and if he allows no two persons to share the same meritorious achievement, there will be no quarrel.

If penalties are heavy and rewards are few, it means that the superior loves the people, wherefore the people will die for rewards. If rewards are many and penalties are light, it means that the superior does not love the people, wherefore the people will never die for rewards.

If the profit issues from one outlet only, the state will have no rival; if it issues from two outlets, its soldiers will be half useful; and if the profit comes from ten outlets, the people will not observe the law. If heavy penalties are clear and if the people are

always well disciplined and then if men are engaged in case of emergency, the superior will have all the advantage.

In inflicting penalties light offences should be punished severely; if light offences do not appear, heavy offences will not come. This is said to be to abolish penalties by means of penalties. And the state will certainly become strong. If crimes are serious but penalties are light, light penalties breed further troubles. This is said to create penalties through penalties, and such a state will infallibly be dismembered.

The sage in governing the people considers their springs of action, never tolerates their wicked desires, but seeks only for the people's benefit. Therefore, the penalty he inflicts is not due to any hatred for the people but to his motive of loving the people. If penalty triumphs, the people are quiet; if reward over-flows, culprits appear. Therefore the triumph of penalty is the beginning of order; the overflow of reward, the origin of chaos.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to delight in disorder and detach themselves from legal restraints. Therefore, when the intelligent sovereign governs the state, if he makes rewards clear, the people will be encouraged to render meritorious services; if he makes penalties severe, the people will attach themselves to the law. If they are encouraged to render meritorious services, public affairs will not be obstructed; if they attach themselves to the law, culprits will not appear. Therefore, he who governs the people should nip the evil in the bud; he who commands troops, should inculcate warfare in the people's mind. If prohibitions can uproot causes of villainy, there will always be order; if soldiers can imagine warfare in mind, there will always be victory. When the sage is governing the people, he attains order first, wherefore he is strong; he prepares for war first, wherefore he wins.

Indeed, the administration of the state affairs requires the attention to the causes of human action so as to unify the people's mental trends; the exclusive elevation of public welfare so as to stop self-seeking elements; the reward for denunciation of crime so as to suppress culprits; and finally the clarification of laws so as to facilitate governmental procedures. Whoever is able to apply these four measures, will become strong; whoever is unable to apply these four measures, will become weak. Indeed, the strength of the state is due to the administration of its political affairs; the honour of the sovereign is due to his supreme power. Now, the enlightened ruler possesses the supreme power and the administrative organs; the ignoble ruler possesses both the supreme power and the administrative organs, too. Yet the results are not the same, because their standpoints are different. Thus, as the enlightened ruler has the supreme power in his grip, the superior is held in high esteem; as he unifies the administrative organs, the state is in order. Hence law is the origin of supremacy and penalty is the beginning of love.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to abhor toil and enjoy ease. However, if they pursue ease, the land will waste; if the land wastes, the state will not be in order. If the state is not orderly, it will become chaotic. If reward and penalty take no effect among the inferiors, government will come to a deadlock. Therefore, he who wants to accomplish a great achievement but hesitates to apply his full strength, can not hope for the accomplishment of the achievement; he who wants to settle the people's disorder but hesitates to change their traditions, can not hope to banish the people's disorder.

Hence there is no constant method for the government of men. The law alone leads to political order. If laws are adjusted to the time, there is good government. If government fits the age, there will be great accomplishment. Therefore, when the people are naive, if you regulate them with fame, there will be good government; when everybody in the world is intelligent, if you discipline them with penalties, they will obey. While time is moving on, if laws do not shift accordingly, there will be misrule; while abilities are diverse, if prohibitions are not changed, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, the sage in governing the people makes laws move with time and prohibitions change with abilities. Who can exert his forces to land-utilization, will become rich; who can rush his forces at enemies, will become strong. The strong man not obstructed in his way will attain supremacy.

Therefore, the way to supremacy lies in the way of shutting culprits off and the way of blocking up wicked men. Who is able to block up wicked men, will eventually attain supremacy. The policy of attaining supremacy relies not on foreign states' abstention from disturbing your state, but on their inability to disturb your state. Who has to rely on foreign powers' abstention from disturbing his state before he can maintain his own independence, will see his state dismembered; who relies on their inability to disturb his state and willingly enacts the law, will prosper.

Therefore, the worthy ruler in governing the state follows the statecraft of invulnerability. When rank is esteemed, the superior will increase his dignity. He will accordingly bestow rewards on men of merit, confer ranks upon holders of posts, and appoint wicked men to no office. Who devotes himself to practical forces, gets a high rank. If the rank is esteemed, the superior will be honoured. The superior, if honoured, will attain supremacy. On the contrary, if the state does not strive after practical forces but counts on private studies, its rank will be lowered. If the rank is lowered, the superior will be humbled. If the superior is humbled, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, if the way of founding the state and using the people can shut off foreign invaders and block up self-seeking subjects, and if the superior relies on himself, supremacy will be attained. . . .

In general, wherever the state is extensive and the ruler is honourable, there laws are so strict that whatever is ordered works and whatever is prohibited stops. Therefore, the ruler of men who distinguishes between ranks and regulates bounties, makes laws severe and thereby makes the distinction strict.

Indeed, if the state is orderly, the people are safe; if affairs are confused, the country falls into peril. Who makes laws strict, hits on the true nature of mankind; who makes prohibitions lenient, misses the apparent fact. Moreover, everybody is, indeed, gifted with desperate courage. To exert desperate courage to get what one wants, is human nature. Yet everybody's likes and dislikes should be regulated by the superior. Now the people like to have profit and bounty and hate to be punished; if the superior catches their likes and dislikes and thereby holds their desperate courage under control, he will not miss the realities of affairs.

However, if prohibitions are lenient and facts are missed, reward and penalty will be misused. Again, when governing the people, if you do not regard conformity to law as right, you will eventually observe no law. Therefore, the science and philosophy of

politics should by all means emphasize the distinction between degrees of penalty and of reward.

Who governs the state, should always uphold the law. In life there are ups and downs. If any ruler goes down, it is because in regulating rewards and penalties he makes no distinction between different degrees. Who governs the state, always distinguishes between reward and punishment. Therefore, some people might regard the distinction between reward and punishment as distinction, which should not be called distinction in the strict sense.

As regards the distinction made by the clear-sighted ruler, it is the distinction between different grades of reward and of punishment. Therefore, his subjects respect laws and fear prohibitions. They try to avoid crime rather than dare to expect any reward. Hence the saying: "Without expecting penalty and reward the people attend to public affairs."

For this reason, the state at the height of order is able to take the suppression of villainy for its duty. Why? Because its law comprehends human nature and accords with the principles of government.

If so, how to get rid of delicate villainy? By making the people watch one another in their hidden affairs. Then how to make them watch one another? By implicating the people of the same hamlet in one another's crime. When everyone knows that the penalty or reward will directly affect him, if the people of the same hamlet fail to watch one another, they will fear they may not be able to escape the implication, and those who are evil-minded, will not be allowed to forget so many people watching them. Were such the law, everybody would mind his own doings, watch everybody else, and disclose the secrets of any culprit. For, whosoever denounces a criminal offence, is not held guilty but is given a reward; whosoever misses any culprit, is definitely censured and given the same penalty as the culprit. Were such the law, all types of culprits would be detected. If the minutest villainy is not tolerated, it is due to the system of personal denunciation and mutual implication.

Indeed, the most enlightened method of governing a state is to trust measures and not men. For this reason, the tactful state is never mistaken if it does not trust the empty fame of men. If the land within the boundary is always in order it is because measures are employed. If any falling state lets foreign soldiers walk all over its territory and can neither resist nor prevent them, it is because that state trusts men and uses no measures. Men may jeopardize their own country, but measures can invade others' countries. Therefore, the tactful state spurns words and trusts laws.

Broadly speaking, it is hard to uncover a crooked merit that appears to fulfil the promise; it is hard to disclose the feature of the fault that is ornamented with beautiful words. Therefore, penalty and reward are often misled by double-dealers. What is alleged to be fulfilling the promise but is hard to uncover, is a villainous merit. Any minister's fault is hard to disclose, because its motive is missed. However, if by following reason you can not disclose the false merit and by analyzing feelings you are still deceived by the villainous motive, then can both reward and punishment have no mistake respectively?

For such reasons, false scholars establish names inside, while itinerants devise plans outside, till the stupid and the coward mix themselves with the brave and the

clever. Inasmuch as the false path is customary, they are tolerated by their age. Therefore, their law does not work and their penalty affects nobody. If so, both reward and penalty have to be double-dealings.

Therefore, concrete facts have their limits of extension, but abstract principles involve no accurate measures. The absence of such measures is due not to the law but to the abandonment of law and the dependence on cleverness. If the law is abandoned and cleverness is employed, how can the appointee to office perform his duty? If duty and office are not equivalent to each other, then how can the law evade mistakes and how can penalty evade troubles? For this reason reward and punishment will be thrown into confusion and disorder, and the state policy will deviate and err, because neither penalty nor reward has any clear distinction of degree as in the difference between black and white.

7

Chinese Politics in Practice: A Historian's View

The following brief passage suggests how Chinese intellectuals interpreted their own politics. Written by Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 145–90 B.C.), the "grand historian of China," it served as praise to the Han dynasty by suggesting its divine origins, its favorable astrological signs (Ssu-ma Ch'ien was also court astrologer), but also its embodiment of traditional political virtues. The "grand historian" did a great deal of research for his work, but he was also concerned that it be morally instructive — with more than a trace of the Confucian definition of political morality. What reasons does Ssu-ma Ch'ien give for devoted loyalty to the Han dynasty?

Hsiang Yü was violent and tyrannical, while the king of Han practiced goodness and virtue. In anger he marched forth from Shu and Han, returning to conquer the three kingdoms of Ch'in. He executed Hsiang Yü and became an emperor, and all the world was brought to peace. He changed the statutes and reformed the ways of the people. Thus I made The Basic Annals of Emperor Kao-tsu.

Kao-tsu was a native of the community of Chung-yang in the city of Feng, the district of P'ei. His family name was Liu and his polite name Chi. His father was known as the "Venerable Sire" and his mother as "Dame Liu."

Before he was born, Dame Liu was one day resting on the bank of a large pond

From *Records of the Grand Historian of China, from the Shi Chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*. Vol. 1: *Early Years of the Han Dynasty 209 to 141 B.C.*, edited and translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 77–79, 118–121, 381. Copyright ©1961. Columbia University Press. Reprinted by permission.

when she dreamed that she encountered a god. At this time the sky grew dark and was filled with thunder and lightning. When Kao-tsu's father went to look for her, he saw a scaly dragon over the place where she was lying. After this she became pregnant and gave birth to Kao-tsu.

Kao-tsu had a prominent nose and a dragonlike face, with beautiful whiskers on his chin and cheeks; on his left thigh he had seventy-two black moles. He was kind and affectionate with others, liked to help people, and was very understanding. He always had great ideas and paid little attention to the business the rest of his family was engaged in.

When he grew up he took the examination to become an official and was made village head of Ssu River. He treated all the other officials in the office with familiarity and disdain. He was fond of wine and women and often used to go to Dame Wang's or old lady Wu's and drink on credit. When he got drunk and lay down to sleep, the old women, to their great wonder, would always see something like a dragon over the place where he was sleeping. Also, whenever he would drink and stay at their shops, they would sell several times as much wine as usual. Because of these strange happenings, when the end of the year came around the old women would always destroy Kao-tsu's credit slips and clear his account.

Kao-tsu was once sent on *corvée* labor to the capital city of Hsien-yang and happened to have an opportunity to see the First Emperor of Ch'in. When he saw him he sighed and said, "Ah, this is the way a great man should be."

[An important dignitary, Master Lü, gives a party which Kao-tsu, a proud village official, bribed his way into, taking a seat of honor.]

When the drinking was nearly over, Master Lü glanced at Kao-tsu in such a way as to indicate that he should stay a while longer, and so Kao-tsu dawdled over his wine. "Since my youth," said Master Lü, "I have been fond of reading faces. I have read many faces, but none with signs like yours. You must take good care of yourself, I beg you. I have a daughter whom I hope you will do me the honor of accepting as your wife."

When the party was over, Dame Lü was very angry with her husband. "You have always idolized this girl and planned to marry her to some person of distinction," she said. "The magistrate of P'ei is a friend of yours and has asked for her, but you would not give your consent. How can you be so insane as to give her to Liu Chi?"

"This is not the sort of thing women and children can understand!" replied Master Lü. Eventually he married the girl to Kao-tsu, and it was this daughter of Master Lü who became Empress Lü and gave birth to Emperor Hui and Princess Yüan of Lu. . . .

Kao-tsu had eight sons. The oldest, a son by a concubine, was Fei, the king of Ch'i, posthumously titled King Tao-hui. The second, a son by Empress Lü, became Emperor Hui. The third, son of Lady Ch'i, was Ju-i, the king of Chao, posthumously titled King Yin. The fourth was Heng, the king of Tai, who later became Emperor Wen the Filial; he was a son of Empress Dowager Po. The fifth was Hui, the king of Liang, who in the reign of Empress Lü was transferred to the position of king of Chao; he was given the posthumous title of King Kung. The sixth was Yu, the king of Huai-yang, whom Empress Lü made the king of Chao; his posthumous title was King Yu.

The seventh was Ch'ang, who became King Li of Huai-nan, and the eighth was Chien, the king of Yen.

The Grand Historian remarks: The government of the Hsia dynasty was marked by good faith, which in time deteriorated until mean men had turned it into rusticity. Therefore the men of Shang who succeeded to the Hsia reformed this defect through the virtue of piety. But piety degenerated until mean men had made it a superstitious concern for the spirits. Therefore the men of Chou who followed corrected this fault through refinement and order. But refinement again deteriorated until it became in the hands of the mean a mere hollow show. Therefore what was needed to reform this hollow show was a return to good faith, for the way of the Three Dynasties of old is like a cycle which, when it ends, must begin over again.

It is obvious that in late Chou and Ch'in times the earlier refinement and order had deteriorated. But the government of Ch'in failed to correct this fault, instead adding its own harsh punishments and laws. Was this not a grave error?

Thus when the Han rose to power it took over the faults of its predecessors and worked to change and reform them, causing men to be unflagging in their efforts and following the order properly ordained. . . .

In ancient times, when Shun and Yü became rulers, they had first to accumulate goodness and merit for twenty or thirty years, impress the people with their virtue, prove that they could in practice handle the affairs of government, and meet the approval of Heaven before they were able to ascend the throne. Again, when Kings T'ang and Wu founded the Shang and Chou dynasties, they had behind them over ten generations of ancestors, stretching back to Hsieh and Hou Chi respectively, who had been distinguished for their just and virtuous conduct. Yet, though eight hundred nobles appeared unsummoned to aid King Wu at the Meng Ford, he still did not venture to move: it was only later that he assassinated the tyrant Chou, and only after similar cautious delay that King T'ang banished the tyrant Chieh. Ch'in first rose to prominence under Duke Hsiang and achieved eminence under Dukes Wen and Mu. From the reigns of Dukes Hsieh and Hsiao on, it gradually swallowed up the Six States until, after a hundred years or so, the First Emperor was able to bring all the noblemen under his power. Thus, even with the virtue of Shun, Yü, T'ang, and Wu, or the might of the First Emperor, it is, as one can see, an extremely difficult task to unite the empire in one rule!

After the Ch'in ruler had assumed the title of emperor, he was fearful lest warfare should continue because of the presence of feudal lords. Therefore he refused to grant so much as a foot of land in fief, but instead destroyed the fortifications of the principal cities, melted down the lance and arrow points, and ruthlessly wiped out the brave men of the world, hoping thus to ensure the safety of his dynasty for countless generations to come. Yet from the lanes of the common people there arose a man with the deeds of a king whose alliances and campaigns of attack surpassed those of the three dynasties of Hsia, Shang, and Chou. Ch'in's earlier prohibitions against feudalism and the possession of arms, as it turned out, served only to aid worthy men and remove from their path obstacles they would otherwise have encountered. Therefore Kao-tsu had but to roar forth his indignation to become a leader of the world. Why should people say that one cannot become a king unless he possesses land? Was this man not what the old

books term a "great sage"? Surely this was the work of Heaven! Who but a great sage would be worthy to receive the mandate of Heaven and become emperor? . . .

When Empress Dowager Lü passed away she was buried with her husband, Emperor Kao-tsu, at Ch'ang-ling. Lü Lu, Lü Ch'an, and others of the Lü family, fearing punishment for their usurpations of power, plotted a revolt, but the great ministers overthrew them. Thus did Heaven guide the imperial line and in the end wipe out the Lü clan. Only the empress of Emperor Hui was spared, being sent to live in the Northern Palace. The king of Tai was invited to come and take the throne, and it was he, Emperor Wen, who with due reverence carried on the service of the ancestral temples of the Han. Was this not the work of Heaven? Who but one destined by Heaven for rule could assume such a charge?



8

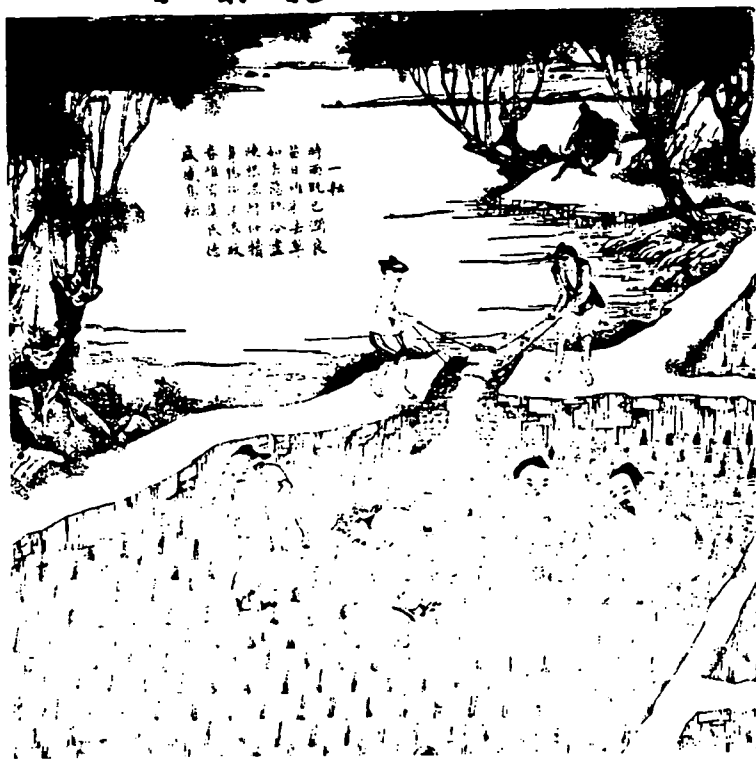
Women in Classical China: Pan Chao

Pan Chao (ca. A.D. 45–120), China's "foremost woman scholar," served unofficially as imperial historian to Emperor Ho (A.D. 89–105) while acting as an instructor in history, classical writing, astronomy, and mathematics to the Empress Teng and her ladies-in-waiting. Summoned to complete the historical books (*Han Shu*) of her deceased brother, Ku, the scholarly and talented widow is the only woman in China to have served in that capacity. Her success in overcoming contemporary restraints on women was due to an exceptional education, which she attributed to her scholarly parents. As a historian, moralist, and royal servant, Pan Chao authored numerous literary works, including narrative poems, commemorative verses, eulogies, and her famous *Lessons for Women*. This brief educational treatise, written expressly for women and the first of its kind in world history, offers interesting insights into the Chinese perceptions of the ideal woman as well as first-century Chinese customs. It contains advice in matters of customs and manners for girls in her family so that they might not "humiliate both your ancestors and your clan."

How does Pan Chao define womanhood and women's roles? How do these definitions relate to other aspects of Chinese society such as Confucianism?

From Pan Chao. "Lessons for Women." in *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China* by Nancy Lee Swann (New York: The Century Co., 1932). pp. 82–87.



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Chinese peasants transplanting rice seedlings. [Bulloz]

LESSONS FOR WOMEN

Introduction

I, the unworthy writer, am unsophisticated, unenlightened, and by nature unintelligent, but I am fortunate both to have received not a little favor from my scholarly father, and to have had a (cultured) mother and instructresses upon whom to rely for a literary education as well as for training in good manners. More than forty years have passed since at the age of fourteen I took up the dustpan and the broom in the Ts'ao family. During this time with trembling heart I feared constantly that I might disgrace my parents, and that I might multiply difficulties for both the women and the men (of my husband's family). Day and night I was distressed in heart, (but) I labored without confessing weariness. Now and hereafter, however, I know how to escape (from such fears).

Being careless, and by nature stupid, I taught and trained (my children) without system. Consequently I fear that my son Ku may bring disgrace upon the Imperial Dynasty by whose Holy Grace he has unprecedentedly received the extraordinary privilege of wearing the Gold and the Purple, a privilege for the attainment of which (by my son, I) a humble subject never even hoped. Nevertheless, now that he is a man and able to plan his own life, I need not again have concern for him. But I do grieve that you, my daughters, just now at the age for marriage, have not at this time had gradual training and advice; that you still have not learned the proper customs for married women. I fear that by failure in good manners in other families you will humiliate both your ancestors and your clan. I am now seriously ill, life is uncertain. As I have thought of you all in so untrained a state, I have been uneasy many a time for you. At hours of leisure I have composed in seven chapters these instructions under the title, "Lessons for Women." In order that you may have something wherewith to benefit your persons, I wish every one of you, my daughters, each to write out a copy for yourself.

From this time on every one of you strive to practise these (lessons).

Chapter I Humility

On the third day after the birth of a girl the ancients observed three customs: (first) to place the baby below the bed; (second) to give her a potsherd with which to play; and (third) to announce her birth to her ancestors by an offering. Now to lay the baby below the bed plainly indicated that she is lowly and weak, and should regard it as her primary duty to humble herself before others. To give her potsherds with which to play indubitably signified that she should practise labor and consider it her primary duty to be industrious. To announce her birth before her ancestors clearly meant that she ought to esteem as her primary duty the continuance of the observance of worship in the home.

These three ancient customs epitomize a woman's ordinary way of life and the teachings of the traditional ceremonial rites and regulations. Let a woman modestly yield to others; let her respect others; let her put others first, herself last. Should she do something good, let her not mention it; should she do something bad, let her not deny it. Let her bear disgrace; let her even endure when others speak or do evil to her. Always let her seem to tremble and to fear. (When a woman follows such maxims as these,) then she may be said to humble herself before others.

Let a woman retire late to bed, but rise early to duties; let her not dread tasks by day or by night. Let her not refuse to perform domestic duties whether easy or difficult. That which must be done, let her finish completely, tidily, and systematically. (When a woman follows such rules as these,) then she may be said to be industrious.

Let a woman be correct in manner and upright in character in order to serve her husband. Let her live in purity and quietness (of spirit), and attend to her own affairs. Let her love not gossip and silly laughter. Let her cleanse and purify and arrange in order the wine and the food for the offerings to the ancestors. (When a woman observes such principles as these,) then she may be said to continue ancestral worship.

No woman who observes these three (fundamentals of life) has ever had a bad reputation or has fallen into disgrace. If a woman fail to observe them, how can her name be honored; how can she, but bring disgrace upon herself?

Chapter II Husband and Wife

The Way of husband and wife is intimately connected with *Yin* and *Yang*, and relates the individual to gods and ancestors. Truly it is the great principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great basis of human relationships. Therefore the "Rites" honor union of man and woman; and in the "Book of Poetry" the "First Ode" manifests the principle of marriage. For these reasons the relationship cannot but be an important one.

If a husband be unworthy then he possesses nothing by which to control his wife. If a wife be unworthy, then she possesses nothing with which to serve her husband. If a husband does not control his wife, then the rules of conduct manifesting his authority are abandoned and broken. If a wife does not serve her husband, then the proper relationship (between men and women) and the natural order of things are neglected and destroyed. As a matter of fact the purpose of these two (the controlling of women by men, and the serving of men by women) is the same.

Now examine the gentlemen of the present age. They only know that wives must be controlled, and that the husband's rules of conduct manifesting his authority must be established. They therefore teach their boys to read books and (study) histories. But they do not in the least understand that husbands and masters must (also) be served, and that the proper relationship and the rites should be maintained.

Yet only to teach men and not to teach women,—is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the "Rites," it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight years, and by the age of fifteen years they ought then to be ready for cultural training. Only why should it not be (that girls' education as well as boys' be) according to this principle?

Chapter III Respect and Caution

As *Yin* and *Yang* are not of the same nature, so man and woman have different characteristics. The distinctive quality of the *Yang* is rigidity; the function of the *Yin* is yielding. Man is honored for strength; a woman is beautiful on account of her gentleness. Hence there arose the common saying: "A man though born like a wolf may, it is feared, become a weak monstrosity; a woman though born like a mouse may, it is feared, become a tiger."

Now for self-culture nothing equals respect for others. To counteract firmness nothing equals compliance. Consequently it can be said that the Way of respect and acquiescence is woman's most important principle of conduct. So respect may be defined as nothing other than holding on to that which is permanent; and acquiescence nothing other than being liberal and generous. Those who are steadfast in devotion know that they should stay in their proper places; those who are liberal and generous esteem others, and honor and serve (them).

If husband and wife have the habit of staying together, never leaving one another, and following each other around within the limited space of their own rooms, then they will lust after and take liberties with one another. From such action improper language will arise between the two. This kind of discussion may lead to licentiousness. Out of

licentiousness will be born a heart of disrespect to the husband. Such a result comes from not knowing that one should stay in one's proper place.

Furthermore, affairs may be either crooked or straight; words may be either right or wrong. Straightforwardness cannot but lead to quarreling; crookedness cannot but lead to accusation. If there are really accusations and quarrels, then undoubtedly there will be angry affairs. Such a result comes from not esteeming others, and not honoring and serving (them).

(If wives) suppress not contempt for husbands, then it follows (that such wives) rebuke and scold (their husbands). (If husbands) stop not short of anger, then they are certain to beat (their wives). The correct relationship between husband and wife is based upon harmony and intimacy, and (conjugal) love is grounded in proper union. Should actual blows be dealt, how could matrimonial relationship be preserved? Should sharp words be spoken, how could (conjugal) love exist? If love and proper relationship both be destroyed, then husband and wife are divided.

Chapter IV Womanly Qualifications

A woman (ought to) have four qualifications: (1) womanly virtue; (2) womanly words; (3) womanly bearing; and (4) womanly work. Now what is called womanly virtue need not be brilliant ability, exceptionally different from others. Womanly words need be neither clever in debate nor keen in conversation. Womanly appearance requires neither a pretty nor a perfect face and form. Womanly work need not be work done more skilfully than that of others.

To guard carefully her chastity; to control circumspectly her behavior; in every motion to exhibit modesty; and to model each act on the best usage, this is womanly virtue.

To choose her words with care; to avoid vulgar language; to speak at appropriate times; and not to weary others (with much conversation), may be called the characteristics of womanly words.

To wash and scrub filth away; to keep clothes and ornaments fresh and clean; to wash the head and bathe the body regularly, and to keep the person free from disgraceful filth, may be called the characteristics of womanly bearing.

With whole-hearted devotion to sew and to weave; to love not gossip and silly laughter; in cleanliness and order (to prepare) the wine and food for serving guests, may be called the characteristics of womanly work.

These four qualifications characterize the greatest virtue of a woman. No woman can afford to be without them. In fact they are very easy to possess if a woman only treasure them in her heart. The ancients had a saying: "Is Love afar off? If I desire love, then love is at hand!" So can it be said of these qualifications.

Chapter V Whole-hearted Devotion

Now in the "Rites" is written the principle that a husband may marry again, but there is no Canon that authorizes a woman to be married the second time. Therefore it is

said of husbands as of Heaven, that as certainly as people cannot run away from Heaven, so surely a wife cannot leave (a husband's home).

If people in action or character disobey the spirits of Heaven and of Earth, then Heaven punishes them. Likewise if a woman errs in the rites and in the proper mode of conduct, then her husband esteems her lightly. The ancient book, "A Pattern for Women," (*Nü Hsien*) says: "To obtain the love of one man is the crown of a woman's life; to lose the love of one man is to miss the aim in woman's life." For these reasons a woman cannot but seek to win her husband's heart. Nevertheless, the beseeching wife need not use flattery, coaxing words, and cheap methods to gain intimacy.

Decidedly nothing is better (to gain the heart of a husband) than whole-hearted devotion and correct manners. In accordance with the rites and the proper mode of conduct, (let a woman) live a pure life. Let her have ears that hear not licentiousness; and eyes that see not depravity. When she goes outside her own home, let her not be conspicuous in dress and manners. When at home let her not neglect her dress. Women should not assemble in groups, nor gather together, (for gossip and silly laughter). They should not stand watching in the gateways. (If a woman follows) these rules, she may be said to have whole-hearted devotion and correct manners.

If, in all her actions, she is frivolous, she sees and hears (only) that which pleases herself. At home her hair is dishevelled, and her dress is slovenly. Outside the home she emphasizes her femininity to attract attention; she says what ought not to be said; and she looks at what ought not to be seen. (If a woman does such as) these, (she may be) said to be without whole-hearted devotion and correct manners.

I INTRODUCTION

origin - China

Confucianism, major system of thought in China, developed from the teachings of Confucius and his disciples, and concerned with the principles of good conduct, practical wisdom, and proper social relationships. Confucianism has influenced the Chinese attitude toward life, set the patterns of living and standards of social value, and provided the background for Chinese political theories and institutions. It has spread from China to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam and has aroused interest among Western scholars.

Although Confucianism became the official ideology of the Chinese state, it has never existed as an established religion with a church and priesthood. Chinese scholars honored Confucius as a great teacher and sage but did not worship him as a personal god. Nor did Confucius himself ever claim divinity. Unlike Christian churches, the temples built to Confucius were not places in which organized community groups gathered to worship, but public edifices designed for annual ceremonies, especially on the philosopher's birthday. Several attempts to deify Confucius and to proselyte Confucianism failed because of the essentially secular nature of the philosophy.

The principles of Confucianism are contained in the nine ancient Chinese works handed down by Confucius and his followers, who lived in an age of great philosophic activity. These writings can be divided into two groups: the Five Classics and the Four Books.

The *Wu Ching* (Five Classics), which originated before the time of Confucius, consist of the *I Ching* (Book of Changes), *Shu Ching* (Book of History), *Shih Ching* (Book of Poetry), *Li Chi* (Book of Rites), and *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals). The *I Ching* is a manual of divination probably compiled before the 11th century BC; its supplementary philosophical portion, contained in a series of appendixes, may have been written later by Confucius and his disciples. The *Shu Ching* is a collection of ancient historical documents, and the *Shih Ching*, an anthology of ancient poems. The *Li Chi* deals with the principles of

conduct, including those for public and private ceremonies; it was destroyed in the 3rd century BC, but presumably much of its material was preserved in a later compilation, the *Record of Rites*. The *Chunqiu*, the only work reputedly compiled by Confucius himself, is a chronicle of major historical events in feudal China from the 8th century BC to Confucius's death early in the 5th century BC.

The *Shih Shu* (Four Books), compilations of the sayings of Confucius and Mencius and of commentaries by followers on their teachings, are the *Lun Yü* (Analects), a collection of maxims by Confucius that form the basis of his moral and political philosophy; *Ta Hsüeh* (The Great Learning) and *Chung Yung* (The Doctrine of the Mean), containing some of Confucius's philosophical utterances arranged systematically with comments and expositions by his disciples; and the *Mencius* (Book of Mencius), containing the teachings of one of Confucius's great followers.

The keynote of Confucian ethics is *jen*, variously translated as "love," "goodness," "humanity," and "human-heartedness." *Jen* is a supreme virtue representing human qualities at their best. In human relations, construed as those between one person and another, *jen* is manifested in *chung*, or faithfulness to oneself and others, and *shu*, or altruism, best expressed in the Confucian golden rule, "Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself." Other important Confucian virtues include righteousness, propriety, integrity, and filial piety. One who possesses all these virtues becomes a *chün-tzu* (perfect gentleman). Politically, Confucius advocated a paternalistic government in which the sovereign is benevolent and honorable and the subjects are respectful and obedient. The ruler should cultivate moral perfection in order to set a good example to the people. In education Confucius upheld the theory, remarkable for the feudal period in which he lived, that "in education, there is no class distinction."

II CONFUCIAN SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

After the death of Confucius two major schools of Confucian thought emerged: one was represented by Mencius, the other by Xunzi (Hsün-tzu, also known as Xunkuang, or Hsün K'uang). Mencius continued the ethical teachings of Confucius by stressing the innate goodness of human nature. He believed, however, that original human goodness can become depraved through one's own destructive effort or through contact with an evil environment. The problem of moral cultivation is therefore to preserve or at least to restore the goodness that is one's birthright. In political thought, Mencius is sometimes considered one of the early advocates of democracy, for he advanced the idea of the people's supremacy in the state.

In opposition to Mencius, Xunzi contended that a person is born with an evil nature but that it can be regenerated through moral education. He believed that desires should be guided and restrained by the rules of propriety and that character should be molded by an orderly observance of rites and by the practice of music. This code serves as a powerful influence on character by properly directing emotions and by providing inner harmony. Xunzi was the main exponent of ritualism in Confucianism.

After a brief period of eclipse in the 3rd century BC, Confucianism was revived during the Han dynasty (206BC-AD220). The Confucian works, copies of which had been destroyed in the preceding period, were restored to favor, canonized, and taught by learned scholars in national academies. The works also formed the basis of later civil service examinations; candidates for responsible government positions received their appointments on the strength of their knowledge of classic literature. As a result, Confucianism secured a firm hold on Chinese intellectual and political life.

The success of Han Confucianism was attributable to Tung Chung-shu, who first recommended a system of education built upon the teachings of Confucius. Tung

Chung-shu believed in a close correspondence between human beings and nature; thus a person's deeds, especially those of the sovereign, are often responsible for unusual phenomena in nature. Because of the sovereign's authority, he or she is to blame for such phenomena as fire, flood, earthquake, and eclipse. Because these ill omens can descend on earth as a warning to humanity that all is not well in this world, the fear of heavenly punishment proves useful as a curb to the monarch's absolute power.

In the political chaos that followed the fall of the Han dynasty, Confucianism was overshadowed by the rival philosophies of Daoism (Taoism) and Buddhism, and the philosophy suffered a temporary setback. Nevertheless, the Confucian Classics continued to be the chief source of learning for scholars, and with the restoration of peace and prosperity in the Tang (T'ang) dynasty (618-907), the spread of Confucianism was encouraged. The monopoly of learning by Confucian scholars once again ensured them the highest bureaucratic positions. Confucianism returned as an orthodox state teaching.

III NEO-CONFUCIANISM

The intellectual activities of the Song (Sung) dynasty (960-1279) gave rise to a new system of Confucian thought based on a mixture of Buddhist and Daoist (Taoist) elements; the new school of Confucianism was known as Neo-Confucianism. The scholars who evolved this intellectual system were themselves well versed in the other two philosophies. Although primarily teachers of ethics, they were also interested in the theories of the universe and the origin of human nature.

Neo-Confucianism branched out into two schools of philosophy. The foremost exponent of one school was Chu Hsi, an eminent thinker second only to Confucius and Mencius in prestige, who established a new philosophical foundation for the teachings of Confucianism by organizing scholarly opinion into a cohesive system. According to the Neo-Confucianist system Chu Hsi represented, all objects in nature are composed of two

inherent forces: *li*, an immaterial universal principle or law; and *ch'i*, the substance of which all material things are made. Whereas *ch'i* may change and dissolve, *li*, the underlying law of the myriad things, remains constant and indestructible. Chu Hsi further identifies the *li* in humankind with human nature, which is essentially the same for all people. The phenomenon of particular differences can be attributed to the varying proportions and densities of the *ch'i* found among individuals. Thus, those who receive a *ch'i* that is turbid will find their original nature obscured and should cleanse their nature to restore its purity. Purity can be achieved by extending one's knowledge of the *li* in each individual object. When, after much sustained effort, one has investigated and comprehended the universal *li* or natural law inherent in all animate and inanimate objects, one becomes a sage.

Opposed to the *li* (law) school is the *hsin* (mind) school of Neo-Confucianism. The chief exponent of the *hsin* school was Wang Yang-ming, who taught the unity of knowledge and practice. His major proposition was that "apart from the mind, neither law nor object" exists. In the mind, he asserted, are embodied all the laws of nature, and nothing exists without the mind. One's supreme effort should be to develop "the intuitive knowledge" of the mind, not through the study or investigation of natural law, but through intense thought and calm meditation.

During the Qing (Ch'ing) dynasty (1644-1911) there was a strong reaction to both the *li* and *hsin* schools of Neo-Confucian thought. Qing scholars advocated a return to the earlier and supposedly more authentic Confucianism of the Han period, when it was still unadulterated by Buddhist and Daoist ideas. They developed textual criticism of the Confucian Classics based on scientific methodology, using philology, history, and archaeology to reinforce their scholarship. In addition, scholars such as Tai Chen introduced an empiricist point of view into Confucian philosophy.

Toward the end of the 19th century the reaction against Neo-Confucian metaphysics took

a different turn. Instead of confining themselves to textual studies, Confucian scholars took an active interest in politics and formulated reform programs based on Confucian doctrine. K'ang Yu-wei, a leader of the Confucian reform movement, made an attempt to exalt the philosophy as a national religion. Because of foreign threats to China and the urgent demand for drastic political measures, the reform movements failed; in the intellectual confusion that followed the Chinese revolution of 1911, Confucianism was branded as decadent and reactionary. With the collapse of the monarchy and the traditional family structure, from which much of its strength and support was derived, Confucianism lost its hold on the nation. In the past, it often had managed to weather adversities and to emerge with renewed vigor, but during this period of unprecedented social upheavals it lost its previous ability to adapt to changing circumstances.

In the view of some scholars, Confucius will be revered in the future as China's greatest teacher; Confucian classics will be studied, and Confucian virtues, embodied for countless generations in the familiar sayings and common-sense wisdom of the Chinese people, will remain the cornerstone of ethics. It is doubtful, however, that Confucianism ever again will play the dominant role in Chinese political life and institutions that it did in past centuries.

The Chinese Communist victory of 1949 underlined the uncertain future of Confucianism. Many Confucian-based traditions were put aside. The family system, for example, much revered in the past as a central Confucian institution, was deemphasized. Few Confucian classics were published, and official campaigns against Confucianism were organized in the late 1960s and early '70s.

Contributed By:
Wu-Chi Liu

Further Reading

" The Qin - 7-stringed zither aligned with poetry and calligraphy since it requires some strict discipline of mind & body. It is believed that emotion can be both expressed and controlled through playing music. "

"Confucius" ~ a brief biographical information

Confucius, in Chinese KONGFUZI OR K'UNG FU-TZU (551?-479? BC), Chinese philosopher, one of the most influential figures in Chinese history.

According to tradition, Confucius was born in the state of Lu (present-day Shandong [Shantung] Province) of the noble K'ung clan. His original name was K'ung Ch'iu. His father, commander of a district in Lu, died three years after Confucius was born, leaving the family in poverty; but Confucius nevertheless received a fine education. He was married at the age of 19 and had one son and two daughters. During the four years immediately after his marriage, poverty compelled him to perform menial labors for the chief of the district in which he lived. His mother died in 527BC, and after a period of mourning he began his career as a teacher, usually traveling about and instructing the small body of disciples that had gathered around him. His fame as a man of learning and character and his reverence for Chinese ideals and customs soon spread through the principality of Lu.

Living as he did in the second half of the Zhou (Chou) dynasty (1027?-256 BC), when feudalism degenerated in China and intrigue and vice were rampant, Confucius deplored the contemporary disorder and lack of moral standards. He came to believe that the only remedy was to convert people once more to the principles and precepts of the sages of antiquity. He therefore lectured to his pupils on the ancient classics. He taught the great value of the power of example. Rulers, he said, can be great only if they themselves lead exemplary lives, and were they willing to be guided by moral principles, their states would inevitably become prosperous and happy.

Confucius had, however, no opportunity to put his theories to a public test until, at the age of 50, he was appointed magistrate of Chung-tu, and the next year minister of crime of the state of Lu. His administration was successful; reforms were introduced, justice was fairly dispensed, and crime was almost eliminated. So powerful did Lu become that

the ruler of a neighboring state maneuvered to secure the minister's dismissal. Confucius left his office in 496bc, traveling about and teaching, vainly hoping that some other prince would allow him to undertake measures of reform. In 484bc, after a fruitless search for an ideal ruler, he returned for the last time to Lu. He spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, writing commentaries on the classics. He died in Lu and was buried in a tomb at Ch'ü-fu, Shandong.

Confucius did not put into writing the principles of his philosophy; these were handed down only through his disciples. The *Lun Yü* (Analects), a work compiled by some of his disciples, is considered the most reliable source of information about his life and teachings. One of the historical works that he is said to have compiled and edited, the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), is an annalistic account of Chinese history in the state of Lu from 722 to 481bc. In learning he wished to be known as a transmitter rather than as a creator, and he therefore revived the study of the ancient books. His own teachings, together with those of his main disciples, are found in the *Shih Shu* (Four Books) of Confucian literature, which became the textbooks of later Chinese generations. Confucius was greatly venerated during his lifetime and in succeeding ages. Although he himself had little belief in the supernatural, he has been revered almost as a spiritual being by millions.

The entire teaching of Confucius was practical and ethical, rather than religious. He claimed to be a restorer of ancient morality and held that proper outward acts based on the five virtues of kindness, uprightness, decorum, wisdom, and faithfulness constitute the whole of human duty. Reverence for parents, living and dead, was one of his key concepts. His view of government was paternalistic, and he enjoined all individuals to observe carefully their duties toward the state. In subsequent centuries his teachings exerted a powerful influence on the Chinese nation.

See also Confucianism.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I INTRODUCTION

Daoism, Chinese philosophical and religious system, dating from about the 4th century BC. Among native Chinese schools of thought, the influence of Daoism has been second only to that of Confucianism.

II BASIC TENETS

The essential Daoist philosophical and mystical beliefs can be found in the *Daode Jing* (*Tao-te Ching*, Classic of the Way and Its Power), a composite text dating from about the 3rd century BC and attributed to the historical figure Laozi (Lao-tzu), and in the *Zhuangzi* (*Chuang-tzu*), a book of parables and allegories also dating from the 3rd century BC but attributed to the philosopher Zhuangzi. Whereas Confucianism urged the individual to conform to the standards of an ideal social system, Daoism maintained that the individual should ignore the dictates of society and seek only to conform with the underlying pattern of the universe, the Dao (or Tao, meaning "way"), which can neither be described in words nor conceived in thought. To be in accord with Dao, one has to "do nothing" (*wuwei*)—that is, nothing strained, artificial, or unnatural. Through spontaneous compliance with the impulses of one's own essential nature and by emptying oneself of all doctrines and knowledge, one achieves unity with the Dao and derives from it a mystical power. This power enables one to transcend all mundane distinctions, even the distinction of life and death. At the sociopolitical level, the Daoists called for a return to primitive agrarian life.

III HISTORY

Unsuited to the development of an explicit political theory, Daoism exerted its greatest

influence on Chinese aesthetics, hygiene, and religion. Alongside the philosophical and mystical Daoism discussed above, Daoism also developed on a popular level as a cult in which immortality was sought through magic and the use of various elixirs. Experimentation in alchemy gave way to the development, between the 3rd and 6th centuries, of various hygiene cults that sought to prolong life. These developed into a general hygiene system, still practiced, that stresses regular breathing and concentration to prevent disease and promote longevity.

About the 2nd century AD, popular Daoist religious organizations concerned with faith healing began to appear. Subsequently, under the influence of Buddhism, Daoist religious groups adopted institutional monasticism and a concern for spiritual afterlife rather than bodily immortality. The basic organization of these groups was the local parish, which supported a Daoist priest with its contributions. Daoism was recognized as the official religion of China for several brief periods. Various Daoist sects eventually developed, and in 1019 the leader of one of these was given an extensive tract of land in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province. The successors of this patriarch maintained control over this tract and nominal supremacy over local Daoist clergy until 1927, when they were ousted by the Chinese Communists. In contemporary China, religious Daoism has tended to merge with popular Buddhism and other religions.

See also Chinese Philosophy; Religion.

Further Reading

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occasion demanded, which was most of the time, but underneath her composed exterior she was bursting with suppressed energy. She was petite, about five feet three inches, with a slender figure and sloping shoulders, which were considered the ideal.

start
here

→ But her greatest assets were her bound feet, called in Chinese "three-inch golden lilies" (*san-tsun-gin-lian*). This meant she walked "like a tender young willow shoot in a spring breeze," as Chinese connoisseurs of women traditionally put it. The sight of a woman teetering on bound feet was supposed to have an erotic effect on men, partly because her vulnerability induced a feeling of protectiveness in the onlooker.

My grandmother's feet had been bound when she was two years old. Her mother, who herself had bound feet, first wound a piece of white cloth about twenty feet long round her feet, bending all the toes except the big toe inward and under the sole. Then she placed a large stone on top to crush the arch. My grandmother screamed in agony and begged her to stop. Her mother had to stick a cloth into her mouth to gag her. My grandmother passed out repeatedly from the pain.

The process lasted several years. Even after the bones had been broken, the feet had to be bound day and night in thick cloth because the moment they were released they would try to recover. For years my grandmother lived in relentless, excruciating pain. When she pleaded with her mother to untie the bindings, her mother would weep and tell her that unbound feet would ruin her entire life, and that she was doing it for her own future happiness.

In those days, when a woman was married, the first thing the bridegroom's family did was to examine her feet. Large feet, meaning normal feet, were considered to bring shame on the husband's household. The mother-in-law would lift the hem of the bride's long skirt, and if the feet were more than about four inches long, she would throw down the skirt in a demonstrative gesture of contempt and stalk off, leaving the bride to the critical gaze of the wedding guests, who would stare at her feet and insultingly mutter their disdain. Sometimes a mother would take pity on her daughter and remove the binding cloth; but when the child grew up and had to endure the contempt of her husband's family and the disapproval of society, she would blame her mother for having been too weak.

The practice of binding feet was originally introduced about a thousand years ago, allegedly by a concubine of the emperor. Not only was the sight of women hobbling on tiny feet considered erotic, men would also get excited playing with bound feet, which were always hidden in embroidered silk shoes. Women could not remove the bind-

ing cloths even when they were adults, as their feet would start growing again. The binding could only be loosened temporarily at night in bed, when they would put on soft-soled shoes. Men rarely saw naked bound feet, which were usually covered in rotting flesh and stank when the bindings were removed. As a child, I can remember my grandmother being in constant pain. When we came home from shopping, the first thing she would do was soak her feet in a bowl of hot water, sighing with relief as she did so. Then she would set about cutting off pieces of dead skin. The pain came not only from the broken bones, but also from her toenails, which grew into the balls of her feet.

In fact, my grandmother's feet were bound just at the moment when foot-binding was disappearing for good. By the time her sister was born in 1917, the practice had virtually been abandoned, so she escaped the torment.

However, when my grandmother was growing up, the prevailing attitude in a small town like Yixian was still that bound feet were essential for a good marriage—but they were only a start. Her father's plans were for her to be trained as either a perfect lady or a high-class courtesan. Scorning the received wisdom of the time—that it was virtuous for a lower class woman to be illiterate—he sent her to a girl's school that had been set up in the town in 1905. She also learned to play Chinese chess, mah-jongg, and go. She studied drawing and embroidery. Her favorite design was mandarin ducks (which symbolize love, because they always swim in pairs), and she used to embroider them onto the tiny shoes she made for herself. To crown her list of accomplishments, a tutor was hired to teach her to play the *qin*, a musical instrument like a zither.

My grandmother was considered the belle of the town. The locals said she stood out "like a crane among chickens." In 1924 she was fifteen, and her father was growing worried that time might be running out on his only real asset—and his only chance for a life of ease. In that year General Xue Zhi-heng, the inspector general of the Metropolitan Police of the warlord government in Peking, came to pay a visit.

Xue Zhi-heng was born in 1876 in the county of Lulong, about a hundred miles east of Peking, and just south of the Great Wall, where the vast North China plain runs up against the mountains. He was the eldest of four sons of a country schoolteacher.

He was handsome and had a powerful presence, which struck all who met him. Several blind fortune-tellers who felt his face predicted

courtesan →

end

What We Won't Do For Beauty

Read the selection from Wild Swans on the practice of foot-binding and the two articles about beauty contests, plastic surgery, etc.

Think about, write your responses to these questions and be prepared to discuss them in the next open forum:

1. What was the purpose of the practice?
2. How is pain and suffering related to the notion of beauty in our culture?
3. What kinds of processes and behaviors does our culture support in the name of beauty?
4. How pervasive is the need for physical attractiveness in U.S. culture? In other societies that you are familiar with? Where is the need most obvious?

Inkindest cuts of cosmetic surgery based on self-hate

arrived at adolescence in the era of training bras and angora sweaters. I never did figure out what these bras were training us for — Womanhood? the Great American Breast. Fetish? — but now I look back to that era, reluctantly, as the good old days.

Thirty years ago, we gossiped about which of the girls in our class and our *Seventeen* magazines were wearing falsies under their blouses. Now we gossip about which of the Miss America contestants and *People* magazine subjects are wearing falsies under their skin.

The hourglass figure, that fantasy of the 1950s, femininity has been transformed into a muscular anorexic with a Cup in the 1990s. And since this is a model that rarely comes off of nature's shelf, it is being manufactured.

Some 2 million American women — in every 60 — have had their bodies cut open and implants put into their chests. Last year alone, 150,000 did their surgeons between \$3,000 and \$5,000 for this ecework. Less than a third of the women were cancer patients undergoing reconstructive surgery. The overwhelming majority were trying to "enhance" their self-image by enlarging their breasts the new-fashioned way.

Remember in *Chorus Line*, when a young dancer begged that the operating room not the casting couch, was re-secret of her success. In real life, breast implants are



Ellen Goodman
Author of *Personal Politics*

now a success accessory that you can buy in your nearest surgical shop. They have become the most common cosmetic surgery on the market and silicone is the most popular product in the line.

Now, the safety of silicone has been reviewed by an advisory panel to the Food and Drug Administration. While recommending that the implants remain available, the panel also urged that more safety data be gathered.

Panel members heard about implants that harden and migrate, about infections and bleeding, ruptures and re-placements, arthritis and scleroderma, numb nipples and hard-to-read mammograms. They heard reports that said the odds of serious trouble are very very small and reports that said they're too large. And they heard — and agreed — that the research on silicone implants is too skimpy.

As for the benefits? Congress has already been inundated with women worried that their breasts might be banned. The American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons mobilized support to "help all women retain the right to decide for themselves about breast implants."

Like many in the American public, I have two sets of feelings about breast implants: one about the choices confronting cancer patients and another about cosmetic patients. But I am of one mind about public policy. There should be a single standard of safety for silicone and a single standard of choice. If implants are safe, women should be able to choose them.

But what bothers me about the buyer's market in bigger

breasts is not just the danger. It's that this boffo biz is based on insecurity. It's built on a diversifying database of self-hates. Cosmetic surgery is the lucrative business of fixing an ever-expanding list of things that are "wrong" with women.

The very same plastic surgeons now urging women to protect their right to prostheses began pushing them in the 1980s. Their association's press releases described small breasts as "deformities" that were "really a disease." The diagnosis was "a total lack of well-being" and the prescription was an implant. A surgical cure for a cultural disease. Cosmetic surgeons for their part run ads that often make breast implants sound as simple as buying contact lenses. And for a time, the women's magazines joined in with feel-good-through-simple-surgery stories.

Some women do indeed feel better with implants. But there is a symbiotic relationship between a culture that makes women feel bad about their bodies and a business that makes them feel better. We know that every time we belly up to the blush-on counter. This time we are not talking about face powder.

Although the advisory panel ended the hearings without giving breast implants a silicone seal of approval, we all know more about the personal price of "beauty." And the more a woman is informed, the less she may give consent to this surgical fashioning of femininity. We're not in training any longer.

Boston Globe Newspaper Company

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Commentary

Unkindest cuts occur before contest begins

THE Miss America Pageant strutted its usual stuff on its usual turf. The photos from Atlantic City were full of glitz and ~~trif~~ ~~trif~~. The contestants were full of hopes and dreams, hype and hairspray.

We were treated to the same cute yarns of sacrifices the beauties made to get to the runway. (Why, Miss Louisiana had given up chocolate-chip cookies for the duration!) We learned firsthand about their obvious talents.

But the gritty little secret about the competitive world of beauty's World Series was hidden in the surgical scars. The sacrifices some of the women make to get into the big league aren't so benign and the talents aren't so natural.

A lot of the contestants do not owe their beauty to their Maker but to their Re-Maker. Miss Florida's nose came courtesy of her surgeon. So did Miss Alaska's. And Miss Oregon's breasts came from the manufacturers of silicone.

Indeed, an Arkansas surgeon, Dr. James Billie, told *USA Today* that five women in the contest had gotten a makeover in his operating room. And NBC's *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* showed the sculpting of a California beauty queen in four surgical strikes.



Ellen Goodman

All in all, the creeping plasticizing of beauty pageantry gives a new tilt to the old expression: Beauty is as beauty does . . . to herself. With one more trip to the O.R., even Michael Jackson could be a contestant.

Rumors about what piece of whose body had been sucked out have been rife for years. But now, Susan Akin, the 1982 Miss America, has said: "I'll admit to a boob job." And a leading contender for the 1983 crown had told NBC that she'd had both a nose job and implants. It's finally clear that before you get to the meat market in Atlantic City you may have to get carved up like a turkey.

But it's time — really overtime — to ban surgery. If professional sports can ban steroids, then professional beauty contests can ban silicone.

We are not talking about eyeliner here. The silicone breasts so amply displayed can and often do harden and have to be replaced. The gel, which can "bleed" into the body, has been found to cause cancer in lab animals.

The liposuction that promises to suck bodies into shape carries the risks of all general anesthesia: infection and, in at least 11 cases, death. Nose jobs that are relatively risk-free are hardly pain-free.

Any sporting event has to draw lines and rules and any pageant worth its image would draw them at the cosmetic knife.

I am hardly a Miss America fan. Nevertheless, some 50 million or so Americans follow this event. Some may see it as high camp, but many a girl views it as the female equivalent of the Superbowl. A halfback pumped up with male hormones is a lousy model for a high-school boy, and a female contestant is carrying a bad message along with the silicone under her skin.

The culprit is competition. Brawn competes on the field; beauty competes on the runway. The winner of this all-American ideal girl contest gets \$150,000 for the year plus a \$42,000 scholarship and \$30,000 car. It isn't superstardom, but it isn't bad.

So the contestants, young and single, go into training for this payoff with personal coaches who are expert on everything from firmer thighs to violin sonatas. The most ambitious, like their Olympics counterparts, will do whatever it takes to win.

I don't expect the message from Atlantic City to be: Relax, women, you are fine as you are. The economy might fold. Better yet the pageant might fold. But there is a difference between blush-on and silicone. Surgery is not just another self-improvement

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WHISL

China History—1

Name _____

Directions: Write your answers on your own paper, one side only, in ink, and using as much detail as needed to clarify and show a full understanding of each item. **Attach this paper to the back of your answers, in order to receive full credit.**

1. Yu and the Xia dynasty
2. Tang dynasty
3. Zhou (Chou) dynasty-composition and accomplishments.
4. Middle Kingdom
5. China's geography—name four countries that border China
6. Major bodies of water that touch the coasts of China.
7. Name the three major rivers in China.
8. What was the Mandate of Heaven and how did it actually function in China?
9. Confucious and principles of Confucian Thought.
10. Who is Wudi?
11. Kubla Khan (Kublai or Kublah)
12. Length of the Silk Road, countries it traverses, when, how, and why it was established.
13. Marco Polo.
14. Great Wall of China-important facts, where, why, how, length, purpose, etc.
15. Qin Shihuagdi.
16. Qin dynasty
17. Pax Sinica
18. filial piety/ancestral duty.
19. What does the yin/yang represent and why is it important?
20. Main principles or beliefs of Daoism (Taoism).
21. Buddhism-main principles, Four Noble Truths, Eight Fold Path.
22. China's earliest scientific and technological contributions.
23. acupuncture/wholistic healing in traditional China.
24. hierarchy.
25. mandarin.
26. kowtow.
27. meritocracy.
28. Pu' Yi.
29. The Last Emperor.
30. The Boxer Rebellion-what, when, why, who, where.
31. Chiang Kai-shek.
32. concubine.
33. Discuss the role and rights of women in ancient China and significant changes in that role proposed by the Communist Party in 20th century China
34. Discuss the importance of traditional values in Chinese culture.

China--Old and New--Unit Test

Directions: Your objective is to **show the depth of your understanding** on this test; thus, your responses need to be thorough and detailed. Use ink and your own college-ruled paper. Skip lines between items. **Attach this sheet to the back of your test in order to receive credit for your work.**

You will have ONLY THIS CLASS PERIOD to complete this test, so you may find it useful to make a plan. Remember to READ THROUGH THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE TEST BEFORE YOU START, IN ORDER TO GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT YOU ARE BEING ASKED TO DO. THEN, PACE YOURSELF!

A. Clearly identify the following items in terms of the five W's; especially include why each is **important to one's understanding of China**. Write each term on your paper. When you have finished Part A, turn it in before beginning Part B.

1. The concept of the Middle Kingdom
2. The concept of the Mandate of Heaven
3. Pax Sinica
4. Sino-Soviet alliance
5. Kow-tow
6. Yin/yang
7. Filial piety
8. Tamerlane (Timur Lenk)
9. Yert
10. Khan
11. Dynasty
12. Kamikaze
13. Concubine
14. Mandarin
15. Hierarchy
16. Meritocracy
17. Hirohito
18. Tale of Genji
19. Purpose, distance, beginning and end location of the Great Wall
20. Purpose, distance, beginning and end location of the Silk Road
21. Qin dynasty
22. Qin Shuangdi
23. K'ung Fu' tze

Turn in Part A before you begin Part B, which will be handed out once you have finished Part A.

*Attach this sheet to the back of
PART A for credit.*

B. This section of the test asks you to discuss in some detail certain concepts, events, people, and places; thus, your responses need to be written using complete sentences and paragraphs. You may use your texts and notes. If you **copy anything word for word from any source, you will receive a zero on the test.** You may, however, paraphrase and use line citations, i.e., (Roberts 167) for the first citation from a source; the second citation in succession from the same source is noted (169).

1. Describe the main tenets or principle(s) of Confucian thought and their importance to social and political life in China. How might such principles be applied to social and political situations today?
2. Describe the main principle(s) of Daoism. If one adhered to such principles, how would he deal with misfortune and what might be his attitude toward such things as the beef and cattle industry, the use of force in political and social situations, etc.?
3. Describe the main principle(s) of Buddhism. In what ways might those principles be useful to an individual?
4. Describe several contributions China has made to the rest of the world in the fields of art, politics, religion, and technology.
5. Discuss Shiang Kai-shek and the Goumindong in relation to China's political development in the early 20th century.
6. Describe the important elements of the Boxer Rebellion and how it contributed to China's political isolation.
7. Discuss how Mao Zedong and Communism affected various political and social revolutions in China in the 20th century. Why do you think he was he able to do the things he did?
- *8. Against the backdrop of what you know about various revolutions in China and elsewhere, when do you think rebellion against authority is justified? Under what conditions or circumstances? What makes a successful revolution or rebellion and how does rebellion alter the meaning of justice?

*This item will require more than a few minutes, so you will have classtime tomorrow to think and write about it. Your essay will be due at the end of class at that time.

Attach this sheet to the back
of PART B for credit.

Reading Schedule for Wild Swans

<u>Pages</u>	<u>Day/Date</u>
Pp. 21-42 (21)	
Pp. 43-74 (31)	
Pp. 75-139 (64)	
Pp. 140-190 (50)	
Pp. 192-255 (63)	
Pp. 256-378 (122)	
Pp. 379-457 (78)	
Pp. 458-508 (50)	

There will be a written exam over pp. 21-139 on _____; a written exam over pp. 140-378 on _____; and a written exam over pp. 379-508 on _____.

You should keep a Character Log, as you read each section, which helps you keep track of who is doing what in the story. Since the narrative is pretty straight forward, the author tells you who she is talking about. She also indicates whether or not the person is family, connected to family, or is of social or political importance. The Character Log may be useful, as you study for each sectional written exam and to clarify certain historical events in modern China. Depending on the thoroughness and general appearance of your Character Log, it may be negotiable as a substitute for another assignment already completed of equal value.

I will give you study guides for the first couple of sections to give you a clear idea of the sorts of things you need to focus on as you read the sections. You will also be asked to research certain characters, places, and events in the book and for point credit present your information to the rest of the class.

Wild Swans**Long Term Vocabulary Studies**

Directions: You are responsible for knowing (1) the **meanings** of the root words and their derivatives, i.e., root word=appall; derivative words=appalled, appalling; (2) whether the word **functions** primarily as a **noun, verb, adverb, or adjective**; (3) how to use the word to show you understand its meaning in your own **original sentence**.

Study suggestions: **Before** looking in a dictionary, find the word as it is used in context in the story (page numbers are in parenthesis) and write down your educated guess about what the word means; you and your vocabulary partner can discuss briefly with each other what you think the word means. Once you have written down your ideas about the meaning in the context of the particular sentences, you may discover that you already have a clear sense of the word's definition. Be sure to check yourself against the dictionary.

I also strongly recommend making vocabulary cards, which you will be given class time to make. If illustrations help, then take time to illustrate. You will receive some fraction of a point for each completed card for extra credit. The fraction will be either an eighth or a quarter of a point.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. unrequited, requited--135 | 19. mollified--155 |
| 2. virulent--135 | 20. bourgeois--164 |
| 3. formidable--136 | 21. stigmatized--165 |
| 4. desolate--136 | 22. appalling--167 |
| 5. dissuade--136 | 23. intrusion, intrusive--170 |
| 6. collusion--137 | 24. oppression--173 |
| 7. concessions--141 | 25. quasi-religious--178 |
| 8. abyss--142 | 26. ulterior--180 |
| 9. nepotism--143 | 27. insidious--187 |
| 10. unrelenting, relentless--143 | 28. eunuch (not in book) |
| 11. exploit--144 | 29. usurp (nib) |
| 12. profuse--145 | 30. xenophobia (nib) |
| 13. mesmerize--145 | 31. philanderer (nib) |
| 14. precipitous--149 | 32. misanthrope (nib) |
| 15. apparition--149 | |
| 16. promontory--150-51 | |
| 17. austerity--153 | |
| 18. portended--155 | |

Long Term Vocabulary Studies--2

Directions: You are responsible for knowing (1) the **meanings** of the root words and their derivatives, i.e., root word=appall; derivative words=appalled, appalling; (2) whether the word **functions** primarily as a **noun, verb, adverb, or adjective**; (3) how to use the word to show you understand its **meaning in your own original sentence relating to the book or some other aspect of China.**

Study suggestions: **Before** looking in a dictionary, find the word as it is used in context in the story (page numbers are in parenthesis) and write down your educated guess about what the word means; you and your vocabulary partner can discuss briefly with each other what you think the word means. Once you have written down your ideas about the meaning in the context of the particular sentences, you may discover that you already have a clear sense of the word's definition. Be sure to check yourself against the dictionary.

I also strongly recommend making vocabulary cards, which you will be given class time to work on. If illustrations help, then take time to illustrate.

One final suggestion is that you make some attempt to use these words in your conversations with friends and family, i.e., Mom, do you have any idea what a cadre is? I'm certain you can be creative in how you incorporate the words into everyday use. Each time you use a word, make a mental note of it and who you're talking to, then the next time you are in class, tell me or write down what your sentence was. Each time you use a different word in a correct context, you get one point.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. venomous (337) | 16. minuscule (466) |
| 2. dissident (cfib or nib) | 17. zeal, zealot (469) |
| 3. erroneous (345) | 18. aversion (469) |
| 4. incredulously (347) | 19. tantamount (471) |
| 5. denunciation (356) | 20. aghast (000) |
| 6. cadre (380) | 21. coterie (474) |
| 7. gulag (000) | 22. demise (476) |
| 8. soughing (384) | 23. acquiesce (476) |
| 9. purling (384) | 24. despondent (476) |
| 10. egrets (403) | 25. deigned (479) |
| 11. expiate (409) | 26. innocuous (480) |
| 12. demagoguery (464) | 27. odious (480) |
| 13. xenophobia (465) | 28. lugubrious (480) |
| 14. turgid (466) | 29. megalomania (496) |
| 15. vapid (466) | 30. blatant (498) |
| | 31. repudiated (498) |

Directions: Write a definition for each of the following words, then write an original sentence which shows clearly that you understand the meaning of the word. Your sentence must also relate to Wild Swans, the history text, the culture gram, or other resources about China.

1. insidious (def) _____

2. appalled (def) _____

3. intrusive (def) _____

4. virulent (def) _____

5. mollified (def) _____

6. unrequited (def) _____

7. austerity (def) _____

8. dissuade (def) _____

9. oppression (def) _____

10. relentless (def) _____

11. desolate (def) _____

12. ulterior (def) _____

13. nepotism (def) _____

14. exploit (def) _____

15. mesmerize (def) _____

16. eunuch (def) _____

17. precipitous (def) _____

18. formidable (def) _____

19. collusion (def) _____

20. abyss (def) _____

21. profuse (def) _____

22. apparition (def) _____

23. bourgeois (def) _____

24. concessions (def) _____

CURRICULUM PROJECT
CHINA SUMMER SEMINAR

ANCIENT HISTORY X PROJECTS/CHINA
by MR. MICHAEL COREY
DENVER SOUTH HIGH SCHOOL

PROJECT TITLE: ANCIENT HISTORY X PROJECTS/CHINA
2002 FULBRIGHT/HAYS SUMMER SEMINARS

This curriculum project is designed for college-bound students that have enrolled in an accelerated studies program. Typically the student taking this elective is in tenth grade.

There are several ways in which students can explore ancient China for this class. My young scholars are required to attempt 3 out of 10 suggested term projects. These projects are meant to be fun and educational...and during this process students become familiar with the library and the various resources that my high school offers.

PROJECT ONE:
HISTORY THROUGH MOVIES

Students must see four (4) of the following movies and write a brief reaction paper. They need to discuss the impact the movie made...and if the movie taught them anything about the subject. Would they recommend it to their friends?

KUNDUN LITTLE BUDDHA LOST HORIZON RAN
HEAVEN & EARTH TAMPOPO YO JIMBO FREEDOM IN EXILE
EXILE FROM THE LANDS OF THE SNOW THE LAST EMPEROR

PROJECT TWO:
BOOK REPORT

What did you learn? What did you enjoy about it? Did you learn any new vocabulary? The book chosen should be able to create a movie in your mind...

THE ART OF WAR by Sun Tzu THE ANCIENT ENGINEERS by DeCamp
Monkey/Journey to the West by Wu Cheng'en EMPRESS WU by Jack Wells
CHINA - A NEW HISTORY or THE GREAT CHINESE REVOLUTION by J. Fairbank

PROJECT THREE:
BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAITS

Students need to write a half-page report on each person listed. Why are they important enough for us to remember? A photograph or artistic representation should be provided. (If they can't find any...they are not looking hard enough!)

QIN SHIHUANG DI EMPEROR WEN EMPRESS WU HO
MARCO POLO MENCIOUS CONFUCIUS LAO TZU
SUN TZU KUBLAI KHAN GENGHIS KHAN

PROJECT FOUR:
GEOGRAPHICAL PURSUIT/MAPS

Students have to draw or trace (no photocopies) 5 maps:

QIN EMPIRE HAN EMPIRE SONG DYNASTY TANG DYNASTY
MARCO POLO'S ROUTE ACROSS ASIA THE SILK ROAD

PROJECT FIVE:
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Students have to do a ten page research paper on one question:

- 1) Describe the many contributions of ancient China.
- 2) Explain how the first Emperor of China unified his empire.
- 3) Compare the fall of the Roman Empire to that of the Han Empire.
- 4) Why are the Song and Tang Dynasties considered the "Golden Age of China"?

PROJECT SIX:
RELIGIOUS PURSUIT

Students have to compare and contrast the basic beliefs, ideas, practices, idols, houses of worship and traditions of the following asian religions:

ISLAM BUDDHISM HINDUISM TAOISM CONFUCIANISM

PROJECTS SEVEN THROUGH TEN:
ART AND ENGINEERING

7) Be an engineer and build a Chinese Junk.

8) Be an architect and lay out your design for a Chinese capital city; with a wall and appropriate defenses.

9) Do a half dozen quotes in calligraphy (Chinese) style of writing.

10) Draw or paint four (4) subjects: (color is appreciated)

THE GREAT WALL	A CHINESE JUNK	A TERRA-COTTA SOLDIER	
QIN SHIHUANG DI	BUDDHA	CONFUCIUS	MARCO POLO

Final comments....all of these projects are designed to cater to the different types of learners that an urban high school contains...and should be fun and entertaining to all levels of high-school students.

Again, thank you for your help...all I can say is that I enjoyed China and will incorporate many ideas into my classroom well into the future.

Enclosed: My Final for my Ancient History Class.

ANCIENT HISTORY X
FALL SEMESTER FINAL
MR. M. COREY

ANSWER QUESTION 1 AND TWO (2) FROM SECTION 2.

QUESTION 1: 50 POINTS

Qu. 1: Throughout history great civilizations have existed in various parts of the world. Answer all 3 parts.

A: Define the term: Civilization.

B: Describe some examples of the cultural or intellectual achievements made by two civilizations we have studied.

C: Explain the lasting importance of each of these contributions to world history.

SECTION TWO: 50 points

QUESTION 2: Discuss the many accomplishments of Ramses the Great.

QUESTION 3: "The decline of hunting/gathering and the development of agriculture had a profound impact on primitive peoples." Discuss.

QUESTION 4: Discuss the emergence and spread of religious belief systems.

QUESTION 5: Explain the impact of geography. Provide a map and an analysis of why the first four civilizations began in river valleys surrounded by deserts and/or mountains.

QUESTION 6: In what ways were the city-states of Sparta and Athens similar? In what ways were they different?

QUESTION 7: Explain the causes of and results of the Punic Wars.

QUESTION 8: Discuss the impact of the Ch'in Dynasty and its' founder Emperor Shih Huang-di.

Extra Credit: 10 points possible.

EC: Discuss the accomplishments of the Hellenistic period and the role of Alexander the Great in cultural diffusion.

ANCIENT HISTORY X
MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. IN THE BROADEST SENSE, THE TERM 'CULTURE' REFERS TO:
 - A) ART MUSEUMS.
 - B) COMPLEX LANGUAGES FOUND IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES.
 - C) CENTRALIZED FORM OF GOVERNMENT THAT ORGANIZES SOCIETY.
 - D) A DISTINCT WAY OF LIVING AND BEHAVING LEARNED BY MEMBERS OF A SOCIETY.

2. DURING THE NEOLITHIC REVOLUTION, PEOPLE LEARNED HOW TO
 - A) CREATE WRITING SYSTEMS.
 - B) GROW FOOD AND DOMESTICATE ANIMALS.
 - C) BUILD FIRES.
 - D) MAKE THE FIRST BRONZE WEAPONS.

3. A REPORT ON THESE TOPICS: SUMER AND HUANG HE IS ABOUT:
 - A) RELIGIOUS GROUPS.
 - B) EARLY FORMS OF WRITING.
 - C) RIVER VALLEY CIVILIZATIONS.
 - D) DYNASTIC RULERS.

4. WHICH CHARACTERISTIC WAS COMMON TO BOTH EGYPT & CHINA
 - A) NOMADIC LIFESTYLE.
 - B) INFLUENCE OF INDO-EUROPEANS.
 - C) MONOTHEISTIC RELIGION.
 - D) WRITTEN FORMS OF COMMUNICATION.

5. THE CHIEF BUILDING MATERIAL USED IN THE FERTILE CRESENT:
 - A) REEDS
 - B) STONE
 - C) CLAY BRICK
 - D) WOOD

6. THE SUMERANS BUILT ZIGGURATS, WHICH WERE:
 - A) IRRIGATION CANALS TO CONTROL FLOODING.
 - B) RELIGIOUS SHRINES
 - C) ROYAL PALACES.
 - D) LIBRARIES

7. THE STYLUS WAS A MIDDLE EASTERN IMPLEMENT USED FOR:
A) WRITING.
B) MAKING BRICKS.
C) FARMING.
D) WARFARE.
8. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS NOT AN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE: A) SANSKRIT
B) ENGLISH
C) PERSIAN
D) ARABIC
9. THE HEBREW CAPITAL WAS LOCATED AT:
A) NINEVEH
B) JERUSALEM
C) DAMASCUS
D) MEMPHIS.
10. THE ANCIENT CONQUERORS WHO TREATED THE HEBREWS WITH HUMANITY WERE: A) ASSYRIANS
B) BABYLONIANS
C) PERSIANS
D) ROMANS.
11. WHICH PROPHET CALLED FOR PEACE, THAT NATIONS "SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES"?
A) MOSES
B) SOLOMON
C) ISAIAH
D) DAVID.
12. THE ASSYRIAN PRACTICE OF APPOINTING GOVERNORS TO RULE SEPARATE PROVINCES WAS ADOPTED BY:
A) PERSIANS
B) EGYPTIANS
C) BABYLONIANS
D) HITTITES.
13. WHICH CIVILIZATION INVENTED/USED IRON?
A) SUMERIANS
B) BABYLONIANS
C) PERSIANS
D) HITTITES.

14. A PHOENICIAN PRODUCT IN HIGH DEMAND BY MONARCHS WAS:
A) PURPLE DYE
B) ROYAL CHARIOTS
C) SUNDIALS
D) IRON WEAPONS.
15. " IF A NOBLE HAS KNOCKED OUT THE TOOTH OF A NOBLE, THEY SHALL KNOCK OUT HIS TOOTH" THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF:
A) THE 12 TABLES OF ROME
B) ATHENIAN LAW CODES
C) ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S CODE OF LAW
D) CODE OF HAMMURABI.
16. OUR MODERN DAY ALPHABET IS BASED ON THE ALPHABET OF:
A) GREEKS
B) PHOENICIANS
C) ROMANS
D) CARTHAGE.
17. WHICH WAS NOT AN ACHIEVEMENT OF CHINA?
A) A SOLAR CALENDER
B) GLAZED POTTERY
C) A PHONETIC ALPHABET
D) MAKING PAPER.
18. THE FIRST EMPEROR OF THE CH'IN DYNASTY SHIH HUANG DI, ORDERED THE BURNING OF BOOKS BECAUSE HE:
A) FEARED AN EDUCATED PEOPLE
B) FEARED THAT A KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST WOULD HAMPER HIS EFFORTS AT ESTABLISHING A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.
C) WANTED TO COMBAT RELIGIOUS WARFARE.
D) FELT THAT OLD BOOKS WERE USELESS.
19. CONFUCIANISM ENCOURAGED THE CHINESE TO:
A) LEARN FROM FOREIGNERS
B) RESPECT FAMILY AND TRADITIONS
C) RESPECT THE GOVERNMENT
D) SEEK PRINCIPLES OF SCIENCE
20. CONFUCIANISM ENCOURAGED LOYALTY TO: A)THE CH'IN GODS
B) YOUR HOME PROVINCE
C) YOUR ANCESTORS
D) THE LOCAL WARLORD.

21. WHICH IS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY:

- A) JURY SYSTEM
- B) ELECTION OF OFFICIALS
- C) RIGHT OF MALE CITIZENS TO VOTE
- D) REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

22. AS A PHILOSOPHER, I URGED NOT A DEMOCRACY BUT AN ARISTOCRACY OF INTELLIGENCE...

- A) DEMOCRITUS
- B) SOCRATES
- C) SOPHOCLES
- D) PLATO

23. IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR:

- A) DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHED OVER ARISTOCRACY
- B) ARISTOCRACY TRIUMPHED OVER DEMOCRACY
- C) GREECE TRIUMPHED OVER PERSIA
- D) ALEXANDER THE GREAT TRIUMPHED OVER DARIUS.

24. IN GAINING CONTROL OVER ITALY THE ROMANS:

- A) EMPLOYED GREAT CRUELTY
- B) EXTENDED CITIZENSHIP TO CONQUERED PEOPLES
- C) FOUGHT MOSTLY DEFENSIVE WARS
- D) USED HIRED SOLDIERS CHIEFLY.

25. CARTHAGE AND ROME BECAME BITTER RIVALS BECAUSE THE CARTHAGINIANS:

- A) REFUSED TO WORSHIP ROMAN GODS.
- B) DROVE THE ROMANS OUT OF GAUL.
- C) COMPETED FOR TRADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA.
- D) SACKED ROME UNDER THEIR GENERAL HANNIBAL.

EXTRA CREDIT 1 POINT EACH:

ECQ26: THE ARISTOCRATES WHO CONTROLLED THE ROMAN SENATE: A) PLEBIANS B) PRIESTS C) CAESARS D) PATRICIANS

ECQ27: CAESAR'S GREAT RIVAL FOR SUPREMACY WAS:
A) BRUTUS B) NERO C) POMPEY D) TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

GOOD LUCK!

Curriculum Project
Education and Development: China, a Case Study
Marcia J. Frost
Wittenberg University
Springfield OH 45504

This project is designed as a component of a 200-level course in Economic Development in which students use primary data from the World Bank to explore the development history of a low income country over the past four decades.

Role of Education in Economic Development

Education is both an ends of and a means to economic development. The capabilities dimension of economic development focuses on the expanded capabilities of individuals to live freer & more productive lives, to increase their range of choice, to do more things, to live a long life, to escape avoidable illness, and to have access to the world's stock of knowledge. [Sen] The OECD's Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) and subsequently the United Nation's Human Development Index (HDI) both include a measure of adult literacy to reflect the enhanced personal welfare of those with literacy skills and their improved productivity. [Morris; ul Huq] Improved productivity, where markets permit, increases wages and incomes which in turn through a virtuous cycle leads to future expanded educational attainment and higher per capita incomes, both of which are inversely correlated with infant mortality and fertility rates and positively correlated with rising life expectancy and gender equity. [Lin, Ranis]

Education in China

Despite millenia-long history of secular education, few Chinese attended school or had basic literacy skills at the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. As part of its development strategy the Communist Party strove from the beginning to improve access to education to both boys and girls. Private schools were nationalized, education was expanded at all levels and heavily subsidized. The "three great inequalities" -- inter-regional, rural-urban and intra-work unit -- were consistently addressed through redistributive educational policies. During the 1966-76 Cultural Revolution education was particularly impacted. Colleges were closed for four years, and when they began to re-open entrance exams were abolished, replaced by criteria of family background and political acceptability. Middle school enrollments increased, but the quality of education declined sharply.

By enactment on April 12, 1986 by the Fourth Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Decree No. 38 of the president of the People's Republic of China nine years of education was made compulsory. (Article 2) Nearly a decade later the Third Session of the Eighth National People's Congress passed and promulgated Degree No. 45 of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China on March 18, 1995 a new education law "with a view to developing educational undertakings, enhancing the quality of the whole nation, promoting socialist material development, and building an advanced socialist culture and ideology." (Chapter 1, Article 1)

Currently China has a 5-tier education system. Pre-school education includes nursery school for children under 3 years of age and kindergartens for those 3 and older. Primary education extends for 5 (some rural areas) to 6 years for children from age 6 or 7. Lower secondary school extends for 3 years. Education is compulsory for nine years; although some provinces are still transitioning to the extension of compulsory education and even by 2010 up to 5% of the eligible population will still not have access to 9 years of schooling. (Xinhua, 5/12/00) The curriculum for primary and lower-secondary school is uniform. Higher secondary-school also extends for 3 years; the curriculum differs among the general, technical, vocational (mostly agricultural) and craftsmen schools. Education at the primary and secondary levels is administered by the local people's government under the leadership of the State Council. Tertiary education is administered by the State Council and the people's governments of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. (Chapter 1, Article 14) Adult education is offered "so that citizens may received appropriate education in politics, economics, culture, science, technology, professional or vocational knowledge, and lifelong education." (Chapter 2, Article 19). Education is in Putonghua, although it may be offered in the language of the majority ethnic group of an educational institution. (Chapter 1, Article 12) Financing of schools is in transition with funding increasingly the responsibility of a wider range of persons and institutions. State allocations are a diminishing share of the total as a educational surcharges at the township level, "donations" of social organizations and individuals, and fees increase. (Chapter 7)

Of increasing concern over the past decade is the widening gap between educational access and attainment between the richer coastal and poorer western provinces, the richer urban and poorer rural inhabitants, and the children of the richer business and party elites and poorer common workers. [Knight and Lina; Knight and Shi] This gap has widened as funding has shifted from the state to local communities and families in response to recent government policies to establish a socialist market economic system in which those identified as most likely to prosper are accorded opportunities denied to all others. [Marr, Tsang]

Student Project: Investment in Human Capital - Education

Purpose: To identify the changes in human capital investments in China since 1960 and their impact on development indicators.

Materials: World Bank, World Development Indicators

- ◆ Part I - Measuring education inputs
 - Dollar expenditures
 - From WDI collect the following data:
 - Expenditure per student (percent of per capita income) in i) primary, ii) secondary and iii) tertiary school
 - Per capita real GDP in 1995 US\$
 - Calculate per capita expenditures in 1995 US\$
 - Plot per capita expenditures
 - Calculate annual growth rate of per capita expenditures

- Persistence
 - From WDI collect the following data for males, females and total:
 - Net intake rate in grade 1; Note: this measures initial access to schooling
 - Persistence to grade 5; Note: this measures effective, sustainable literacy
 - Gross school enrollment rates in i) primary, ii) secondary and iii) tertiary school; Notes: this includes students repeating and delaying entry
 - Numbers of pupils and number of teachers in i) primary, ii) secondary and iii) tertiary school
 - Calculate student-teacher ratios for each level of schooling
 - Plot trends in net intake in grade 1, persistence to grade 5, gross school enrollments and student teacher ratios
 - Analysis
 - Describe the level and trend in educational inputs during three time periods: i) between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, 1960-66, ii) Cultural Revolution, 1966-76 and iii) post Cultural Revolution, 1977-99
- ◆ Part II - Measuring Outcomes
 - Literacy
 - From WDI collect the following data for males, females and total:
 - Adult illiteracy (% of adults aged 15 and above)
 - Youth illiteracy (% of youths aged 15 to 24)
 - Calculate literacy rates
 - Plot trends in literacy for adults and youths
 - Analysis
 - Describe the level and trend in educational outcomes of adults and youth during three time periods: i) between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, 1960-66, ii) Cultural Revolution, 1966-76 and iii) post Cultural Revolution, 1977-99
 - Evaluate how changes in educational inputs impact educational outcomes
 - which inputs are most strongly correlated with outcomes?
 - how long are the lags?
 - ◆ Part III - Relation to Development Indicators
 - Female labor force participation
 - From WDI collect the following data:
 - Female labor force participation rate (% of females)
 - Female population
 - Females employees in i) agriculture, ii) industry, and iii) services (% of economically active)
 - Females labor force with i) primary, ii) secondary and iii) tertiary education (% of female labor)
 - Calculate the number of females participating in the labor force, and number of females employed in i) agriculture, ii) industry, and iii) services
 - Analysis
 - Evaluate how changes in female school attendance and literacy impact female labor force participation by sector

- Demography
 - From WDI collect the following data:
 - Crude birth rate
 - Fertility rate
 - Infant mortality rate
 - Child mortality rate
 - Life expectancy a birth
 - Analysis
 - Evaluate the relationship between female literacy, and infant and child mortality
 - How long are the lags?
 - Evaluate the relationship between infant and child mortality, and fertility
 - How long are the lags?
 - Evaluate the relationship between female literacy, and life expectancy
 - How long is the lag?

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
SEMINARS ABROAD PROGRAM 2002
CURRICULUM PROJECT**

**BY
NANCY HAZAM
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, LANCASTER**

**UNIT PROJECT:
HOMO-ERECTUS IN CHINA: ZHOUKOU DIAN AND PEKING MAN**

ABOUT THIS PROJECT

This curriculum project is part of an introductory course, ANTH 101: "Primates, People and Prehistory," which will be offered to freshmen and sophomores Spring Semester, 2003 at the University of South Carolina, Lancaster. Although I have always included a significant unit on early human beings, including Homo erectus, I have never before spent concentrated class time on human fossil discoveries in China. My recent visit there, and my trip to the Zhoukoudian site where Peking Man was discovered have provided me with the opportunity to develop a case study of Homo erectus as seen through the examination of the skeletal and cultural remains of China's Peking Man.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The goal of this course is to introduce students to the concepts, methods and data of physical and archaeological anthropology. Through lectures, readings, discussions and films, the class will explore human origins, evolution, prehistory, and culture from their less complex forms to the appearance of modern Homo sapiens and the rise of early civilizations.

The goal of this unit on Homo erectus in China is to provide a case study of early human evolution and to examine the lineage of modern human beings, emphasizing both physical and cultural developments.

EVALUATION OF STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Evaluation of student work for this course will be based on the following:

- 1) Class participation
- 2) Completion and quality of class assignments
- 3) Three unit tests including objective and essay questions.

TEXT

DeCorse, Christopher, R. 2000. *The Record of the Past: An Introduction to Physical Anthropology and Archaeology*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

LECTURE ONE: HOMO ERECTUS, AN INTRODUCTION

Homo erectus was an early, highly successful human being whose cultural and physical remains have been discovered in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. This early human being, or hominine, holds an important position in the human lineage. His/her life on earth was a long one ranging from 1.6 million to 400 thousand years ago. The brain of the Homo erectus shows increased complexity and similarities with modern human brains in comparison to those of earlier humans. In addition, the complexity and rich variety of Homo erectus includes significant lifestyle adaptations in tool making, the utilization of fire, the development of hunting skills, and the preparation and use of shelters.

This lecture will employ overheads of Homo erectus sites, fossil remains, and cultural remains.

Outline of Lecture:

- I. Homo Erectus Evolutionary Position in the Human Lineage
- II. Geographical Range
- III. Fossil Evidence: Skeletal and Dental Evidence
- IV. Culture
 - A. Tools and the art of making tools
 - B. Subsistence Patterns
 - C. Geographical expansion: the critical factors of intelligence and use of fire
 - D. Critical Issues
 - 1) Original geographic locale(s) of Homo erectus: Africa/Asia debate
 - 2) Homo erectus: Scavenger versus hunter

Student Assignment:

Students are asked to use the Internet, journals, or newspapers to locate an article on some new Homo erectus discovery or reanalysis of previous findings carried out in the last three years. The inclusion of maps and/or photographs is especially encouraged. The information may come from a Homo erectus site anywhere in the world. Students are expected to read the article, bring it to class, and be able to clearly discuss material covered in the article. Time will be allotted for class discussion of these materials.

LECTURE TWO: THE HISTORY OF ZHOUDOUDIAN AND THE FOSSIL HUNT FOR PEKING MAN

“Peking Man” is the name given to human fossil remains unearthed at the site of Dragon Bone Hill in Zhoukoudian, China. UNESCO has now declared the Zhoukoudian site, where fossil remains of approximately 40 men, women and children have been unearthed, a “World Heritage Site.”

The story of Peking Man is one of excitement, misfortune and mystery. It began in 1921 with the discovery made at Dragon Bone Hill of two fossil teeth which appeared to be human. The subsequent excavation by archaeologist, Wen Pei, of more teeth and a skull were eventually examined by Davidson Black and ultimately classified as human fossils belong to the genus and species, *Homo erectus*. Work at the site, accompanied by still further discoveries, continued off and on until 1937 and the Japanese invasion China. Anatomist, Franz Weidenreich, fearing for the loss or destruction of the Peking Man *Homo Erectus* fossils, made careful casts of them. He took these with him when he left China, and they remain in existence today. The U.S. marines were assigned the responsibility for transporting the original fossils to the United States for safekeeping, but unfortunately these were lost, misplaced, or stolen during the transportation process and have never been recovered. This mystery continues to fascinate students of archaeology today.

This lecture will include the presentation of slides made on site at Zhoukoudian during my visit there in 2002 as well overheads of Peking Man fossil and cultural materials.

Outline of Lecture:

- I. The Discovery of the Zhoukoudian Site
- II. Excavation of *Homo Erectus* at Zhoukoudian’s Dragon Bone Hill
 - A. Survey by Johann Gunnar Anderson and Otto Zdansky of Dragon Bone Hill near Zhoukoudian village in 1921
 - B. Early excavations by archaeologist, Wen Pei, of what is termed “Zhoukoudian Cave,” in 1929
 - C. Examination of early human fossil finds from Zhoukoudian by anatomist, Davidson Black
 - D. Continued excavations at Zhoukoudian under Davidson Black beginning in 1929
 - E. Excavations taken over by Franz Weidenreich, anatomist and fossil expert, from 1935 through 1937
 - F. Discussion of excavations at Zhoukoudian - post-World War II to the present
- III. Peking Man: His Physical Characteristics and Cultural Lifestyle
 - A. Location and dates of fossils which were determined to be those of *Homo erectus*
 - B. Number, sex, and age of fossils
 - C. Skeletal and dental characteristics of remains

- D. Cranial capacity of Peking Man fossils in comparison to those of other Homo erectus finds, especially Java Man
- E. Nature and evolution of Homo erectus tools and other material culture at Zhoukoudian
- F. Analysis of Peking Man's way of life at Zhoukoudian including scavenging and possible hunting skills
- G. Debate over use of fire and possible evidence of cannibalism (both generally regarded as unlikely)

IV. Other Homo Erectus Fossil and Tool Sites in China

- A. Fossil finds at Lantian in Central China
- B. Fossil finds at Longtandong Cave in eastern China
- C. Tool sites at Hebei, Guizhou, Shanxi, Lantian, Beijing, Yunnan, and Liaoning

V. Mystery of the Lost Fossils

- A. Castes made of Zhoukoudian fossils by Franz Weidenreich
- B. With the Japan's invasion of China, U. S. Marine Corps assigned to take fossils of Homo erectus with them to the United States
- C. Castes of Peking Man fossils leave China in 1941 with Weidenreich
- D. Original fossils from Zhoukoudian lost, misplaced, or stolen en route and mystery of their fate unsolved

Student Assignment:

Students are asked to locate a recent Internet, journal or newspaper article from the last three years containing information dealing with one of the following:

- 1) A discussion of the hotly debated issue of fire use at Zhoukoudian.
- 2) An analysis of what really happened to the original Zhoukoudian fossils.
- 3) A report from a Homo erectus site in China other than Zhoukoudian (either a fossil or tool site).
- 4) A biographical article of Davidson Black, Wen Pei, or Franz Weidenreich,

Students are expected to read the article, bring it to class, and be able to discuss material covered in the article. Time will be allotted for class discussion of these materials.

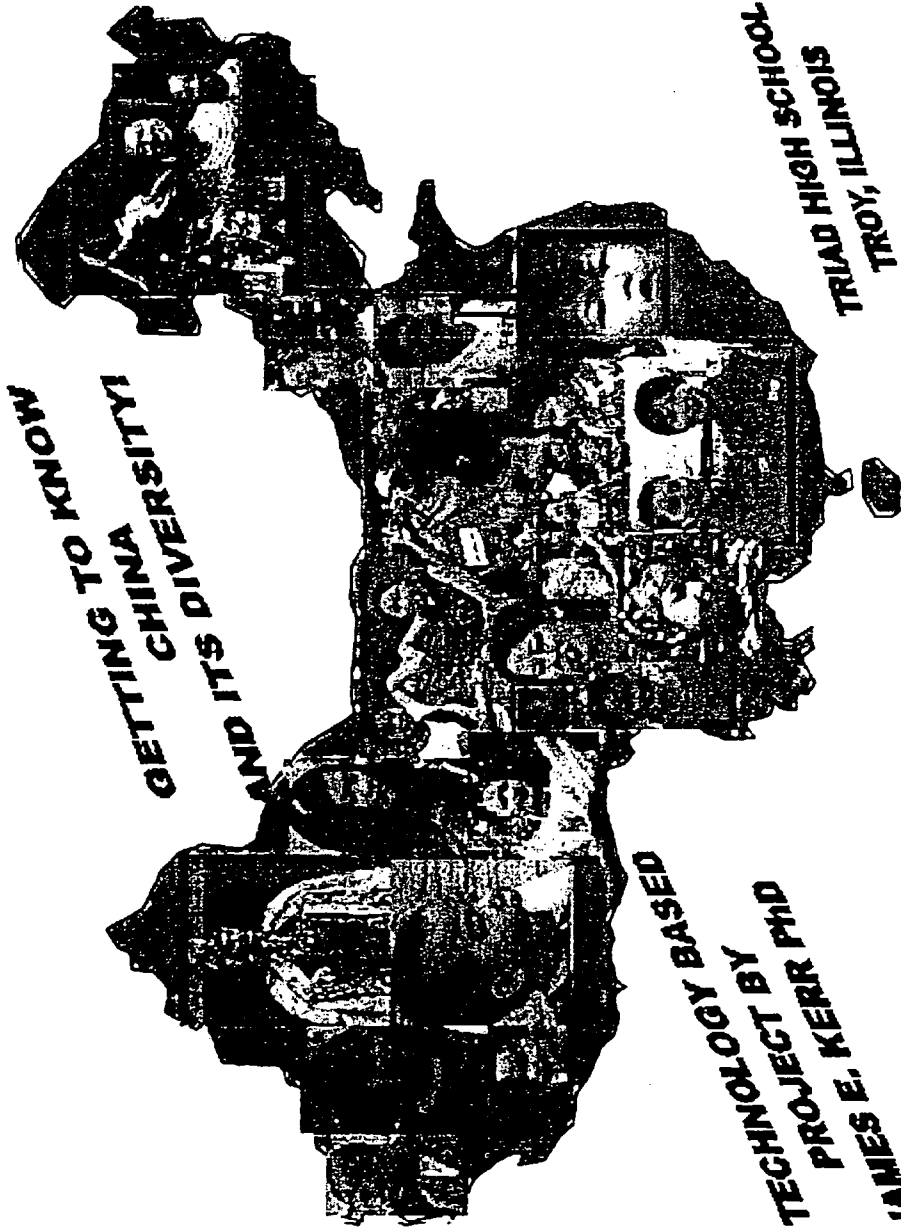
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**GETTING TO KNOW
CHINA
AND ITS DIVERSITY!**

**A TECHNOLOGY BASED
PROJECT BY
JAMES E. KERR PHD**

**TRIAD HIGH SCHOOL
TROY, ILLINOIS**

[Click to continue](#)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Instructions for using the CD project.

There are three parts to the project.

To begin the project, go to the CD menu and click on “start....here.”

Click on the introductory map.

The three parts are:

- 1. The Summary. It contains information about the project.**
- 2. The Main Project. It contains information and interactive links for each of the administrative divisions in China and the ethnic groups of that division. Click on Main Project and then click on each province or administrative division to go to a listing of interactive web sites. On the web sites, click and it will take you to the particular site.**
- 3. The Map. A blank map with administrative divisions numbered. To view the map on full screen, right click on the map and go to “Open Link in New Window.” This map may be duplicated for use in class projects. The numbers on the map match the numbers on the Main Project page for each administrative division.**

Getting to Know China and it's Diversity

A Technology Based Project by James E. Kerr, PhD

Summary

Main Project

Test your knowledge of China's political divisions



[click to enlarge](#)

SUMMARY OF THE CURRICULUM PROJECT

Following a return from a one-month Fulbright-Hayes Summer Seminar in China, I discussed project possibilities with middle school and high school social studies teachers in my school district. I asked them what information would be useful to them in their attempts to teach students about China. The majority replied that basic information, organized well, and with paths that could lead students to more knowledge would be the most useful. Most indicated that they were able to acquaint students with the physical geography of China and a few indicated that they touched upon the major urban populations.

While in China I became interested in the issue of diversity in that nation and sought to acquire information on where China's ethnic populations could be found and what their impact was upon the nation's culture. I then sought a way to combine the issue of diversity with the need for basic information expressed by the teachers I interviewed.

I decided to create a map with political units of China numbered so teachers could use the map to quiz students on the names and locations of China's provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities, and special administrative districts. But I wanted the map to do more for teachers and students. As a result I made each number a live connection to more information on the political division and more information on the ethnic populations of the respective division. In order to do this I had to search the Internet for the best sites for information on each one of the political entities and for the best information on China's ethnic groups.

My work was aimed at teachers of students in grades 6-12. I evaluated each site as I did my research and included some for their information and others for their visual importance. This was part of my attempt to provide a project that could be used by students who learn in several different ways and by students who have special needs as well.

BACKGROUND NOTES

As I searched for sites on the Internet and conducted evaluations of each I learned that not all of the political divisions of China had an equal number of sites. As a result I had more on some than others and I included some sites that had less information or perhaps had more visuals so that the particular entity was included. I also included photos that I took at the China Nationalities Museum in Beijing to enhance the viewer's visual contact with China's ethnic populations.

STANDARDS

This project addresses issues emphasized by the following National Standards in Social Studies developed by the National Council for the Social Studies:

Strand 1 Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of culture and cultural diversity.

Strand 3 Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of people, places, and environments.

Strand 5 Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions.

Strand 6 Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance.

Strand 9 Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of global connections and interdependence.

OBJECTIVES

1. To provide teachers with a useful tool for acquainting their students with China's political divisions.
2. To provide teachers with a tool that will enable their students to

- acquire more information on each political division within the project structure.
3. To provide students with visual and textual information that is basic, yet which can be enhanced easily by using the Internet tools provided.
 4. To provide a means for introducing teachers and students to China's ethnic diversity.

MATERIALS

In the creation of this project I used the following tools:

1. Microsoft Frontpage
2. Microsoft Word
3. Microsoft Publisher
4. Digital photography
5. Microsoft Powerpoint

STRATEGIES

My personal goal in the project was to learn more about China and how to convey what I learned using computer technology. I was unfamiliar with some of the tools that I used in the project and it gave me the opportunity to learn and to explore. The subject matter in the project gave me the opportunity to find sites, read more about China, and evaluate the usefulness of sites I found. As a result the project was a good learning experience for me and, it is hoped, will be such for those who use it upon its completion.

EVALUATION and FOLLOW UP

After the project's completion I hope to pass copies to social studies teachers and ask them to report back to me on its usefulness. I will thus be able to make changes in the project in years to come.

For those using the project, its structure allows for classroom evaluation and assessment in the form of testing, reports, and projects on China's political divisions and populations.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND REFERENCES

In addition to the many sites that are part of this project, I used several other references to enhance my learning.

Guide to China Nationalities Museum, Beijing
Chao Yang, Beijing

This guide included a plan of the museum site and some basic information on those nationalities featured in the site.

China's Minority Peoples State Nationalities Affairs Commission, China Pictorial Publishing House, Beijing, 1995.

All photos used in this project were taken by the author of the project.

Shown here are some photographs of the China Nationalities Museum in Beijing.

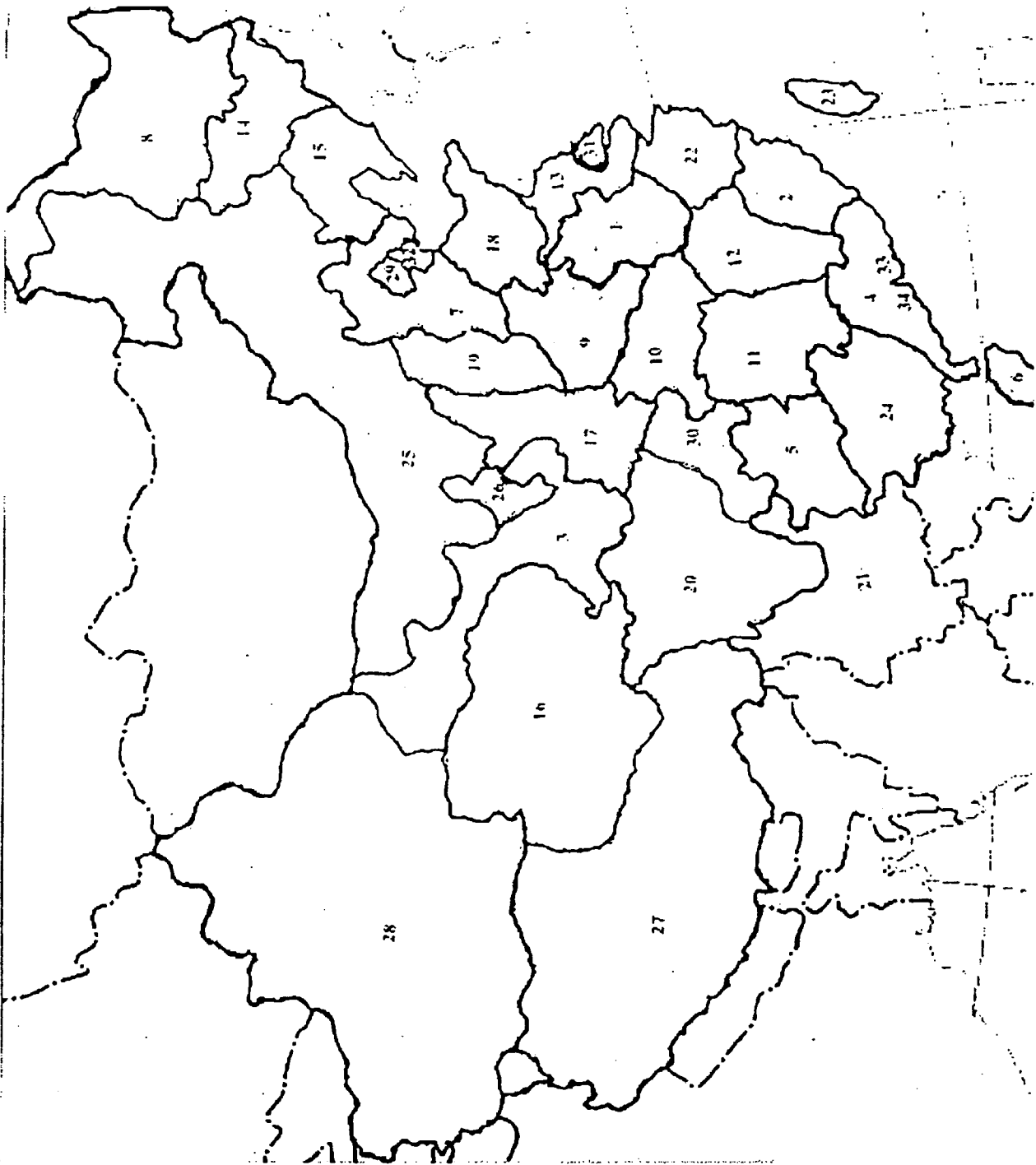


[Click to enlarge](#)

This site was created to enable teachers at the middle school and high school levels to acquaint their students with China's provincial and administrative structure, provide comparative information with counterparts in the United States, and to provide information that will enable the viewer to learn a bit about the diversity of China's society. Web links are provided to allow the reader to learn more about each division and its cultural diversity.

1. <u>Anhui</u>	
4. <u>Guangdong</u>	
7. <u>Hebei</u>	
10. <u>Hubei</u>	
13. <u>Jiangxi</u>	
16. <u>Qinghai</u>	
19. <u>Shanxi</u>	
22. <u>Zhejiang</u>	
	Provinces
	3. <u>Gansu</u>
	6. <u>Hainan</u>
	9. <u>Henan</u>
	12. <u>Jiangsu</u>
	15. <u>Liaoning</u>
	18. <u>Shandong</u>
	21. <u>Yunnan</u>
	23. <u>Taiwan</u>
24. <u>Guangxi</u>	
26. <u>Ningxia</u>	
	Autonomous Regions
	25. <u>Inner Mongolia</u>
	27. <u>Tibet (Xizang)</u>
	28. <u>Xinjiang</u>
29. <u>Beijing</u>	
31. <u>Shanghai</u>	
	Municipalities
	30. <u>Chongqing</u>
	32. <u>Tianjin</u>
33. <u>Hong Kong</u>	
	Special Administrative Districts
	34. <u>Macau</u>

The numbers on this map match the numbers of each province given previously



1. Anhui**130,000 square kilometers****Slightly smaller than Louisiana****Capital- Hefei****Population-60 million****Web links:****<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/anhui.html>****<http://www.seu.edu.cn/EC/english/ah10.htm>****<http://www.asian.gu.edu.au/provs/340000.htm>****<http://www.chinaetravel.com/province/pr04.html>****<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/anhui/>****<http://www.magma.ca/~mtookker/cities/anhui.htm>****Ethnic groups- Han, Hui, & She****Ethnic web links:****<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>****[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)****[iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)****<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>****<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>****[<---Back](#)**

Fujian Province

**121,400 square kilometers
about the size of Pennsylvania**

Capital-Fuzhou

Population-32 million

Web links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/fujian/>

http://www.fzu.edu.cn/fzu/f2_0.html

**Ethnic groups: Han, Hui, Miao, Manchu, Gaoshan,
and She**

Ethnic Web links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

**[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?
iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)**

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

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Gansu Province

**455,000 square kilometers
larger than California**

Capital-Lanzhou

Population-24 million

Web links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/gansu.html>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/gansu/>

<http://www.chinaetravel.com/province/pr06.html>

<http://www.factmonster.com/ce6/world/A0820159.html>

<http://.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/gansu.htm>

**Ethnic groups: Han, Hui, Tibetan, Mongol, Dongxiang, Yugur, Bao'an, Mongolian,
Kazak, Tu, Salar, and She**

Ethnic Web links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

**[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?
iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)**

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

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Guangdong Province

177.600 square kilometers

slightly smaller than Missouri

Capital- Guangzhou

Population-86 million

Web links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/guangdong.html>

http://www.gznet.edu.cn/WWW/scn/guangdong/e_gd.html

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/guangdong/>

Ethnic groups: Itan, Yao, Hui, Manchu, Yi, Li, Miao

Ethnic web links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)

[iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

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Guizhou Province
170,000 square kilometers
slightly smaller than Florida
Capital- Guiyang
Population-35 million

Web links:

- <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/guizhou/>
- <http://english-peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/guizhou.html>
- <http://china.muzi.net/travel/city/guiyang.htm>

Ethnic groups: Han, Miao, Buyi, Dong, Tujia, Yi, Gelao, Shui, Hui, Bai, Yao, Zhuang, Maonan, Mongol, Mulao, Qiang, and Man

Ethnic Web links:

- <http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
- http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin
- <http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
- <http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Hainan Province
34,000 square kilometers
slightly larger than Maryland
Capital- Haikou
Population-7 million
Web links:
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/city guides/hainan/>
http://www.gznet.edu.cn/WWW/scn/hainan/e_hn.html
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/hainan.html>
<http://search.muzi.com>
Ethnic groups:Han, Li, Miao
Ethnic Web links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Hebei Province
190,000 square kilometers
about the size of Washington state
Capital- Shijiazhuang
Population-63 million
Web links:
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/hebei/>
<http://www.chinavista.com/travel/hebei.qinhuan.html>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province.hebei.html>
Ethnic groups: Han, Hui, Manchu, Mongolian, Korean
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=china)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Heilongjiang Province
460,000 square kilometers
larger than California

Capital- Harbin

Population-36.5 million

Web links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com//cityguides/heilongjiang/>

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/heilongjiang.html>

<http://china.muzi.com/travel/region/heilongjiang.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Man, Hui, Korean, Mongolian, Hezhen

Ethnic Web links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=china)

[iam+dpile_1&terms=china](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Henan Province
167,000 square kilometers
smaller than Wisconsin
Capital-Zhengzhou
Population-90 million
Web links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/henan.html>
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/henan/>
<http://search.muzi.com>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Mongolian, Manchu

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)
[iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

Hubei Province
185,900 square kilometers
about the size of Washington State
Capital: Wuhan
Population-57 million
Web Links:
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/hubei.html>
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/hubei/>
<http://china.muzi.com/travel/region/hubei.htm>
<http://chineseculture.about.com/library/weekly/aa092401a.htm>
<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/hubei.htm>
Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Tujia, Manchu, Miao, and Mongolian
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Hunan Province

210,500 square kilometers

slightly smaller than Kansas

Capital- Changsha

Population-63 million

Web Links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/hunan.html>

<http://china.muzi.net/travel/city/changsha.htm>

<http://www.hunan-window.com/>

<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/hunan.htm>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/hunan/>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Tujia, Miao, Dong, Yao, Uyghur, Zhuang

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)

[iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Jiangsu Province
102,600 square kilometers
slightly smaller than Kentucky
Capital-Nanjing
Population-74 million
Web Links:
<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/jiangsu/>
<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/jiangsu.htm>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/jiangsu.html>
<http://www.njet.edu.cn/govweb/>
<http://www.seu.edu.cn/EC/english/js.htm>
Ethnic Groups: Han, Man, Mongolian
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=china)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Jiangxi Province
160,000 square kilometers
slightly larger than Georgia
Capital-Nanchang
Population-36 million
Web Links:
<http://www.cbw.com/general/g14/g14.htm>
<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/jiangxi.htm>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/jiangxi.html>
Ethnic Groups: Han
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=china
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Jilin Province
180,000 square kilometers
about the size of Missouri
Capital-Changchun
Population-26 million
Web Links:
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/jilin/>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/jilin.html>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/province/city/Jilin.htm>
<http://china.muzi.net/travel/region.jilin.htm>
Ethnic Groups: Han, Korean, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
[http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?](http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin)
[iam+dpile_1&terms=chin](http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/)
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Liaoning Province

**150,000 square kilometers
about the size of Illinois**

Capital-Shenyang

Population-40 million

Web Links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/liaoning/>

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/liaoning.html>

<http://search.muzi.com/Regional/China/Liaoning/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/province/Liaoning.htm>

Ethnic Groups:Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Korean

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

Qinghai Province
720,000 square kilometers
larger than Texas

Capital: Xining
Population-5 million

Web Links:

- <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/qinghai/>
 - <http://www.chinavista.com/travel/qinghai/part1.html>
 - <http://www.chinavista.com/travel/silk/part4.html>
 - <http://www.china.org.cn/e-xibu/2JI/3JI/qinghai/qing-ban.htm>
- Ethnic Groups: Han, Tibetan, Hui, Salar, Mongolian, Kazak, Tu**
- Ethnic Web Links:**
- <http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
 - http://chineseculture.about.com/library/china/ethnic/blsethnic.htm?iam+dpile_1&terms=chin
 - <http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
 - <http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Shaanxi Province
190,000 square kilometers
larger than Washington State

Capital: Xi'an

Population-35 million

Web Links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shaanxi/>

<http://www.factmonster.com/ce6/world/A0844630.html>

<http://search.muzi.com/Regional/China/Shaanxi/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/province/Shaanxi.htm>

<http://www.imh.org/china/xian.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com/library/weekly/aa102600a.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Mongolian, Manchu

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

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Shandong Province
150,000 square kilometers
about the size of Illinois
Capital: Jinan
Population-91 million
Web Links:
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shandong/>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/shandong.html>
<http://www.china-sd.net/eng/>
<http://chineseculture.about.com>
Culture Groups: Han, Hui, Man
Culture Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
<http://chineseculture.about.com>
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Shanxi Province
150,000 square kilometers
about the size of Illinois
Capital-Taiyuan
Population-30 million
Web Links:
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanxi/>
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/shanxi.html>
<http://www.shanxi.gov.cn/>
<http://ess1.ps.uci.edu/~oliver/shanxi.html>
<http://www.shanxi-china.com/english/news.htm>
Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Mongolian, Manchu
Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
<http://chineseculture.about.com>
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Sichuan Province

**560,000 square kilometers
twice the size of Colorado**

Capital: Chengdu

Population-111 million

Web Links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shichuan/>

<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/sichuan.htm>

<http://www.chinaetravel.com/province/pr26.html>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Yi, Tibetan, Miao, and Qiang

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Yunnan Province
394,000 square kilometers
about twice the size of Nebraska

Capital: Kunming

Population-41 million

Web Links:

<http://www.visit-mekong.com/yunnan/fastfaqs/index.htm>

<http://www.hbpage.com/>

<http://www.yunnan.com.cn/yunnanchinese/eng.htm>

<http://www.geocities.com/~kengor/yunnan/yunnan.html>

<http://www.chinavistal.com/travel/yunnan/yunnan.html>

Ethnic Groups: Yi, Bai, Han, Dai, Zhuang, Miao, Hani, Lisu, Vas, Naxi, Jingpo, Blang, Achang, Primis

Ethnic Web Links:

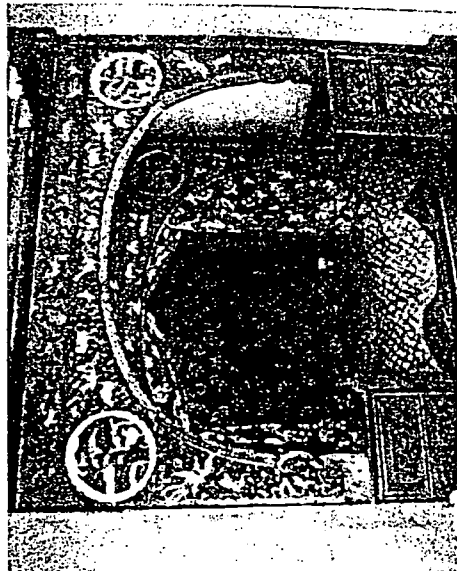
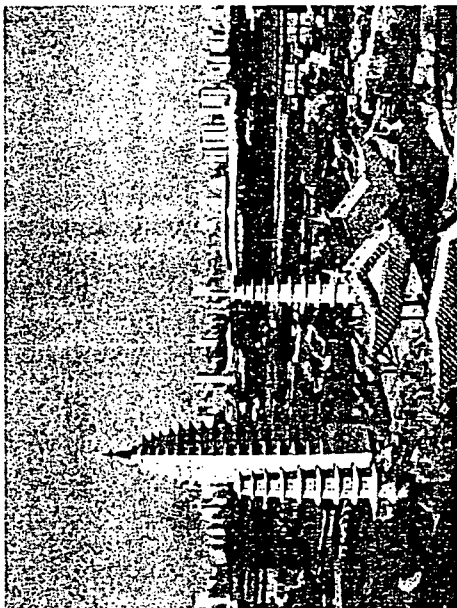
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

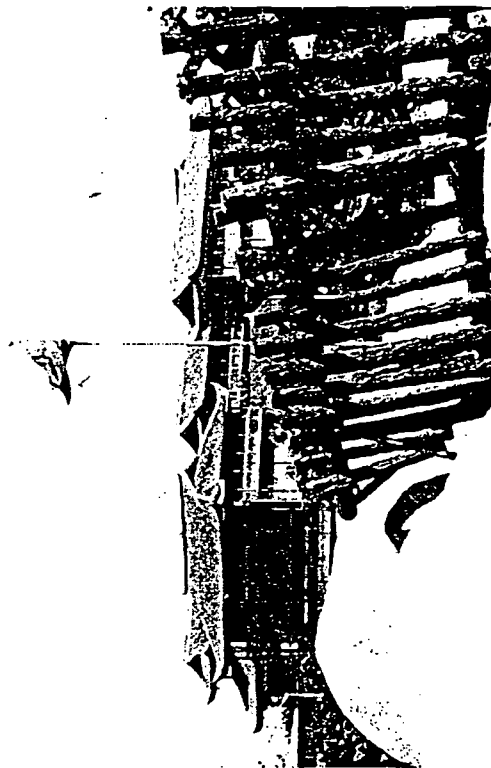
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

These are photos of the Bais culture from the China Nationalities Museum



This is a photo of a Nazi building



Zhejiang Province
100,000 square kilometers
smaller than Kentucky
Capital: Hangzhou
Population-47 million
Web Links:
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/Zhejiang.html>
<http://www.cnzj.org.cn/english/>
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/zhejiang>
<http://www.speakeasy.org/zhejiang/tourism.html>
<http://www.chinapages.com/zhejiang/zhejiang.html>
Ethnic Groups: Han, She, Hui
Ethnic Web Links
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
<http://chineseculture.about.com>
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

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Taiwan

35,980 square kilometers

slightly larger than Maryland

Capital-Taipei

Population-22.5 million

Web Links:

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/tw.html>

<http://geography.about.com/library/maps/b1taiwan.htm>

<http://taiwan.wcn.com.tw/>

Ethnic Groups: Hakka, Han. Gaoshou

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Guangxi Autonomous Region

236,000 square kilometers

twice the size of Ohio

Capital- Nanning

Population-45 million

Web Links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/guangxi.html>

<http://china.muzi.net/travel/city/guilin.htm>

<http://www.chinaetravel.com/province/pr08.html>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/guangxi/>

<http://www.magma.ca/~mtooker/cities/guagnxi.htm>

http://www.gznet.edu.cn/WWW/scn/guangxi/e_gx.html

Ethnic Groups: Han, Yao, Miao, Dong, Yi, Zhuang, Mulam, Maonan

Ethnic Web Links:

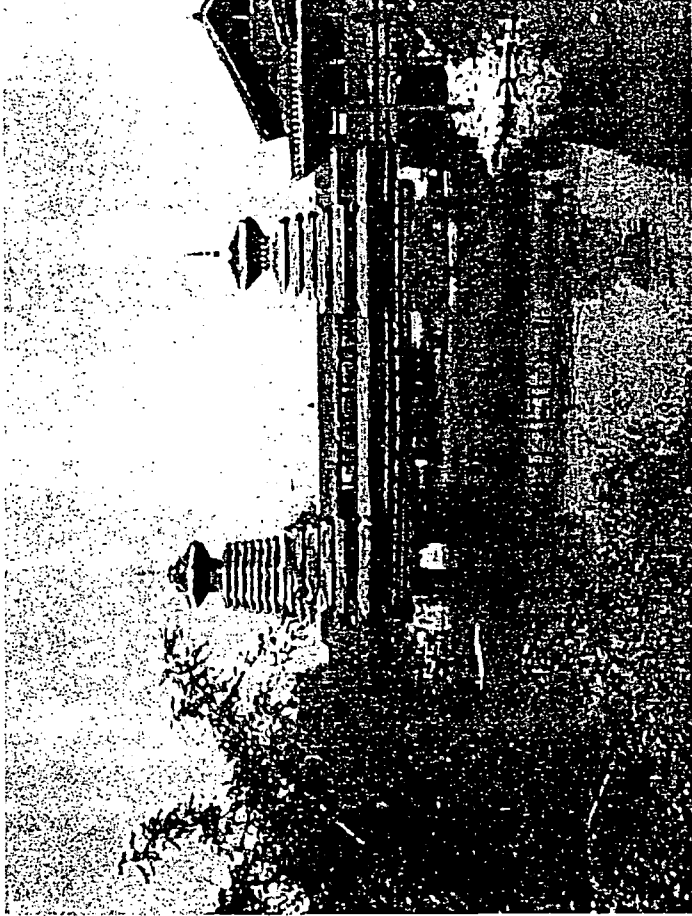
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

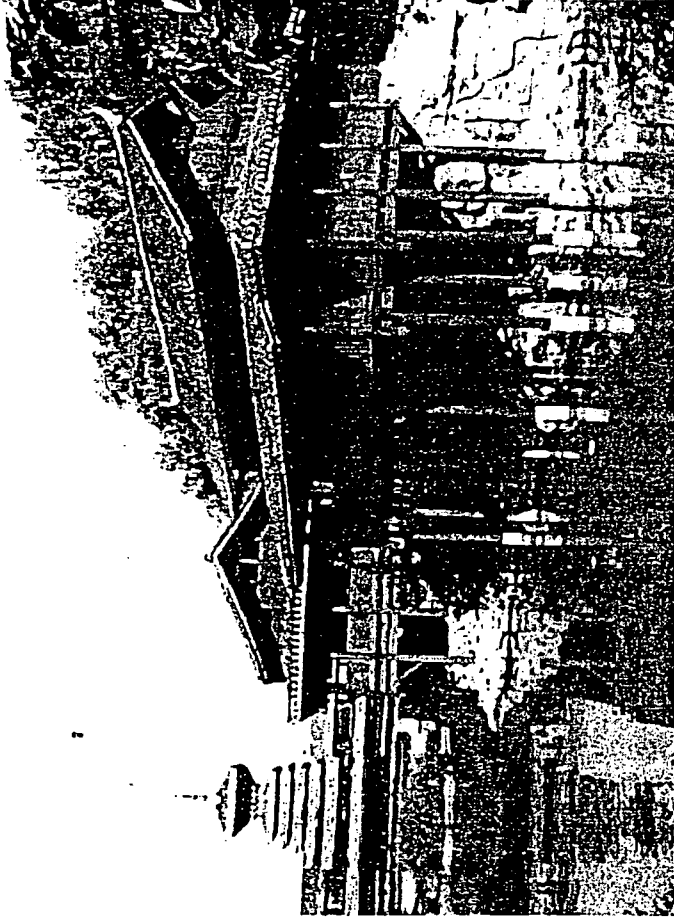
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

This is a Picture of Dong culture from the China Nationalities Museum



This is a photo of Miao culture from the China Nationalities Museum



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Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region

1,183,000 square kilometers

three times the size of Montana

Capital-Hohhot

Population-24 million

Web Links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/mongolia.html>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-xibu/2JI/3JI/neimeng/neimeng.htm>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/package/hohhot.htm>

<http://www.citsusa.com/mongolia.html>

<http://ww.unescap.org/pop/database/chinadata/innermongolia.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Mongol, Han, Duar, Ewenki, Hui, Manchu, Korean

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region

66,000 square kilometers

about the size of West Virginia

Capital- Yinchuan

Population-5 million

Web Links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/ningxia/>

<http://www.unescap.org/pop/database/chinadata/ningxia.htm>

<http://chineseculture.about.com/library/weekly/aa042400a.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Hui, Han, Manchu

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com/library>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Tibet (Xizang) Autonomous Region
1,200,000 square kilometers
about three times the size of Montana

Capital: Lhasa

Population-2.6 million

Web Links:

<http://www.orientaltravel.com>

<http://www.tibetinfo.net/>

Ethnic Groups: Xizang, Han, Menba, Luoba, Hui, Nus

Ethnic Web Links:

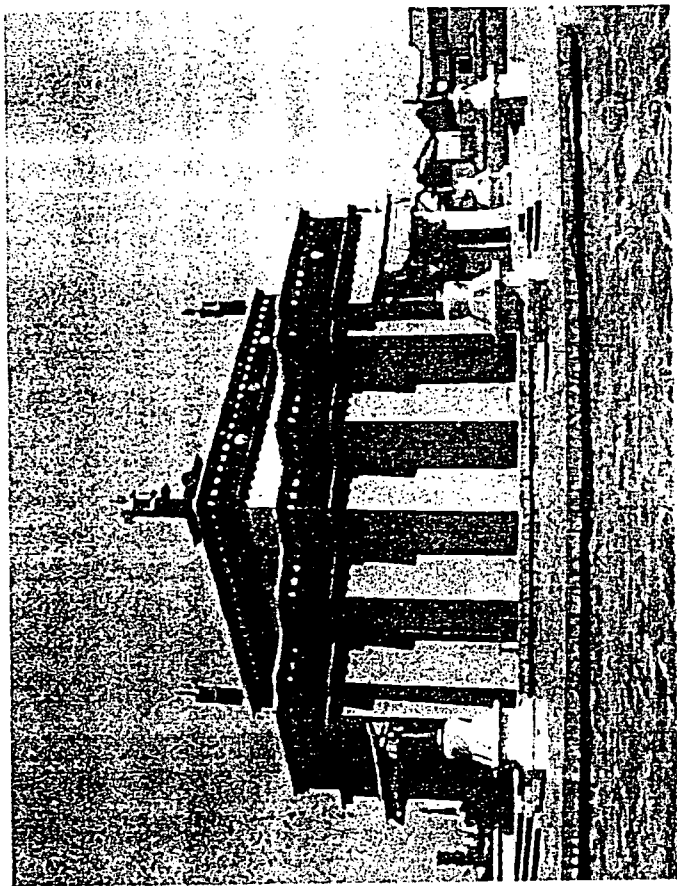
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

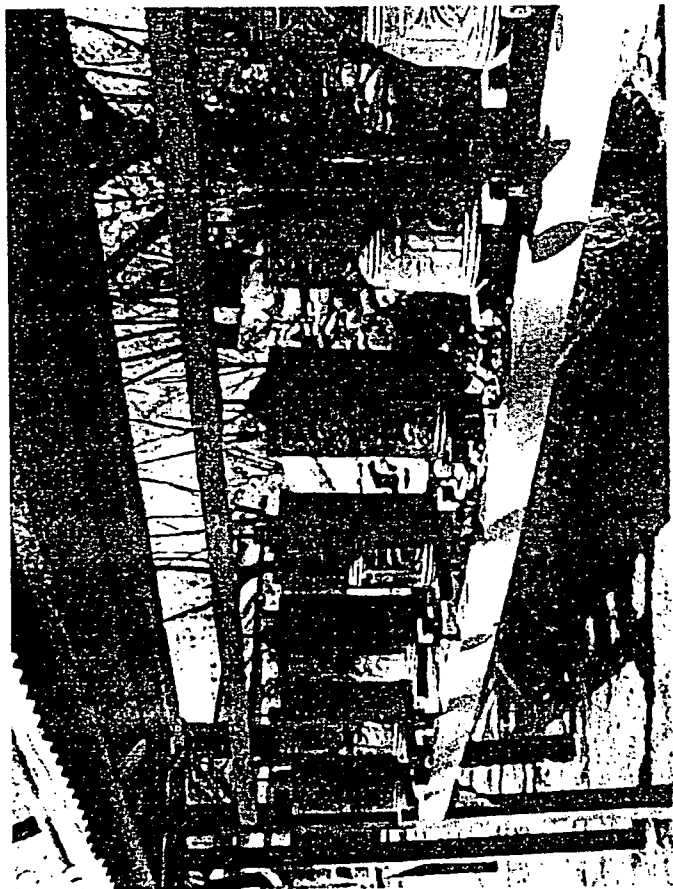
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Click here for a photo of a Tibetan religious building from the China Nationalities Museum



[Click here for a photo of Tibetan Buddhist prayer wheels](#)

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Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region

1,646,800 square kilometers

slightly smaller than Alaska

Capital-Urumqi

Population-17 million

Web Links:

<http://www.xinjiang-tourism.com/page10.htm>

<http://china.muzi.net/travel/city/urumqi.htm>

<http://www.chinaak.com/>

<http://www.synaptic.bc.ca/gallery/xinjiang.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Uygur, Han, Kazaks, Hui, Kyrgyz, Xibes, Tajik, Mongolian

Ethnic Web Links:

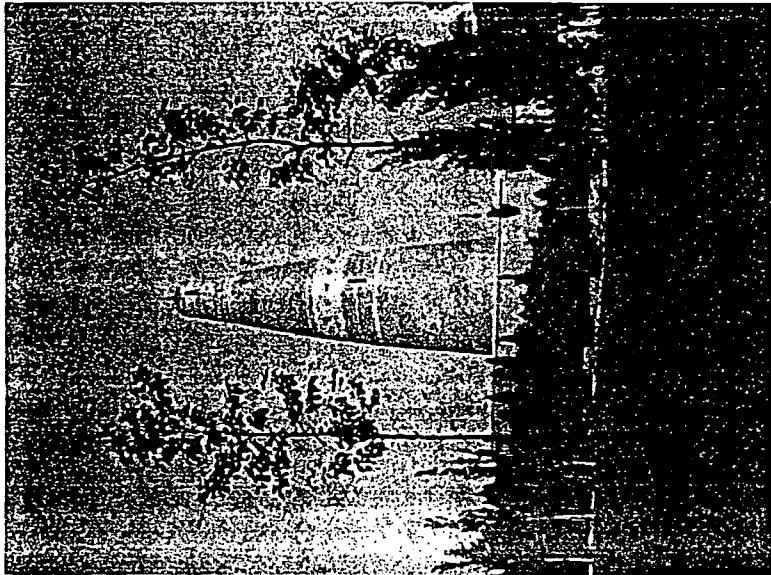
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

This is a photo of a Uighur minaret from the China Nationalities Museum



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Beijing Municipality
16,808 square kilometers
larger than Connecticut

Capital: Beijing
Population-12 million

Web Links:
<http://www.beijingpage.com/>
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/beijing.htm>
<http://chineseculture.about.com/cs/Beijing/index.htm>
<http://www.beijing.gov.cn/english/>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Manchu, Mongolian

Ethnic Web Links:
<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>
<http://chineseculture.about.com>
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>
<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Chongqing Municipality
82,400 square kilometers
smaller than South Carolina
Capital: Chongqing
Population-31 million

Web Links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/chongqing.html>

<http://www.chinats.com/chongqing/>

<http://china.muzi.net>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/chongqing.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Yi, Tibetan, Miao, Qiang, Tujia

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Shanghai Municipality
6,185 square kilometers
larger than Delaware
Capital: Shanghai
Population-13 million
Web Links:

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai.htm>

<http://shanghai.muzi.net/>

<http://www.comnex.com/shanghai/shanghai.htm>

<http://www.sh.com/index.jsp>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Manchu

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Tianjin Municipality
11,919 square kilometers
twice the size of Delaware

Capital: Tianjin

Population-10 million

Web Links:

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/tianjin.html>

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/tianjin/>

<http://china.muzi.net>

<http://www.tjftz.gov.cn/>

Ethnic Groups: Han, Hui, Manchu, Korean, Zhuang, Miao, Mongolian

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

1092 square kilometers

smaller than Rhode Island

Capital- Hong Kong

Population-7 million

Web Links:

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/hk.html>

<http://www.planetholiday.com/asia/hongkong/index.asp>

<http://www.hkbiz.com/artbase/hki.html>

<http://webserv1.discoverhongkong.com/login.html>

<http://www.asiawind.com/hkwwwv1/>

<http://www.cuhk.hk/hk/scenery.htm>

Ethnic Groups: Han

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Macao Special Administrative Region

25 square kilometers

1/6th the size of Washington, D.C.

Capital-Macau

Population-461,000

Web Links:

<http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/mc.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com/cs/macao/index.htm>

[http://www.macao.gov.mo/index_content.phtml?](http://www.macao.gov.mo/index_content.phtml?lang=en&gov=55d6841b5051844f3ffb014ce45ba12)

[lang=en&gov=55d6841b5051844f3ffb014ce45ba12](http://www.macao.gov.mo/index_top_e.phtml)

http://www.macao.gov.mo/index_top_e.phtml

Ethnic Groups: Han, Macanese, Portuguese

Ethnic Web Links:

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/minority.html>

<http://chineseculture.about.com>

<http://www.china.org.cn/e-groups/shaoshu/>

<http://www.orientaltravel.com/people.htm>

Chinese cuisine: a reference guide for students and teachers

Introduction

I was lucky enough to travel in China with the 2002 Fulbright-Hayes Summer Seminar. There were many things to learn and observe as we traveled through the country and met with teachers, students, professors, members of the ministry of education, and many others. My personal interest in food and cooking lead me to focus on the incredible food we ate. We attended many banquets where gracious hosts welcomed us with wonderful dishes. We also had the opportunity to dine in small restaurants and with students' families. Sharing these meals helped overcome the barriers of language and custom. Although I can't transport my students to China, there is no substitute for hands on experience. Since food is one of the most direct ways to learn about a culture, I plan to have my high school students prepare and enjoy a simplified Chinese banquet as part of our study of China. This guide is intended to give teachers and students the background in Chinese cuisine needed to create a simple Chinese meal.

There are three parts to the guide. The first section gives an overview of Chinese regional cuisine and food theory. It also introduces common cooking styles, table setting, and etiquette, and includes links to sites that give instructions on the use of chopsticks and banquet procedures. The next section presents recipes for students and/or teachers to try. I have adapted or developed these recipes and tried them out on some willing tasters. They are simplified but reasonably authentic. I've divided them according to primary ingredients, and suggest combinations that might occur in a banquet. Section three is a glossary of ingredients and cooking terms. I also suggest substitutions for ingredients that may not be locally available. Finally, the work cited contains the references I've found helpful as well as sites for more information and recipes on Chinese cuisine.

Marion Makin autumn, 2002

Chinese cuisine: a reference guide for students and teachers

Background

The complexity of Chinese food reflects China's long history and varied territory. China has the world's largest population, and for many of its people, simply having enough food to subsist is a primary concern. Perhaps the enormity of the challenge has forced the cuisine of China to be inventive, varied, and rewarding to explore.

China has four major regional styles of cooking, generally corresponding to north (Beijing), south (Cantonese), east (Huaiyang), and west (Sichuan). Regional cooking reflects the particular products of an area, as well as distinctive methods of using common ingredients (Hutton 8). Although there are differences in styles and preparation, all of the regions emphasize fresh, seasonal ingredients. At the same time, certain dishes are very strongly connected with specific cuisines. Peking duck, of course, is a specialty of Beijing (which used to be called Peking). Dim Sum is a Cantonese specialty found throughout Hong Kong and Guangzhou (formerly known as Canton), and spicy dishes featuring chili peppers are the hallmark of Sichuan. If you travel in China you'll notice regional variations in what's served, reflecting what is seasonal and local. Even though rice was originally predominant in the south, which has more rain, and wheat in the north, which is dryer, some foods, like rice, noodles, and dumplings, are common everywhere.

Steaming and stir frying are common and practical cooking techniques. Steaming, where food is cooked over a small amount of liquid, is a simple method which enhances the taste of fresh ingredients. In stir frying, food is quickly cooked in a hot pan with a small amount of oil. This is an energy efficient technique, requiring relatively little fuel. Both can be done in a limited space. Baking and roasting is less common, because in the past, few people had ovens at home. Even today, roasted ducks and pork are sold in restaurants and food stores for people to use at home.

For more information on regions and styles of cooking, as well as for illustrations of many famous dishes, go to <http://www.nicemeal.com/foodculture/>

Theory of food

A meal in China, just as in any other country, can range from the simple to the complex depending on time, money, and inclination. Simple meals of noodles or dumplings are popular, inexpensive, and delicious. However, there are some concepts that apply to most multi-dish meals served in restaurants and homes.

Chinese cuisine has two main categories of food: *fan*, which refers to grains like rice or wheat, and *ts'ai*, which includes everything else, like meats and vegetables (Anderson 24). Historically, *fan* was the major part of the meal; the function of the other ingredients was to add flavor and interest to the grain. Rice or some kind of noodle is still part of almost every Chinese meal, but as more kinds of food have become available, and as

people's economic situation has improved, it is no longer always central. Since meat, fish, and vegetables are usually more expensive than grains, a banquet meant to impress people might serve only a very small portion of rice after many non-grain courses. This emphasizes the status of both the host and the honored diners. Even in less formal settings, it is common to serve rice at the end of the meal rather than to have it available throughout. Still, *fan* in some form is always present.

Unlike the meals in American Chinese restaurants, meals in China don't all correspond to American patterns. Soup is usually served near the end of the meal, and some sweet dishes are served along with savory or spicy ones. Dessert other than fruit is uncommon. According to China scholar E.N. Anderson, fortune cookies were invented in Los Angeles (174). They are definitely not served in China! Congee, a rice porridge, is frequently eaten at breakfast or as a snack, but there are fewer strictly "breakfast" foods in China than there are in America. Simple appetizers, like peanuts or boiled soybeans, are sometimes placed on restaurant tables, and a more elaborate meal may also include small dishes of cold meats, fish, or vegetables as starters. Salads are not part of the Chinese table, although lettuce and other greens are served cooked in a variety of delicious preparations. This is partly because dishes in Chinese cuisine are intended to provide a balance of tastes, textures, and benefits. Scholars (and tasters) of the Han dynasty identified five basic tastes over 2,000 years ago: sweet, sour, salty, spicy hot, and bitter (Anderson 36). The cook attempts to provide a meal with a balance of these tastes. Foods were also thought to be yin or yang. Yin foods reduce body heat; yang foods reduce body cold. The concept of cool or hot refers to the effect on the person, not the temperature of the food. Melons, for instance, are considered yin, while mangoes are yang (Lo 217). Since this balance affects health and well being, a good cook will try to create a menu that is healthful for the particular diner.

While these rather complicated theories may not be apparent to visiting Americans, it is obvious that Chinese meals include a thoughtful variety of dishes. There is a balance between flavors, textures, and ingredients. If some dishes are spicy, others are sweet or bland. Meats are balanced with vegetables, crunchy textures with smooth. Appearance is also important. Winter melon soup, which has a light, slightly sweet taste, is sometimes served in an elaborately carved melon shell. Decorative platters present foods in a most appetizing way.



This is the traditional symbol for the forces of yin and yang, sometimes described as two fish swimming head to tail.

The Chinese table and table manners

The typical place setting for a Chinese meal is a small bowl, a small plate, a ceramic soup spoon, and chopsticks. There are no knives since the ingredients in each dish are already cut into small pieces. Depending on the formality of the place and the meal about to be served, the table setting can be very simple or very elegant. Spoons, plates, and bowls may be plastic or fine porcelain.



Chopsticks come in huge variety. The simplest are plain wood or plastic, but there are also chopsticks of ivory and precious woods, as well ones that are elaborately carved or inlaid. In any case, the narrower part of the chopstick is for eating. Sometimes a small chopstick holder, which can be a simple ceramic block or an elaborately carved piece of jade or ivory, is also part of each setting. Use this to rest your chopstick on the table when you are not eating. It's considered impolite to leave your chopsticks sticking up out of the bowl.

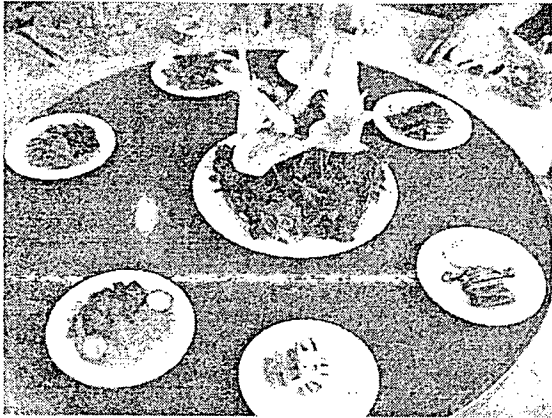
For more on chopsticks, including some tips on how to use them, check the following sites:

<http://www2.whirlpool.com/html/homelife/cookin/chopsticks.htm>

<http://chinesefood.about.com/library/weekly/aa103198.htm>

Meals are usually served family style, with serving bowls or platters placed in the center of the table. Diners put small amounts of food on their plate or bowl. Soups will have a ladle or serving spoon, but in other cases diners are expected to take small morsels of food from the serving dish with their chopsticks. In this case, aim directly at the food you wish to take and put it on your plate—don't use your chopsticks to stir food in the serving platters! Some foreigners who are less efficient with chopsticks use the back, or non-eating side, of their chopsticks to take food from the common platters.

For large groups, many restaurants use revolving trays, or lazy Susans, in the middle of the table. Food is placed here so that everyone can reach a dish as it passes in front of her/him. It's acceptable to skip a dish that doesn't appeal to you. There are usually one or two more kinds of dishes than there are diners; in other words, a group of ten people might have twelve different kinds of food to choose from. Food is usually not presented all at once, so remember to keep portions small, since there will be many to try. In very formal banquets, waiters serve each course separately, putting a small amount on each diner's plate.



In less formal settings, it's acceptable to slurp noodles, and hold your rice bowl up to your face while eating. Soybeans are a common snack or appetizer, and it's okay to put the empty pods on the table (you can put bones and crab shells there, too). Street stalls sell a variety of snack foods that can be bought and munched as you browse.

Planning a Chinese meal

Most Chinese food cooks quickly but depends on advance preparation. Look through the suggested recipes or find your own through cookbooks or online. Before you begin cooking, make sure you have the necessary ingredients or close substitutions (check the attached glossary). Then prepare the ingredients. This usually means cutting ingredients into bite sized pieces and blending liquid together for a sauce. Use standard size measuring cups and spoons. Have everything ready before you begin. Almost every stir fry recipe begins with heating the wok, adding a small amount of oil, and heating it *before* you add any ingredients. This takes only two to three minutes, and is an important step to ensure correct cooking.

Plan on one dish per person, plus rice. Choose dishes based on what sounds good to you, but try to follow the theory of balance in flavor, texture, and ingredients. Start the rice (see instructions in recipe section) while you prepare the ingredients for the meal. If you are making more than one recipe, it's easiest to prepare the ingredients for all the dishes before you start, but complete one recipe before starting on the next one.

A banquet features beautiful table settings and special foods. It will probably start with some cold dishes, and have a variety of meat, poultry, seafood, and vegetables. It will certainly have rice and probably some other grain. Serving soup indicates that no more new dishes will be served, and a fruit platter, perhaps of sliced melon, is the final dish.

A possible banquet menu might include one or more dishes from each of the following categories. Recipes follow:

<p><i>Appetizers:</i> Peanuts Cold cooked edamame (soybeans) served in pods</p> <p><i>Vegetables:</i> Chinese vegetables in soy sauce Stir fried vegetables</p> <p><i>Meat dishes:</i> Beef with scallions Ma Po Tofu</p> <p><i>Poultry:</i> Kung Po Chicken Pretend Peking Duck</p>	<p><i>Grains:</i> Boiled dumplings Beijing noodles Fried rice with shrimp Steamed rice</p> <p><i>Soup:</i> Egg drop soup Won ton soup</p> <p><i>Fruit:</i> Watermelon Grapes Seasonal fruits</p>
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II. Recipes

The following recipes give an idea of the variety of Chinese cuisine. They are reasonably simple to make, and have been revised for cooks unfamiliar with Chinese ingredients. Many more recipes are available in cookbooks and online. Check the glossary section for ingredients or techniques you don't recognize.

You will need a wok or large skillet for the recipes. Unless specific oil is called for, use vegetable, peanut, safflower or canola oil, but don't use olive oil, which burns at high heat. Remember to prepare all the ingredients before cooking.

Abbreviations:

Tsp=teaspoon

TB=tablespoon

Oz=ounce

Lb=pound

A. Recipes: beef and pork

Beef with Peppers and Black Bean Sauce (*The Food Of China*)

This rich but mild dish is typical of Cantonese cooking. To cut against the grain, place the beef so that the grains, or lines in the meat, run from left to right. Use a sharp knife to cut at right angles to the grain. Serves 4.

1 ½ lbs beef top round steak
1 TB soy sauce
2 tsp rice vinegar
½ tsp roasted sesame oil
1 tsp cornstarch
1 cup oil

Black Bean sauce

1 TB oil
¼ cup finely chopped scallions
¼ cup finely chopped garlic
1 TB salted fermented black beans, rinsed, chopped
1 TB chopped ginger
1 green pepper, shredded
1 red or orange pepper, shredded
2 tsp soy sauce
1 TB rice vinegar
1 tsp sugar
2 ½ TB chicken stock
½ tsp sesame oil
2 tsp cornstarch

(Beef with peppers and black bean sauce, continued)

Cut beef against the grain into very thin slices. Cut each slice into thin strips, place in bowl. Add soy sauce, rice vinegar, sesame oil, cornstarch, and 1 TB water, toss to combine. Marinate in fridge 30 minutes, drain.

Heat wok, add oil (use less), and heat until almost smoking. Add half of the beef; stir approx 1 min until brown. Remove with strainer. Repeat.

Black bean sauce: heat wok, add oil. Stir fry scallions, garlic, black beans and ginger 10 seconds or until fragrant. Add peppers, stir fry 3 minutes or until cooked.

Combine soy sauce, rice vinegar, sugar, stock, sesame oil and cornstarch. Add to sauce, simmer, stirring, until thickened. Add beef, toss to coat with sauce. Serve.

Stir Fried Beef with Scallions (adapted from *The Food of China*)

This delicious Northern dish is easy to make. See the note about cutting against the grain in the previous recipe. Serves 4.

1 lb beef steak (top round)
2 finely chopped garlic cloves
2 TB soy sauce
1 TB rice vinegar
2 tsp sugar
1 TB cornstarch
3 TB oil
5 scallions, green part only, cut into thin strips

Sauce

3 TB soy sauce
2 tsp sugar
½ tsp toasted sesame oil

Cut beef against the grain into slices ¾ inch thick. Then cut into bite size pieces. Combine with garlic, soy, rice vinegar, sugar, and cornstarch. Marinate in a glass or plastic bowl, refrigerated, for at least 1 hour. Drain.

For sauce: combine all ingredients, set aside.

Heat wok over high heat, add oil, heat. Cook beef in 2 batches for 2 minutes each, or until brown. Remove to serving plate. Pour out oil, reserving 1 TB.

Reheat reserved oil until hot, stir fry scallions for 1 minute. Add beef and sauce, toss well, serve.

Ma Po Doufu (adapted from *The Food of China*)

This is a famous Sichuan dish. The amount of chili paste you use will determine how spicy it is. 4-6 servings.

- 1 ½ lb bean curd (Chinese style tofu), drained
- ½ lb ground beef or pork
- 2 TB soy sauce
- 1 ½ TB rice vinegar
- ½ tsp roasted sesame oil
- 2 tsp ground peppercorns
- 1 TB oil
- 2 scallions (green onions), finely chopped
- 2 garlic cloves, chopped
- 2 tsp chopped ginger
- 1 TB chili bean paste (use more or less to taste. You can always add more to the cooked dish) (substitute Tabasco sauce)
- 1 cup canned chicken or beef stock
- 1 ½ tsp cornstarch
- 1 scallion, shredded

Cut tofu into ½” cubes. Place meat in bowl with soy sauce, 2 tsp rice vinegar, sesame oil, and toss to coat.

Heat wok, add oil. Stir fry meat until browned, about 4 minutes. Remove meat, drain any liquid in pan. Add scallions, garlic, ginger, stir fry 10 seconds until fragrant. Add bean paste, stir fry 5 seconds.

Combine stock and remaining soy sauce and rice wine. Add to wok, bring to boil, add bean curd and meat. Return to boil, reduce heat to medium, and cook 5 minutes or until sauce has reduced by a quarter.

In a separate bowl, stir cornstarch and 1 TB cold water to make a paste. Add to sauce, and simmer until thickened. Sprinkle with scallion and peppercorns.

Xian “hamburgers”

Xian has a sizable Muslim community, and barbecued lamb, unusual in other parts of China, is a popular dish. This snack is sold from open-air restaurants. Beware, it's hot!

1 serving.

For each sandwich:

- ¼ lb ground lamb or beef
- 1 TB finely chopped scallions
- 1 TB ground chili pepper
- 2 tsp oil
- 1 TB chopped cilantro
- 1 pita bread

(Xian “hamburgers” continued)

Heat oil in wok. Add lamb and scallions, stir fry briefly. Add peppers; stir fry mixture until browned, about 5 minutes. Sprinkle with cilantro, stuff into pita bread.

B. Recipes: Poultry

Kung Po Chicken

(adapted from *Szechwan and Northern Cooking*)

This is another famous Sichuan recipe. It was supposedly developed for a famous general when he asked for a late night snack. Don't eat the chili peppers in the finished dish!

Serves 4

4 boned chicken thighs, cut in small cubes

Meat marinade:

2 tsp cornstarch

1 tsp sesame oil

1 tsp rice vinegar

1 tsp soy sauce combine all ingredients, pour over chicken

1 green pepper, in small cubes

2/3 cup raw peanuts (shelled)

1 tsp minced garlic

3-4 dried red chili peppers

Sauce:

1 tsp hoisin

1 tsp hot bean sauce

1 tsp soy sauce

1 ½ tsp rice vinegar

½ tsp sesame oil

1/4 tsp sugar

oil

Heat wok, add 1/3 cup oil, heat, fry peanuts until golden, remove. Stir fry green pepper for 1 minute, set aside. Add whole chili peppers, when they turn black, add chicken and garlic. Stir until chicken is done and firm. Add sauce mixture; stir until thickened. Add veggies and peanuts, and serve.

Pretend Peking Duck

Many restaurants in Beijing specialize in Peking duck. This is a complicated dish that is rarely made at home, but is frequently part of banquets. These instructions will teach you how to eat the real thing if you are ever lucky enough to go to a restaurant that makes it. Serves 5-6

Real Peking duck features a delicious barbecued duck with crisp skin. It is brought to the table whole, and then sliced into small pieces of meat and skin by the chef. To eat, each guest takes a small thin pancake or a steamed bun. Next, he/she puts a small spoonful of hoisin or plum sauce on the pancake, adds a little crisp duck skin and duck meat, and sprinkles a few slivers of green onion over it all. Fold the pancake and eat. Repeat.

Buy a prepared barbecued duck or chicken

2-3 Small flour tortillas (the thinnest you can find) per person

4-6 scallions

hoisin or plum sauce

Carefully carve the duck or chicken into small, serving size pieces. Cut off the meat and skin from the drumsticks and wings. Put all the meat and skin, but none of the bones, on a serving platter.

Wash and trim off the bottom of the scallions. Cut them into 2 inch pieces, then cut each section the long way into thin slivers.

Heat the tortillas by wrapping them in foil and putting them in a 350-degree oven for 5 minutes, or partially wrap them in plastic wrap and microwave for 15 seconds. Put tortillas in a napkin-covered basket to stay warm.

Have sauce, scallions, and tortillas on the table. Pass the duck or chicken, and follow the instructions above.

C. Recipes: rice and noodles

Steamed rice

Rice has been China's most important grain since the Sung dynasty. Although more wheat is used in the North, rice is served throughout the country.

For 2-4 people, depending on portions

1 cup long grained rice

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ cups water

salt

Choose a saucepan with a tight fitting lid to cook the rice. Before cooking, rinse the rice in several changes of water to get rid of excess starch. To do this, put the rice in the saucepan, cover it with water, and stir this around. Drain, repeat twice, being careful not to pour out the rice. Add 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ cups cold water to the rice. Add $\frac{1}{4}$ tsp salt. Bring the rice to a boil. As soon as it reaches the boil, lower heat to a simmer, and cover. Cook for 20 minutes, or until the water is absorbed and the grains of rice are soft. You may find the rice you use takes a little more or less water.

Fried Rice (adapted from *The Chinese Kitchen*)

This Cantonese dish is a staple in American Chinese restaurants. You can experiment with different ingredients depending on what is available. Serves 5-6.

3 cups cooked rice, room temp

4 TB vegetable oil

$\frac{1}{4}$ lb shrimp, shelled, deveined, cut into $\frac{1}{4}$ inch pieces

3 eggs, beaten with a pinch of pepper and $\frac{1}{4}$ tsp salt

for sauce:

1 TB soy sauce

1 TB rice vinegar

$\frac{1}{2}$ tsp salt

1 tsp sugar

$\frac{1}{2}$ TB oyster sauce (or soy sauce)

1 tsp sesame oil

ground pepper

2 tsp minced ginger

2 tsp minced garlic

1 cup Barbecued pork, diced (you can substitute cooked chicken)

3 scallions, trimmed, sliced

Combine sauce ingredients, reserve.

Heat wok, add oil, add shrimp. Stir fry until pink. Remove to a separate plate. Pour off oil and reserve.

(Fried rice, continued)

Heat wok; add beaten eggs, scramble until soft. Remove from heat, break until small pieces. Remove from wok.

Heat wok with 2 TB oil. Add ginger, stir, and add garlic. When browned, add pork. Cook, stirring, one minute. Add rice. Cook, stirring, 2 min. Add shrimp, stir; stir in sauce.

Reduce heat to low, add scrambled egg, mix well. Sprinkle with scallions and serve.

Beijing Noodles

Noodles represent longevity and are usually part of the New Year's celebration. However, they are popular snacks in all parts of China throughout the year. Some informal Beijing restaurants specialize in these. Serves 4-6.

½ cup black bean sauce

2 TB sugar

1 TB sesame oil

4 scallions

1 lb. Ground beef or pork

¼-½ cup red wine vinegar

1-2 tsp chili oil or Tabasco

1 lb. Fresh or dried Chinese wheat noodles or 1 lb. Linguini

Before cooking:

Stir together in a small bowl:

½ cup black bean sauce

2 TB sugar

1 TB sesame oil

Cut scallions into 2 inch pieces; set aside

To Cook:

Heat a wok or large skillet over high heat. When hot, pour in 3 tablespoons peanut oil. Swirl around the wok until very hot but not smoking. Add 1 pound ground pork or ground beef. Break up, stir well, and cook until the meat is well separated and no longer pink. Add the bean sauce mixture. Stir well. Add the scallions. Stir well. Remove the wok from the heat.

While cooking the pork, bring to 4 quarts water to a rolling boil in a large pot. Add 1 pound fresh or dried Chinese egg noodles or linguini. Cook until softened, about 8 min for dried, 3-4 minutes for fresh. Drain and pour into a large bowl. If necessary, briefly reheat the meat sauce. Pour over the noodles and stir together well. Serve immediately.

To Serve:

Stir together ¼ cup red wine vinegar and 1 teaspoon chili oil. Place on the table to be sprinkled onto individual portions to taste.

Boiled Dumplings (adapted from *The Food of China: Authentic Recipes*)

Dumplings can be fried, boiled, or steamed, and come in an amazing variety of fillings and shapes. One restaurant in Xian specializes in dumpling banquets. These are easy to make if you can find won ton or dumpling wrappers in the market. Serves 4-6

25 won ton or dumpling wrappers (Note: won ton wrappers are usually square, dumpling wrappers are usually round. Either one will work.)

Filling:

- 7 oz. finely ground pork or turkey
- 1 egg, beaten
- 2 tsp ginger, finely chopped
- 2 TB bamboo shoot, finely chopped (optional)
- 1 scallions, finely chopped (optional)
- 2 TB rice vinegar
- 1 tsp salt
- ¼ tsp ground pepper

Sauce:

- 1 tsp finely chopped garlic
- 4 TB soy sauce
- ½ tsp sugar
- ½ tsp cinnamon
- 4 TB chili oil (or 2 TB vegetable oil and Tabasco to taste)

Garnish:

- 1 TB finely sliced scallions
- 4 TB cilantro, finely chopped.

Combine filling ingredients. Put a heaped teaspoonful in the center of a wrapper. With your finger, smear a little water around the edges of the wrapper. Fold in half to make a triangle or semi circle, pressing the edges together to enclose the filling. Repeat for each dumpling. Put a sheet of waxed paper or plastic wrap in between layers of dumplings.

Mix sauce ingredients together in a small bowl, set aside. Mix chopped scallions and cilantro together, put on small plate, set aside.

Bring 6 cups of water to the boil. Add ½ tsp salt. Drop the dumplings in the water, simmer for 3-5 minutes, or until the filling is cooked through and there is no trace of pink. Drain out the water.

To serve, each person puts some dumplings in her bowl, and adds sauce and garnish to taste.

D. Recipes: vegetables

Vegetable dishes in China are generally simple to emphasize the taste of fresh produce. Don't overcook the vegetables—they should be crisp. Serves 4

Vegetables with soy sauce (adapted from *The Food of China*)

¾ - 1 lb green vegetables: broccoli, Chinese broccoli, green beans, etc.

2 TB oil

1 TB oyster sauce

2 TB soy sauce

Wash vegetables, cut into bite size pieces. Process in microwave for 2 minutes or cook in boiling salted water for 3 minutes (vegetables should be just tender, still crisp). Drain, rinse with cool water to stop cooking. Arrange in serving dish.

Heat wok, add oil, heat. Carefully pour over vegetables (oil will splatter). Drizzle soy and oyster sauce over vegetables and serve.

Stir fried vegetables (adapted from *The Food of China*)

Serves 4

¾ lb vegetables (broccoli, Chinese broccoli, green beans, bok choy, spinach)

2 TB oil

2 garlic cloves, minced

3 thin slices ginger

3 TB chicken stock

1 tsp. sugar

soy sauce

1 tsp sesame oil

Rinse vegetables, cut into 1-2" pieces.

Heat wok, add oil, heat. Stir fry ginger and garlic for 30 seconds. Add vegetables, stir fry until they begin to wilt (1-3 minutes) then add stock, sugar, and soy to taste. Simmer, covered, for 2 minutes until tender. Add sesame oil and serve.

E. Recipe: Soups

Egg Drop Soup (The Chinese Kitchen)

Many Chinese soups require elaborate and hard to find ingredients, but this Cantonese recipe is easy to make. Serves 4-6

6 cups chicken stock
salt
6 eggs, room temp, beaten
½ cup thinly sliced scallions

Bring stock to a boil, covered. Add salt to taste (canned stock is frequently salty). Gradually pour in beaten eggs, whisking continually until soft threads of egg form, about 1 minute. Serve sprinkled with scallions.

Simple Won Ton Soup serves 4-6

Make the boiled dumplings in the recipe in the noodle section, but cook dumplings in 6 cups chicken stock. Ladle dumplings and soup into bowls. Sprinkle with green onion and cilantro.

III. Glossary of cooking terms and ingredients

Note: Chinese cooking uses many different flavorings. If you live in a city with an Asian market, spend some time exploring the aisles and try some of the many canned or bottled products you'll see. Many of the ingredients listed below are becoming more available in standard supermarkets as well. Substitutes for less common ingredients are suggested in this glossary.

For an illustrated glossary, go to <http://www.nicemeal.com/foodculture/>

Bamboo shoots: A common vegetable, these are available in fresh and dried form in China. They have a mild flavor and a slightly crisp texture. Canned bamboo shoots are relatively common in the US. Rinse before using.

Bean curd: Known as tofu in the US, this is usually available in the refrigerated section of supermarkets. It is made from soy milk, and is a good source of protein. Bean curd has a very mild flavor, so it picks up the flavor of other ingredients. Refrigerate unused portions of tofu in a container covered with water. Change water frequently. ☺

Bok choy: a mild cabbage with long green and white leaves. Bok choy is found in some supermarket produce sections.

Chili paste, chili sauce: these are condiments used to add spice in Sichuan cooking. Look for these in jars in the ethnic food section of the grocery store. As a substitute, use a few drops of Tabasco sauce. This will give the hot flavor, but doesn't have the same texture.

Chili peppers (dried): These small red peppers are very hot, and are frequently used to flavor Sichuan cooking. They are usually stir fried whole. Look for them in the spice or produce section of the grocery. Caution: don't eat these in the final cooked dish!

Cilantro: although it's sometimes known as Chinese parsley, this herb has a very different, pungent flavor, and parsley is not a good substitute. The dried form is known as coriander, and is commonly available in spice sections.

Dumpling wrappers/won ton wrappers: These are packages of thinly rolled dough cut in round or square shapes. They can be used to make steamed or boiled dumplings or won tons for soup. If you live in a city with a Chinese market, these are available in the refrigerated or freezer section.

Ginger: Chinese recipes call for fresh ginger, a root that is widely available in US produce markets. Ginger has a strong taste, so it must be cut into very small pieces (minced). Use a cheese grater, but be careful not to scrape your fingers! Some markets sell jars of grated ginger. Refrigerate after opening. Dried ginger powder doesn't make a good substitute.

(Glossary, continued)

Hoisin sauce: A slightly sweet paste used in cooking and for a dipping sauce. Hoisin is made from soybeans and spices. It's available in jars in the ethnic foods section of supermarkets. If unavailable, use slightly sweetened soy sauce as a substitute.

Noodles: these are available in a huge variety of shapes and sizes in China. They can be made from wheat or rice flour, and are sold fresh and dried. Cook in boiling salted water. Fresh noodles cook very quickly, in about 3 minutes. Dry noodles take about 8 minutes. If you can't find Chinese noodles, substitute pasta.

Oyster sauce: A salty soy based sauce used in cooking and as a dipping sauce. It has a consistency similar to ketchup. It's sold in jars in the ethnic foods section of supermarkets. If unavailable, use plain soy sauce as a substitute.

Plum sauce: A sweet, jam like sauce used as a condiment with cooked food. It's available in jars in the ethnic foods section of supermarkets. If unavailable, try apricot jam.

Rice vinegar: mild white vinegar. Substitute with cider or white wine vinegar. Recipes sometimes call for black rice vinegar, which is thicker and more syrupy. Substitute balsamic vinegar.

Scallions (spring onions, green onions): these long thin, mildly flavored onions are readily available in American markets. They are commonly used in cooked dishes and as a fresh garnish.

Sesame oil: drops of this are used for flavoring, but it is not cooking oil. It is sold in small bottles. Omit if not available.

Sichuan (Szechwan) peppercorns: these add spice to dishes. They are toasted and then crushed before use. Substitute ground black pepper.

Soy sauce: An essential seasoning ingredient made from soybeans. It is available in light and dark forms in China (and in Chinese markets). Light soy sauce is what is commonly found in US markets. US markets also carry "lite" soy sauce. This refers to reduced salt, not color. Regular soy sauce or reduced salt soy sauce are interchangeable. Dark soy sauce is heavier. If unavailable, substitute regular soy sauce or soy sauce mixed with a teaspoon of molasses.

Soybeans: also called edamame, these vegetables are a common snack in China, as well as being used in cooked dishes. They come in pods, although shelled frozen soybeans are becoming more available in US markets. Boil the pods for about 5 minutes, strain. Remove beans from pods and eat.

(Glossary, continued)

Steaming: a common cooking method in China. To steam food, water is placed in a pan, and the food to be cooked is placed above it, but not in it. The steamer is covered. Bamboo steamers are commonly used in China and are frequently sold in the US. A pasta cooking pot, which has a perforated inset, can also be used.

Stir frying: another common cooking method. In stir frying, all food to be cooked is cut in small pieces and cooked quickly in a small amount of hot oil. It is important to keep stirring the food with a wooden spoon or spatula while it is cooking. Stir frying is commonly done in a wok.

Water chestnuts: These have a crisp texture and a mild flavor. They are available fresh in China, but are commonly sold canned in the US. Rinse canned chestnuts before using.

Wok: this is an essential tool in the Chinese kitchen. A wok is a metal saucepan with a rounded bottom and high sides, which makes it very useful for stir frying. If you don't have a wok, use a large frying pan.

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China/US Relations**Class: US Foreign Policy Since the Cold War****Level: 11th and 12th grade students**

Background: One of the key objectives I had in pursuing a curriculum project was to create a unit around the different perceptions on four recent conflicts that have rocked our relationship in the post Cold War era. These were respectively: the spy-plane incident in the South China Sea; the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1998; the Wen Ho Lee case (and the issue of technology transfers); and finally, the US decision to pursue a National Missile Defense System. As it was not really possible to get individuals I met to speak to me on these issues nor did I feel student to student e-mail correspondence would shed light on the different perceptions, I am submitting a different lesson – one that I used in my class this year which includes significant revisions of a unit I taught prior to my trip to China and the events of September 11, 2001.*

Objectives: To help students understand:

1) The many ways in which China has transformed economically:

- Anecdotally – by way of experiences/photos I can share with students
- Recent History – GNP growth rate, MFN status, admission to WTO, evolving trade relationship with the US and other Western nations
- Implications for the majority of Chinese –as the socialist/communist safety net regarding housing, health care, nutrition increasing become the responsibility of the individual – particularly for rural Chinese.

2) The significance of this new and expanding economic relationship based on a brief review of US/Chinese relations since 1949.

3) Past and present obstacles to a smoother relationship – both past and present:

- Conflicting definitions of Human Rights
- One China or two? The issue over Taiwan and the pros and cons of Strategic Ambiguity
- Pre and post 9/11 analysis – From President Bush's Strategic Competition to ally in the War on Terrorism

4) **Materials:** (all materials noted below are included in this packet with the exception of the photos and videos)*

- Photos of advertising that reflects the widespread presence of US and other multinational businesses that are quite familiar to us in the West. Most of these photos come from Chengdu, Shanghai, and X'ian.

- Copies of key terms, quotes, leaders, and organizational charts from Fulbright briefing materials packet.
- Excellent background reading materials for students (along with study guides) from Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. Watson Institute for International Affairs. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* (student handbook and teacher resource book) 5th edition. November 2000. May be downloaded for a small fee @ www.choices.edu
- Current History: Two articles/Map of China.
- Selected articles from the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Economist*, and *New York Times*.
- Videos: American Experience: *Nixon* and PBS Frontline Series: *Dangerous Straits* (They have a great site on pbs.org for additional links/resources)

Procedures:

Title: It's the Economy Stupid.... U.S./China in the post-Cold War Era

Day 1: Introduce topic. I asked students to brainstorm everything that comes to mind when they think about "US/China relations" or if too difficult to come up with the same for "China." Then, I had students view photos from Shanghai, Chengdu, X'ian, as well as some street scenes from Beijing and the Guilin area. I asked them to pick out as many details that were surprising, unexpected, interesting, etc... Students shared and then I shared some of my impressions of the trip. The "biggies" for me: a) the amount of English I heard and read; b) the number of US/Western businesses operating throughout China (Vidal Sassoon in Shanghai – a personal favorite); c) Privacy; d) Out with the old and in with the new: the seeming continuation of the dynastic cycle – whereby the old is replaced by the new – maybe it is the same today as capitalism takes its turn; e) A glimpse at the life of a peasant farmer in Guilin area -- not a 21st century agricultural model –so how does the West "catch-up" to the urban success stories of the East – what the gap between rich and poor might mean in modern China.

HW: Assigned Choices background reading on US/Chinese relations and Study Guide #1 (I only assigned as far back as 1898 – but the *Choices* materials include the mid-1800's as well).

Day #2: Brief look at the history of US/China relations. Show transparency of Mao rising in the form of an atomic mushroom cloud and label with the year 1949. Discuss Cold War and the concept of Chinese Communist revolution posing a "red threat" across the Asian continent. Show transparency of Korean Peninsula – "The Dagger pointed at the Heart of Japan." See outline and copies of transparencies marked Day #2.

Part of my lesson is based on William Appleman Williams' thesis in The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, copyright, 1972. The key concept is to get students to understand that US/Asian policy in the aftermath of WWII was to protect and develop Japan – not just as a political strategy, but an economic one as well. I typically draw a triangle on the board and have students consider our Korean – Japan – China policy as part of this axis (not an evil one). See outline. In addition, with respect to China, we discuss the relevancy of the Open Door – what it meant in 1898 and how it might still be applicable in very different ways as a framework for understanding the importance of trade and commerce in our relationship – albeit now, the Chinese are the exporters!

Day #3: Go over homework. Show *Nixon* video (above)– The Path to Normalization: A TV EVENT! Materials to go over in class (copy of the Shanghai Communiqué and the Taiwan Foreign Relations Act). Assign part II and III of *Choices* study guide and readings. Due on Day #5.

Since this is a foreign policy elective I use this opportunity to discuss the whole constitutional issue re: who makes foreign policy -- and the fall-out of the secret diplomacy of the Nixon Administration.

Day #4: Present students with a list of possible topics to present to the class in 15 minute presentations. (model student annotated bibliography and outline attached). Spend the rest of the rest of the period in the computer lab – we have 90 minute classes one day per week. (Attached are a set of useful websites downloaded from the Frontline source link attached to their webpage on *Dangerous Straits*). I try to encourage students to pull from a variety of sources -- including academic journals and avoid an overemphasis on CNN, Time and/or Newsweek.

Day #5. Collect and go over study guide homework. Show transparencies re: recent political conflicts between our two nations (marked Day #5) that tend to get in the way of a smooth relationship. Watch: *Dangerous Straits* in its entirety. I rarely recommend watching a full video – but this is a good introduction to recent events. This is 60 minutes long and it begins with an overview of the economic changes sweeping China – along with interviews from the point of view of a very wealthy Chinese couple as well as a migrant worker in Beijing. There is also a section on the spy-plane incident, and the This takes one full class period. Turn in abstracts for presentations.

Day #6: Finish video. Pass out bio sketches from Fulbright material – that include Deng Xiao ping and some of his more sensationalistic quotes re: the economy. Lecture on recent economic/trade history between our two nations: Overview and history of US/China trade relationship beginning in 1979; 1981 GATT; 1980's IMF loans, agricultural constraints lifted – villages can determine production, 1994 MFN, 2000 WTO, discuss China's GNP growth and China as a major trading partner – 3rd largest trade partner for the US; 2nd largest trading partner for China, 2002 – The Three Represents.

HW: students should be working on presentations – I return comments and suggestions for narrowing topics to students.

Day #7: Start with political cartoons re: Belgrade Bombing, Wen Ho Lee, etc.... Discuss concept of Strategic Ambiguity... Does it work? Discuss emphasis and de-emphasis of human rights by Presidents Bush and Clinton. What does the future hold? Should we begin to create a new, post Cold War framework for China and Asia in general – and how does the post 9/11 War on Terrorism change the direction of our relationship? Discussion. Presentations due on Day #8 and Day #9.

Day #8 and Day #9: Presentations.

*In my class, I used photos from the trip to introduce China to juniors/seniors in my Foreign Policy Elective which I did not include and I imagine after having taken some of the same photos as my peers on the trip – they could easily substitute their photos for the first day of the lesson.

PRC map of China. I have gotten a lot of use out of the PRC map of the world that was purchased in Shanghai at the Foreign Language Bookstore. In fact, I began the first day of my unit having student begin to think about bias and perspective by examining the US world map and the PRC map and comparing/contrasting the two. Works well to help students see that even when we do not sense bias – it is still there!

Views

Portfolio From Around the Nation



Nick Anderson
The Louisville Courier-Journal
Washington Post Writers Group

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Chinese Students Look at America

THE opinions of students have great weight in China, which for centuries used a strict examination system to select scholars as civil servants. The Communist Party itself has its roots in the student-led May 4 Movement of 1919, which condemned the Chinese government's weakness in negotiating the Treaty of Versailles after World War I.

Ever since, the party has been wary of students. It shut down the universities during the Cultural Revolution and ordered troops to fire on student protesters in 1989. Two years ago, it let students vent their anger by damaging the United States Embassy after American warplanes bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

Shortly after the collision between a Chinese fighter jet and an United States spy plane, The New York Times contacted foreign English teachers across China to solicit comments about the affair, in English, from Chinese students. Most teachers rejected The Times's query as potentially dangerous for their students, but most students who received the request gave their views freely, with no apparent concern about the politically sensitive subject.

Some of the comments below were submitted directly by e-mail. Others were handwritten as a class assignment and transcribed into e-mail. All reflect a growing concern about the future of United States-China relations.

Every young Chinese who has some sense of justice and responsibility is irritated at Mr. Bush's overwhelming arrogance. It is clear that the American plane made the trouble. Most important of all, what was the American plane doing? Spying! Everyone knows that spies do not have the same freedom as others in international airspace. I want to say to Mr. Bush, don't be a fool to China! Stop the stupid game! Mr. Bush should learn to respect China, Asia and even Europe, not just act as a V.I.P. for the whole world. Don't earn political capital by putting the whole into chaos. See what you have done to North Korea, to Russia and to Europe. You will have to eat it all.

—Luo Xiaolong, a senior at Zhejiang University in the eastern Chinese city of Hangzhou.

I watched President Bush's statement live on television. In the entire two-minute address he only used the word sorrow once, but not sorry, to say nothing of very sorry! All my classmates and I were very angry with Bush and the U.S. government. . . . On the other hand, we also hold the view that the Sino-U.S. relationship is the most complicated and important bilateral relationship in the present world and we indeed want to get on well with the U.S. And we think that the American people are a great people and most of them are still friendly to the Chinese people.

—Zhang Peng, 22, a junior at Shanghai International Studies University.

The U.S. government has given a written apology on this incident to the Chinese government and Chinese people. The 24 American crew members have returned to the U.S. Although I personally think the apology lacks some sincerity, because I saw the original English text of the apology letter on the Internet, it shows that the U.S. government has made some compromise . . . (after) being rude and overbearing at the beginning.

—Ma Tao, 21, a senior at Fudan University in Shanghai, is from Heilongjiang Province in north-eastern China.

I think it is normal that the U.S. crew members were held in China for many days, because the Chinese government needed to investigate and the Chinese government has the right to do so. The Chinese side did not do anything inhumane to the U.S. crew members. On the contrary, the American people received kind-hearted treatment. China is not Iraq. It is not Yugoslavia.



Agence France-Presso

A Chinese man bicycled in Beijing last year, well before a Chinese fighter jet and a United States spy plane collided.

China is a big country in the world and one pole of a world that is becoming multipolar. What the Chinese government did this time actually has changed the old image that it only talked but never acted. We, the college students of today, welcome this. The U.S. side must realize clearly that the U.S. does not have a final say on everything in the world.

—Zhou Jing, 21, a senior at Fudan University from Fujian Province in southeastern China.

I often wonder why you often do harm to our country. Does it mean you are afraid of our development? Do you think our development will be a menace to you? I want to tell you we will surely keep pace with you one day. We will never do those things as you did to us. They are inhuman. We develop our country to make people live more happily and enjoy better living conditions. Is that wrong? Please tell me!?!

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—Xu Lu, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School in Liaoning province in northeastern China.

I wonder if you think that our pilot or our Chinese lives are not that important. So why did you do this or not prevent this or not admit it's your fault? Everybody is equal. It's your own principle!

—Mao Yanwen, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

When I was a little girl, my mother taught me to remember this: "My dear, when you do something wrong, do apologize; and if the wrong side isn't you, do persist." I think most of us Chinese know this. I wonder if Americans have the same opinion as ours or do you always think that "I'll never do anything wrong and so I'll never apologize."

—Chi Hua, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

As a Chinese student, I want to say that I had a fantastic outlook towards the future of U.S.-China relations, but now I don't think it will develop well. All over the world, everybody knows that Beijing is bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games. To us Chinese, it's an honor and every Chinese hopes we can succeed. But the U.S. objects to this and makes it known to the world. I can't understand this. I can't understand why does the U.S. do this?

—Dong Haitao, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

The incident reminded me of the disheartening and painful bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia. Isn't it ridiculous to think that both incidents are accidental? This is not a childish game in which excuses disguise everything. The result is that it is we, the Chinese people, who suffer the pain and stand the humiliation. So if the U.S. cares about the relationship, stop playing such games please. We can settle our disputes face to face, can't we?

—Zhang Yue, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

Most optimists, like me, can say that we had better stop the stupid arguing and start compromising for the sake of a more prosperous and happy life for the people of the two big countries.

—Zhang Xin, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

Chinese people love peace. I think American people also love peace. So why can't we be friends? Everyone has his family and wants to live very happily. But now our pilot is lost. Can you imagine how upset his wife and his parents are? If you were his relatives, Respectable President Bush, what would your feelings be? Can you tell us? Let's take the earth away from war and towards world peace. Because everyone loves this earth. Everyone loves his country. Everyone loves his family. And everyone loves peace!

—Zhang Yanglin, a sophomore at Jinzhou Normal University's Foreign Language School.

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NY Times

4/22/2001

A New President Bumps Up Against Asia

By DAVID E. SANGER

FOR a man who has occupied the White House for just 12 weeks, George W. Bush has already had more than his share of bad luck in Asia.

So far there has been a mid-air collision with China, a maritime collision with Japan and a diplomatic collision with the two Koreas. "The only thing we've missed is a nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan," one of Mr. Bush's senior foreign policy advisers said dryly, watching on television as the 24 crew members of an American spy plane returned to Hawaii. "But we've still got plenty of time."

The China collision was an accident waiting to happen. A Navy submarine's sinking of a Japanese fishing boat was a freak occurrence. And the bitter arguments over whether to isolate North Korea or engage it China style reflected a deep split among Mr. Bush's advisers.

All three incidents have exposed some serious gaps in the Bush administration's thinking about Asia. They posed questions of how to balance engagement and containment, how to defend American interests without trouncing Asian sensibilities and how to protect America can trade without compromising security. The crisis broke out before the new administration had time to draw a road map for the region — never an easy task in territory that mixes rich and poor, chip plants and water buffalo, ancient enmities and an absence of security alliances. And the president's own chairman-of-the-

Collisions with China, Japan and Korea make for a shaky start in an unsteady region.

board style has left leaders in the region uncertain how much of what they are seeing is his own policy, or indeed which of his advisers has his ear.

The three collisions were reminders of a few realities of life in the Oval Office. One is that how a president responds to the unforeseen is often more important than

how he plots policy. Another is that real life is much more complicated than those easy campaign-trail bromides. (Mr. Bush often denounced his predecessor last year because he "went to China and ignored our friends in Tokyo and Seoul.") The third is that of all the world's cauldrons of brewing trouble, none is bigger than Asia and few can boil over faster.

Mr. Bush basked in considerable praise last week for his handling of the spy plane crisis, from both Republicans and Democrats.

In fact, the happy outcome obscured many interesting questions. Did the stalemate drag on because Mr. Bush followed his initial, sound-tough instincts before fully consulting some China experts (who are hard to find in this administration) about what words an increasingly nationalistic China needed to hear? Was it wisdom or weakness when someone — it's unclear who — stopped the Navy from sending up the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk steaming up the Chinese coast? Now, as Washington's relief gives way to analysis, the big question is: How should Mr. Bush and his team handle China and its neighbors from now on?

Almost any step Mr. Bush takes will affect another part of the Asian balance. A tough line with China could weaken America's alliance with Japan, which is deeply ambivalent about appearing to team up against a country it once occupied. It would almost certainly end the behind-the-scenes cooperation between Washington and Beijing in talking sense to North Korea. Mr. Bush understands that China and Russia are putting aside their differences and talking about ways to undermine America's global power — talk he does not want to feed.

But appeasement is also not a palatable option. "The Chinese have been testing Bush, looking for his limits," said Ashton B. Carter, a Harvard professor and co-author of a 1999 study that examined whether Chi-

na's real goal was to expand its economic and military influence in the Pacific the way Japan did in the 1930's.

In fact, the engagement crowd — which includes many of the Bush campaign's biggest contributors — is already arguing that the lesson of the past few weeks is that China is a country of 1.2 billion raw nerves, and that doing something like selling Taiwan the most sophisticated destroyers with Aegis radars will only inflame tensions.

The containment crowd, well represented in the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill, says the lesson is that China is a hostile power that, more than ever, needs to be faced down.

"George Bush has been given a crash course in Chinese nationalism and sensitivities," said David Shambaugh, a China scholar at George Washington University. "For the first time he's encountered the hostility of the People's Liberation Army for the United States. He's gotten a brief taste of what it's like to deal with a divided Chinese leadership. The question is what lesson has he drawn from this?"

So far Mr. Bush isn't saying — he has been protected from questions. But any president's early foreign policy traumas color what comes next.

In the one highly visible clash in the Bush administration thus far — over how to handle North Korea — Mr. Bush sided with the hawks. The issue was whether to continue the Clinton administration's bargaining to defang North Korea's missile capability in return for economic incentives. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell thought it was worth a try; he lost out to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy, Paul Wolfowitz, who advocated a complete review of options — including trying to push the North over an economic cliff.

This argument took place while South Korea's president, Kim Dae Jung, was here, and Mr. Kim, architect of the openings to

the North, went home angry and humiliated. The peace process with the North has since been frozen. Whether that's what the Bush White House intended, or what it stumbled into, is still a mystery. Either way, it strained the alliances Mr. Bush came to office saying he would reinvigorate.

BUT as Mr. Bush showed last week, it's one thing to take on the poverty-stricken North Koreans, another to mess with China. North Korea doesn't have much of a constituency in the United States. China and the United States define interdependence.

Those economic links appear to have contained the reaction on both sides this month.

Mr. Bush could publicly remind the Chinese how much of their own prosperity was at stake — starting with American investments. And President Jiang Zemin could tell the Chinese military that after they finished making their point about the evils of American hegemony in the Pacific, they should release the crew and focus on China's efforts to get the 2008 Olympics.

Yet, as Christopher McNally, a China specialist at the East-West Center in Hawaii, notes, "growing economic interdependence doesn't guarantee the relationship will grow." There was plenty of interdependence in Europe before both world wars, and it didn't stop either of them.

For its part, the rest of Asia is interested chiefly in a policy that keeps commerce flowing. Japan, the Philippines and others have their own problems with an aggressive China. But their precarious economies are bound up in China's continued, rapid growth. So it should be no surprise that they balk at many of the Bush administration's priorities — a missile shield or a more robustly defended Taiwan. To Asian ears, those ideas sound like a prescription for instability, likely to prompt China to lash out.

Moreover, they question whether the Bush administration has been a bit tone deaf. The South Koreans were shocked that

their president, a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, was sent home unable to say that Mr. Bush would be a partner in peace. The Japanese are still bitter about Mr. Bush's slowness to personally apologize for the submarine accident.

For their part, Mr. Bush's aides worry that Japan, their No. 1 ally, will not recover after a decade of economic decline and political paralysis. Pentagon officials complained that Japan's first reaction to the spy plane incident was to complain that it highlighted the fact that America uses its base on Okinawa to spy on China.

Over time, Mr. Bush will undoubtedly get an Asian policy, and over time he is likely to end up engaging China. But he may have to get there on his own — forced to make some hard choices about China without many China experts around the Oval Office, without much help from his allies.

"We could be in for some very rough months," Mr. Shambaugh said.

Asked about China in an interview in January, Mr. Bush said: "I would like to see some predictability when it comes to people with whom we are dealing." The lesson of the last two weeks is that he isn't likely to get much of that. The Chinese probably feel the same way about him.

April 15, 2001 NY Times

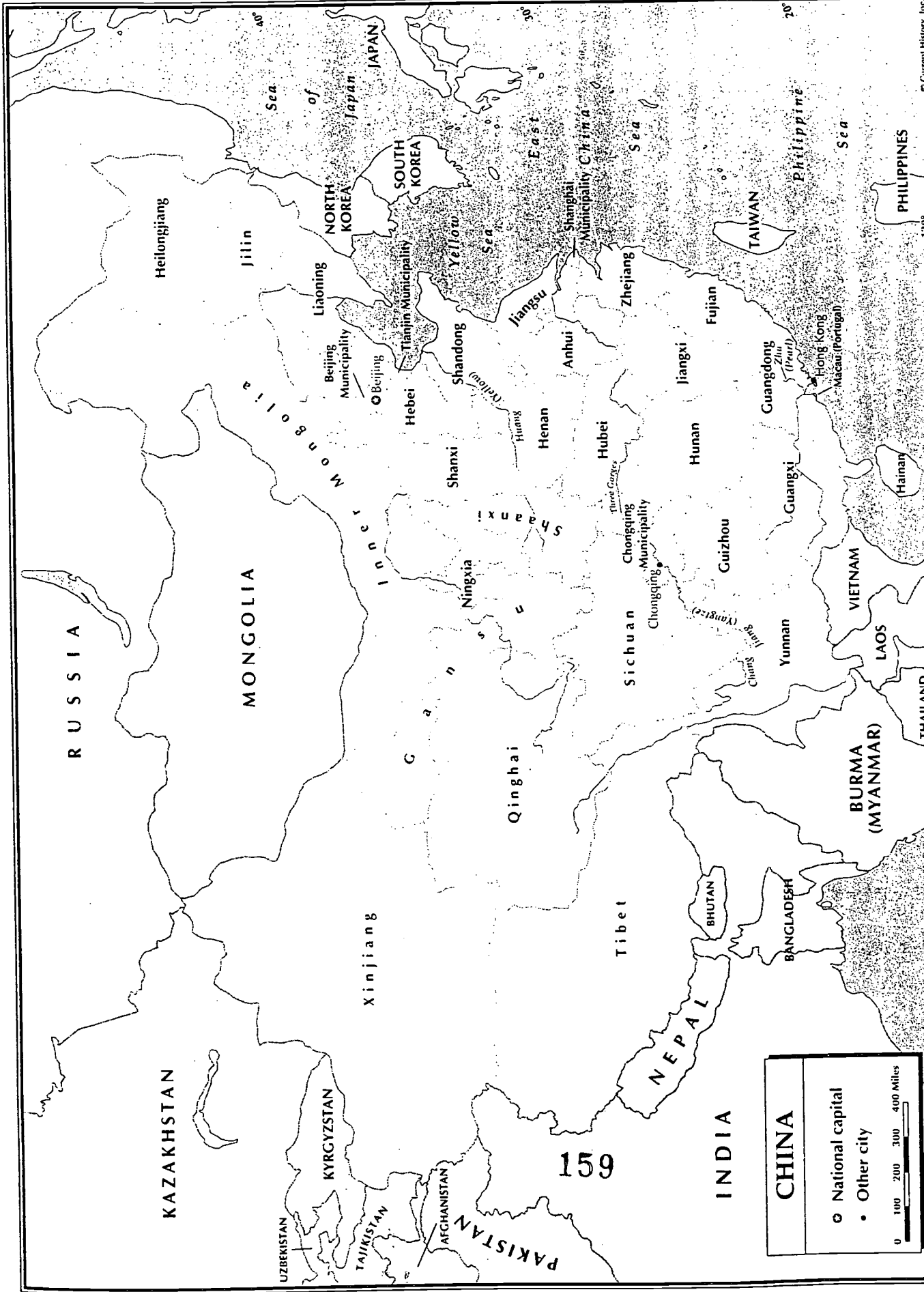
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CHINA	
○ National capital	
• Other city	
0 100 200 300 400 Miles	

McCorry/Am Trans
Asia Policy (China, Korea, Japan)

1898-2001:

Overview: Trade/Open Door from John Hay (McKinley) to World Trade Org (Albright)
Most Favored Nation Status

Asia:

1945 -1950: WWII/Dean Acheson (Truman's Secretary of State): Note regional focus

Japan at the Center of our Asia Policy

Rebuild in our own image (A Pacific Marshall Plan)/Guarantee Protection (**Korea becomes strategic here**)

Germany at Center of our European Policy (Marshall Plan) --
NATO Alliance Protects

China "lost" after 1949

Taiwan too corrupt (will support membership on security council)

S.E. Asia -- Hold the line against further communist movements
(Dominoes stopped by SEATO and our policy towards Vietnam)

Korea:

Geographically Korea is "Dagger at the Heart of Japan"

1945: Japan relinquishes power ("divided" at 38th)

North to the Soviets

South to US forces

'45-'50: Korea: Power struggle/civil war???

1950 -53: North invades South -- US responds -- Korean War
UN Police Action (Truman does not seek declaration of war)

Acheson had left Korea out of perimeter of defense in press conf.
Still a mystery -- however -- we will hold the line there

1953 -1989: Truce and UN Troops hold line at DMZ(demilitarized zone)
This defines the situation for all intents and purposes through the end of the Cold War.

USSR ally of North

US ally of the South

1953 -1990's: North Korea: Kim Il Sung life time ruler/communist
Resource Rich/Guns over Butter

1953-1990's: South Korea (ROK): Syghman? Rhee life time
rule/capitalist

Lots of economic support and military support from US
1980's student led pro-democracy movements = elections

1989-1994: Tension Builds over North Korea and their membership in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

1992: Inspectors denied access

1993: Transition/ US Presidents

1994-1996: Famine !!!! Proposed Sanctions/Fear of another N.K. invasion of South

1997: Missile capability (lobs one _____ meters)/Japan threatened National Missile Defense Shield

1989-20001: Breakthrough Moments: How do we get to the smiley face?

Older generation of Koreans seeking reunion

End of Cold War

Real elections in the South (Kim Dae Jung)

Kim Jung Il in the North (who is this man?)

2000 Olympics (considered historic)

2000 Summit between North and South
(considered historic)

2000 Albright visits (Clinton was expected to -- didn't)
considered historic (given that relationship hasn't changed to date since war)

2001: National Missile Defense serious again under GW Bush.

Challenges to Reunification: Economic/Ideological/Who Leads?

Japan: 1945-1997: Economic powerhouse/seriously hurt by Asian Financial Crisis

China:

One China or Two???? That is the question!!!!

1941-45: Ally (FDR aids Chiang Kai-shek; by end of war disillusioned with our ally)

1941-1949: Civil War in China/

1949-197__ : Mainland: Mao

1949- 1971: Formosa/Taiwan: Chiang Kai-Shek (Komintang)

1950-1971: Truman/US Investment and Arms Sales/Taiwan UN Security Council

No Diplomatic Recognition of PRC

1971: Nixon/Kissinger Diplomacy "Opens the Door" (TRIANGLE)

1971: PRC replaces Taiwan in UN Security Council

1972: Nixon's Visit to the PRC (a television event)

Taiwan Relations Act (Congress) Strengthens Defense Commitment

1970's-1990's: PRC leadership changes/Lei Peng (sp) + move towards re regulated capitalism

Taiwan: Chiang dies/Son resumes power/Pro-democracy

US Policy: Human Rights for MFN trade Status

1989: Elections in Taiwan/Tianneman Square

1992: Bush v. Clinton: Clinton campaign/Bush should do more with Human Rights -- Clinton: Strategic Ambiguity

1995 -1997: Tension Builds: Lee in US/Taiwan threatened by China "war games" / US sends in two air craft carrier battle fleets.

1998-2000: WTO and MFN

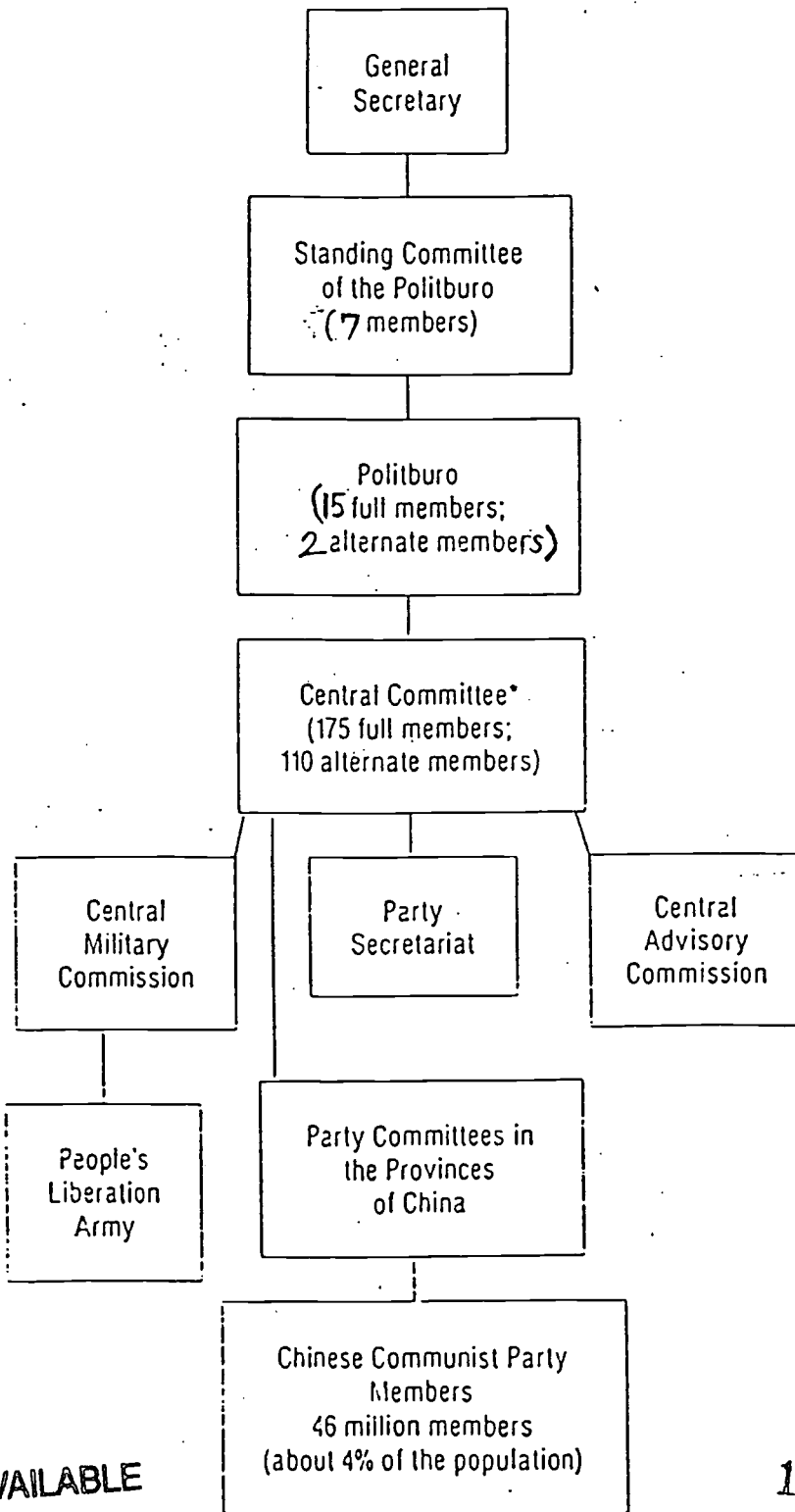
S.E. Asia:

Old School: 1945-1989: Hold Line on Communism

New School: 1989-2001: _____

THE CHINESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATION
(simplified)



* Selected by National Party Congress held at approximately 5 year intervals.

Source: Fodor's 89: People's Republic of China - With a Section on Business Travel, Fodor's Travel Publications, Inc. p. 91.

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China's new tower of power

The new members of the Standing Committee, the Chinese Communist Party's core leadership, average in their early 60s - the youngest set of Chinese leaders to date. Only one studied outside China; all nine are engineers; most have ties to outgoing President Jiang Zemin. They are listed in descending order of rank.



HU JINTAO: The youngest member of the Standing Committee at his 1992 appointment, he spent 14 years in the distant Gansu province. His great challenge now will be to consolidate power despite Jiang's continuing influence on committee members.

WU BANGGUO: A surprise choice for No. 2, this Shanghai comrade of Jiang was in charge of still-troubled state enterprise reform during his tenure as deputy premier.

WEN JIABAO: This seasoned economic reformer is expected to replace his mentor, outgoing reformist Zhu Rongji, as premier. Other past bosses, including Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang, were purged.

JIA QINGLIN: A former Fujian party secretary, Jia was a comrade of Jiang's in the '70s, and another Jiang vote. His wife is tied to a huge oil smuggling scandal.

ZENG QINGHONG: Considered a pragmatist who will change with the times, outgoing president Jiang Zemin's chief aide represents a real challenge to incoming party head Hu. (See story, this page.)

HUANG JU: A member of Jiang's "Shanghai gang," he was party chief there until last month, and owes fealty to Jiang. His daughter was married to the son of a Taiwan publisher in San Francisco.

WU GUANZHENG: With a mind for technical details, this former party chief of Shandong - one of four main regional centers and the scene of major corruption - will head the Discipline Committee.

LI CHANGCHUN: This former mayor of Shenyang and governor of Hunan is a favorite of Jiang, who sent him to Pearl River Delta in 1998 with a division of troops to check the Ye family empire.

LUO GAN: A protégé of outgoing hard-liner Li Peng, this security chief cracked down on Falun Gong, and fought crime with a well-named "strike hard!" campaign. He studied in East Germany, and speaks fluent German.

STANDING COMMITTEE

Central Military Commission:
Outgoing president Jiang Zemin retains control of this body, which governs China's armed forces.

Secretariat:
Headed by Zeng Qinghong, this is the main administrative body for the Standing Committee and Politburo, and oversees daily operation of the Central Committee.

Discipline Committee:
This body, headed by Wu Guanzheng, is the Politburo arm that polices corruption and regulates proper behavior and political correctness among party members.

Politburo:
The leading body of the Central Committee, it consists of some 20-25 elites responsible for ensuring order in regional government, foreign policy, the military, the economy, and society.

Central Committee:
Responsible for implementing all decisions made at the National Party Congress, the almost 200-member body meets at least once a year.

GRAPHIC BY STAFF

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ZHOU ENLAI (d. 1976)

Zhou Enlai was born in 1898 in Zhejiang Province where he spent his childhood studying the Confucian classics in preparation for the state exams. However, after the graduation from middle school in 1917, he became increasingly active in the student movement and was a leader of the May Fourth Movement in 1919. He joined the CCP in 1924, and, in 1927, Zhou's political activism earned him a seat on the CCP Politburo, a post he held until his death 49 years later.

Zhou continued to play a leading role in the Party through the 1930s and 1940s. The consummate politician, he served as the CCP's chief representative during all important negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and its American patrons. Following the Communist victory in 1949, Zhou was appointed premier and minister of Foreign Affairs.

During the next three decades until his death, Zhou remained one of the principle makers in China. His political skill and close association with Mao Zedong were instrumental in keeping him from falling victim to the numerous political campaigns of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

Autonomous Region: Autonomous prefectures and counties have been created where significant concentrations of particular minorities exist to encourage cultural continuity and the flexible implementation of central policy. There are currently five minority regions scattered in sparsely settled border areas: Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Xizang (Tibet), and Guangxi.

Three No's (Taiwan version): The official Taiwanese policy toward mainland China consisting of: 1) no compromise; 2) no negotiation; and 3) no contact. The third of these is no longer intact since the promulgation of a 1987 policy which allowing certain categories of Taiwan residents to return to the mainland for visits.

Three No's (PRC version): Mainland China's policy toward what it considers the breakaway province" of Taiwan: 1) no independence; 2) no "two Chinas"; and 3) no "one Taiwan, one China."

Cultural Revolution (GPCR): Also known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Ten Bad Years (1966-1976). Launched by Mao in 1966 to combat elitism, revisionism, and the vicissitudes of a burgeoning bureaucracy in the CCP hierarchy, the GPCR destroyed much of the Party's old-guard leadership, beginning with Mao's second-in-command, Liu Shaoqi. Much of the machinery of power was usurped by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, who, with the aid of a veritable army of ultra-left, xenophobic supporters and militant youth unleashed in the "Red Guard" movement, managed to bring China to a state of near anarchy. The GPCR rejected much of China's traditional art and culture and dismantled the education system in the name of egalitarianism. Millions of youths were moved from urban to rural areas as "sent down youths;" heavy emphasis was placed on self-reliance and practical experience in national development (rather than on cooperation with foreign nations and higher education); and science and technology were denigrated in the pursuit of a society of people who were "red (ideologically sound) not expert."

Modernizations: The development targets for modernizing industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense, first proposed by Premier Zhou Enlai in January 1975. In 1978, the attainment of the Four Modernizations by the year 2000 became a national campaign slogan.

JIANG ZEMIN Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee; General Secretary, CCP-CC; President, PRC; Chairman, CCP Military Commission; Chairman, State Central Military Commission

Jiang was born in Jiangsu in 1926. In addition to numerous affiliations with scientific, technical, and engineering organizations, Jiang has more than thirty years experience in science. He served as commercial counselor at the Chinese embassy in Moscow from 1950 to 1954. From 1956 until about 1970 he held the positions of deputy director and director at several industrial research institutes. From 1971 to 1979 he was a deputy director in the Foreign Affairs Bureau. He became secretary general of the State administration Commissions on Import and Export affairs and on Foreign Investment Control in April 1980, and became minister of the Electronics Industry in April 1982. A year later, Jiang publicly acknowledged China's need to rely on foreign investment, imports, and joint ventures while encouraging the electronics industry to become self-sufficient. He was replaced by Li Tieying as minister of the Electronics Industry in 1985. After 1985, he served as deputy secretary of the Party Committee and Mayor of Shanghai. In January 1988 he relinquished his mayoral position and became first Party Secretary of Shanghai.

Jiang was elevated to the Politburo at the 13th Party Congress in October 1988. He was known to be inflexible towards the student demonstrations that erupted in Beijing and Shanghai in April 1989. Instrumental in the dismissal of Qin Benli from his post as editor of the outspoken journal, Shanghai's World Economic Herald, Jiang apparently won praise for his firm actions during the turmoil. He became general secretary of the CCP at a meeting of the Central Committee in late June that year. Jiang then assumed Deng Xiaoping's military posts after the latter's retirement in November 1989. He was re-elected as general secretary of the CCP-CC at the CCP's 14th Congress. Jiang is also currently a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and chairman of the Military Commission of the CCP-CC. At the National People's Congress in March 1993 Jiang was elected president of China.

A sophisticated, urbane man, Jiang speaks English, Russian, and Romanian, and is reported to read Japanese and French. He met with President Clinton in November 1993 at the APEC summit in Seattle, in New York in October 1995 during the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of the United Nations, during a state visit to Washington in October 1997 and during President Clinton's June/July 1998 visit.

✶ Theory of Three Represents: Proposed first by Jiang Zemin in February 2000 and referred to frequently as the guiding principle for carrying out Party building in the new millennium. The "Three Represents" consist of combining the 3 elements, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory, to maintain CCP's success and support of the Chinese people by leading them to constantly advance so long as it always earnestly represents the development requirements of China's advanced social productive forces, the progressive course of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

HU JINTAO Member, CCP-CC Politburo Standing Committee and Secretariat; Vice President, PRC; Vice-Chairman, Central Organization Committee; Head, Leading Group for Party Building; President, Chinese Communist Party School; former Secretary of Tibet Autonomous Region CCP; Deputy for Guizhou Province to the 7th NPC

Born in Anhui in 1942, Hu graduated from Qinghua University in 1965. In 1987, Hu became the Secretary of the CCP Guizhou Provincial Committee, and in 1988, was appointed Secretary of the CCP's Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee. Hu was the first Tibet Party

Secretary not to have come from the military. A member of the 12th and 13th CCP Central Committees, Hu was appointed to the Standing Committee of the CCP-CC Politburo at the Party's 14th Congress in October 1992, becoming its youngest member. He is also currently the youngest provincial governor in China.

DENG XIAOPING (d. 1997)

Born in Sichuan in 1904, Deng has been one of the most important political figures in China since the mid-1950s. He was among the early communists trained in France and the Soviet Union during the 1920s. Rising quickly in the Party hierarchy after his transfer to Beijing from the southwest in 1952, he became a vice chairman of the National Defense Council in 1954. Elected to the Politburo in 1955, Deng became a member of its Standing Committee in 1956 and soon assumed the post of CCP general secretary. In the decade after the mid-1950s he was deeply involved in CCP relations with foreign communist parties; and in the 1960s he was one of the major figures in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Some analysts assert he was the author of Mao's polemics of the early 1960s with Moscow.

Purged during the Cultural Revolution as a leading "revisionist" and "the number two person who follows the capitalist road," Deng reappeared during 1973 and in the fall of that year was rehabilitated. By early 1976, he had risen to vice premier and was viewed as third in the Chinese hierarchy after Mao and Zhou Enlai. But Deng fell from office once again following Zhou's death in early 1976, when radical elements led by Jiang Qing moved against him in the wake of the "Tiananmen Incident".

Deng endured almost ten months of public vilification before making an extraordinary second comeback following the October 1976 downfall of the "Gang of Four." After much internal

debate, Deng was reinstated to his former Party and government posts in July 1977. He has been the active force behind most of the post-Mao reforms and policy changes, as well as a major supporter of the move to normalize relations with the United States. Deng capped that event by leading a Chinese Government delegation to the U.S. in January 1979.

Deng resigned from his government posts in August 1980 as part of a broad action to bring younger leaders into the government. He subsequently stepped away from day-to-day decision making to concentrate on broader issues. In 1987, in a step to secure the continuation of his policies after his death, Deng retired from the Party Central Committee at the 13th Party Congress. Although he resigned his remaining official posts of chairman of the Party's Military Affairs Commission and the State's Central Military Commission in 1989, he still maintains his informal status as China's paramount leader until his death in February, 1997.

Deng is largely regarded as the principal figure behind the armed crackdown on the pro-democracy movement that erupted in China in the spring of 1989. In ordering the crackdown and in ousting then General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and other party moderates, Deng undid much of his work of the past decade to build international confidence in China and insure a smooth transfer of power after his death. At the CCP's 14th Congress in October 1992, Deng was able to oust many hard-liners from key party positions and install more reform oriented officials. The 14th Congress called for continued market oriented reforms while not increasing political freedom. It remains to be seen whether Deng's policies and the party officials he placed in power will survive his passing.

Open-Door Policy: A policy to welcome foreign economic involvement in China, begun after the fall of the Gang of Four and pushed by Deng Xiaoping and other supporters in the move towards a market-economy. It contrasted with the People's Republic of China's insularity prior to that time.

Tiananmen Square: The large square in the center of Beijing which was formerly an outer courtyard of the Imperial Palace. Tiananmen, which means the Gate of Heavenly Peace, is a large arch looming over the square. It has been the site of many demonstrations and parades throughout the modern era; it was the location of Chairman Mao's pronouncement of the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and the focal point for the mass demonstrations for greater freedom in the spring of 1989.

"To get rich is glorious": A phrase attributed to Deng Xiaoping which has spurred Chinese mania for entrepreneurship and making money.

Four Cardinal Principles: The four basic principles expostulated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 which are to be upheld by all: socialism; the dictatorship of the proletariat; Marxism, Leninism and Mao

CHOICES

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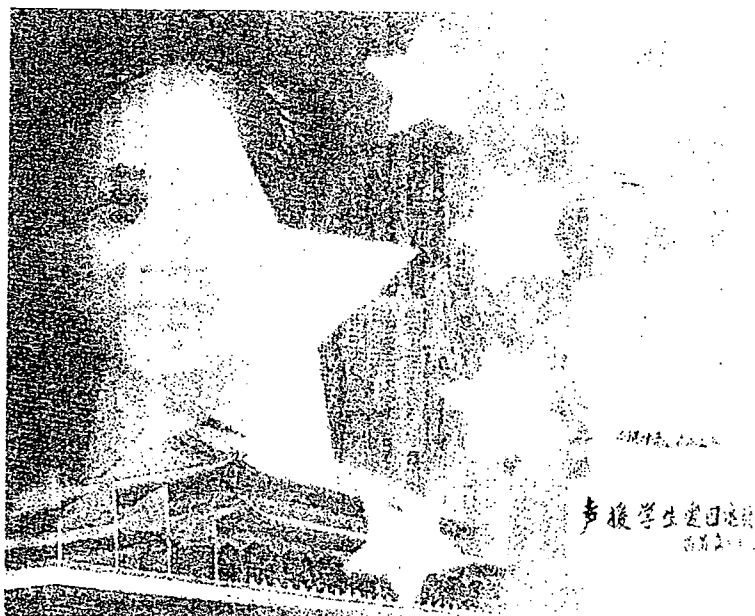
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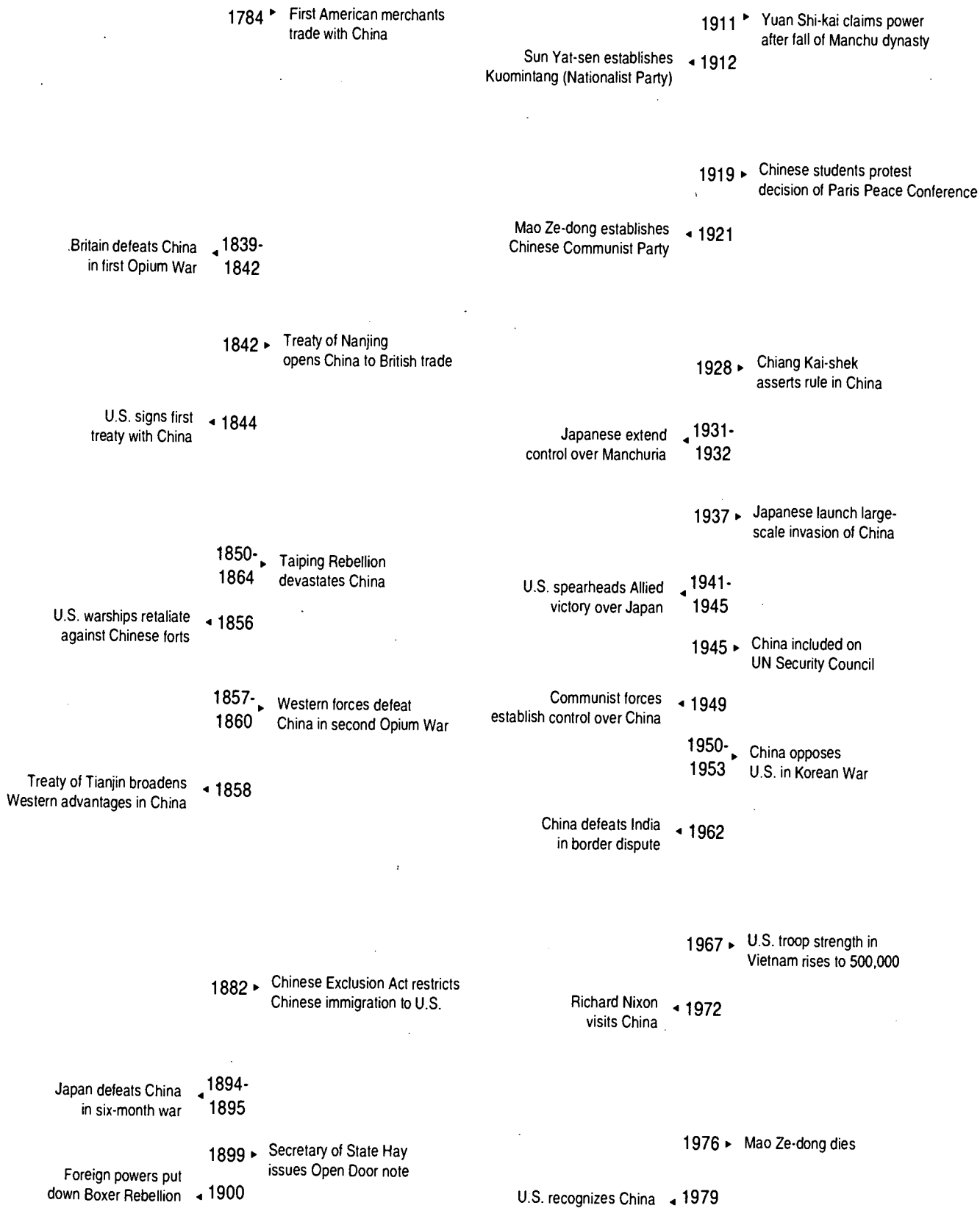
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Timeline of U.S.-Chinese Relations 1784-1979



How did Japan's aggression affect U.S. policy in China?

In 1937, Japan plunged deeper into China's heartland. By the end of the year, Japanese forces had taken Nanjing, the capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government. As hundreds of foreign residents watched, the Japanese unleashed a campaign of murder, rape, and looting against the civilian population. More than 200,000 Chinese were massacred and much of the city was burned to the ground.

The "Rape of Nanjing," as the atrocity was labeled in the United States, turned the American public against Japan, but U.S. policy hardly budged. Part of the reason was that U.S. officials in China were reporting that Chiang's army devoted more of its energy to fighting Mao Ze-dong's communists than to fighting the Japanese. A few were even convinced that China would be better off under Japanese control.

"The Japanese imperialists attack us and even plan for our extinction. Owing to the existence of the communist bandits, we cannot offer unified, effective resistance to the aggressor."

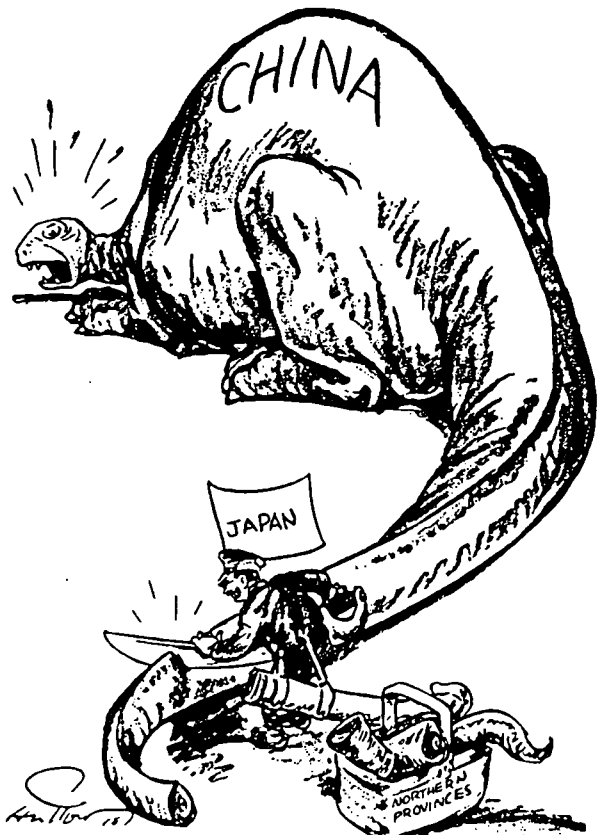
—Chiang Kai-shek

Over the next few years, the Japanese tightened their hold over much of coastal China. What ultimately changed the attitude of U.S. leaders was Japan's foreign policy. In September 1940, the Japanese formed an alliance with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The United States responded by offering aid to the Chinese and restricting exports to Japan. Japan's surprise attack against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, finally brought the United States into the war.

Why was China a low priority for the U.S. in World War II?

World War II created new links between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek's government. American military advisers and equipment strengthened the resistance of the Chinese army. As a sign of solidarity, the United States abandoned the provisions of the "unequal treaties" that were still in effect and lifted the ban against Chinese immigrants.

The China front, however, remained an area of



Hugh Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

low priority for U.S. military planners. The United States focused on first defeating the Nazis in Europe and then smashing Japan's island empire in the Pacific. The large-scale commitment of American troops that Chiang lobbied for never arrived. Indeed, the Japanese army at the end of World War II was still firmly entrenched in China.

How did communists come to power in China?

Among the chief goals of U.S. officials in China during World War II was to prevent a civil war between Chiang's forces and the communists. Many Americans were disgusted by the corruption and indifference of Kuomintang bureaucrats, and praised the communists for putting up a more effective battle against Japan. Nonetheless, the United States made sure that Chiang's government was given a prominent place in the postwar international system. Along with the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France, China was granted a seat on the Security Council at the founding meeting of the United Nations in 1945.

U.S. leaders also hoped to arrange a political

compromise between the communists and the Kuomintang. Negotiations, however, soon broke down, and Mao Ze-dong denounced the United States for aiding Chiang's government. In 1946, the long-simmering civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists began in earnest. As most American officials had predicted, the communists gained the upper hand. In 1948, Mao's forces swept south from their strongholds in northern China. Thousands of Kuomintang troops defected or deserted, leaving behind most of their U.S.-supplied equipment.

By early 1949, Chiang had begun to transfer the government's gold reserves to the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan). What remained of his army was in retreat in the months that followed. On October 1, Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China.

How did the Cold War lead the U.S. and China into conflict?

U.S. foreign policy underwent a dramatic shift after World War II. The United States emerged from the war as the world's foremost military and economic power. At the same time, the war had strengthened the position of the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance was replaced by hostility between the two superpowers. U.S. policymakers increasingly viewed Soviet communism as a global menace, especially after the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in September 1949.

In response to the Soviet threat, American leaders redefined the U.S. role in the world. Most Americans came to agree that our country's long tradition of isolation from international affairs would have to give way to a determined effort to contain the expansion of Soviet communism.

George Kennan, an American diplomat who conceived the "containment" strategy of limiting the spread of Soviet influence, was not particularly alarmed by the likelihood of a communist takeover in China. He focused U.S. policy largely on Europe. According to Kennan, China was decades away from developing the industrial strength needed to mount a military challenge to the United States. In addition, most U.S. officials were convinced that a long history of conflicting interests would prevent the Soviet Union and Chinese communists from reaching an

effective alliance.

As Mao's forces overran southern China in 1949, the administration of Harry Truman decided that further aid to Chiang Kai-shek was useless. Truman expected that the communists would soon gain control over Formosa as well. More important for U.S. leaders was driving a wedge between Mao and the Soviet Union.

Communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950 changed U.S. policy in East Asia overnight. President Truman responded to the attack by immediately sending U.S. warships to defend Formosa. The United States led a dozen other nations under the authority of the United Nations (UN) in an international effort to stop the North Koreans.

By September 1950, UN forces under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur had pushed the North Korean army back to the original border along the 38th parallel. MacArthur wanted to defeat the communist regime in North Korea. As his troops advanced beyond the 38th parallel, however, the Chinese army launched a massive counter-attack.

Although the Chinese military was no match for the United States technologically, the Chinese had the advantage of numbers. Poorly armed Chinese soldiers threw themselves at U.S. positions in human-wave assaults. (Roughly 250,000 Chinese and 54,000 American soldiers died in the war.) UN forces retreated deep into South Korea.

MacArthur favored attacking China itself, even using nuclear weapons, to turn the tide of the war. Truman, however, feared that MacArthur's recommendations would trigger World War III, and he replaced his top general. UN forces slowly retook South Korea in the first half of 1951. Inconclusive fighting continued along the 38th parallel for another two years before a truce was reached in 1953.

Why did China and the United States view each other as enemies in the 1950s and 1960s?

In the United States, attitudes toward China crystallized well before the cease-fire. China was seen as a tool of the Soviet campaign to spread communism worldwide. U.S. diplomatic recognition of China was now out of the question. Moreover, Chiang's government on Taiwan was viewed as a critical ally.

Mao contributed to the antagonism in U.S.-Chinese relations. In the early 1950s, he drove out American missionaries, foundations, and colleges still operating in China. Russian replaced English as the foreign language promoted by the government. Americans were also appalled by Chinese attempts to brainwash U.S. prisoners of war captured in Korea.

During the 1950s, U.S. policy in East Asia concentrated on containing China. The United States signed defense treaties with most of China's neighbors and stationed thousands of soldiers in South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. In 1954 and 1958, the United States pledged to use force to counter Chinese threats to invade two small islands claimed by Taiwan. U.S. hostility toward China continued even after the Chinese-Soviet alliance unraveled in the early 1960s.

Mao's unpredictability and combative stance made China an even greater foreign policy concern for most Americans than the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Chinese army quickly routed India and occupied territory that had been in dispute along the border of the two Asian giants. Two years later, China exploded its first atomic bomb. U.S. leaders explained America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s largely in terms of the threat posed by China.

*"Power grows out of the barrel of a gun."
—Mao Ze-dong*

As U.S. troop strength in Vietnam rose to 500,000 in 1967, Mao was leading his people down a still more radical path. Mao's Cultural Revolution, which raged in full force from 1966 to 1969, was designed to overturn the traditional order of Chinese society. Millions of government officials and university professors were sent to the countryside to work in the fields. Young Red Guards were given the authority to police the revolution. Meanwhile, Chinese and Soviet troops engaged in two serious border clashes in 1969. The Soviet army marched into northwestern China to force the Chinese to negotiate a settlement to the dispute.

How did U.S.-China relations improve in the 1970s and 1980s?

Even as Mao veered toward extremism, U.S. policymakers in the late 1960s were rethinking U.S.-

Chinese relations. Ironically, the initiative came from President Richard Nixon, a political figure long known for his strident anti-communism. Nixon recognized that the United States and China shared a common mistrust of the Soviet Union. He was eager to realign the global balance of power at a time when Soviet influence was on the rise.

The first exploratory talks between the United States and China began in 1970. The following year, the United States lifted the trade restrictions against China that dated from the Korean War. In the UN, the United States did not use its veto power to block a resolution that awarded Taiwan's seat to China.

In 1972, Nixon visited Beijing. The president met with Mao, swapped toasts with top Chinese officials, and watched a ballet performance of *The Red Detachment of Women*. Nixon had achieved an important breakthrough in U.S. foreign policy.

For the next few years, political crises in both the United States and China prevented the relationship from developing. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon's resignation in 1974, while in China the death of Mao Ze-dong in 1976 set off a struggle for power.

The emergence of Deng Xiao-ping as the leader of China signaled that further progress was possible. Deng was known as a moderate who sought to open China to the outside world. In January 1979, he visited the United States, touring factories and even wearing a cowboy hat at a Texas rodeo. Behind the scenes, he assured U.S. officials that China would not use force against Taiwan. The United States responded in March 1979 by officially recognizing China — and by withdrawing recognition from Taiwan. Concerned about the future of Taiwan, Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and provided American assurances for Taiwan's security. The future of Taiwan remained a sticking point in U.S.-Chinese relations during much of the 1980s and does so to this day. At the same time, expanding trade and investment, as well as a surge in student, scientific, and cultural exchanges, were fast creating important links between the two countries. China was not a U.S. ally, but a new era in U.S.-Chinese relations was clearly underway.

Part II: China's Transformation

Like China itself in the 20th century, the life of Deng Xiaoping was marked by struggle. Deng was an early member of the Chinese Communist Party and fought both Chiang Kai-shek's forces and the Japanese army during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1968, at the height of China's Cultural Revolution, he was forced to confess to being a "counter-revolutionary" and was driven out of Beijing. For six years, Deng was denied the position he had held in the Politburo, the ruling body of the Communist Party. He returned to the leadership ranks only to be attacked in 1976 as "the unrepentant capitalist-roader." For the next two years, Deng and his political opponents grappled for power as the fate of China hung in the balance.

And yet, at the end of 1978, already 74 years old and still securing his leadership, Deng took on the biggest struggle of his career: reforming the Chinese economy. Deng had long been known as a pragmatist within the Communist Party. He was especially critical of the radicals who stressed the need to purify communist ideology. Instead, he was a champion of policies that would advance China's development.



(The man rising from the coffin is Deng Xiaoping.)

Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*

The era in Chinese history that opened in late 1978 has been stamped by the pragmatism of Deng. China's annual economic growth rate of over 9 percent won praise for Deng's economic reforms. The uniformity and drabness that characterized Mao's China has been replaced by an accent on individuality. At the same time, the changes of the past two decades have torn at the fabric of Chinese society.

In this part of the background reading, you will examine the economic, social, and political transformation of China that began with Deng and has been carried on by his successors. The subject is of particular importance to Americans. As you will learn in the final part of the background reading, what is happening in China will profoundly affect the direction of our own country's foreign policy.

ECONOMIC REFORM

Deng took power with a clear memory of the economic mistakes that had been made in the previous two decades. Mao had followed the path of the Soviet Union in creating a centrally planned economy. Like the Soviets, communist officials in China had harnessed the manpower and resources of their country to build roads, ports, dams, and other large-scale projects. They also committed horrendous blunders.

In the late 1950s, Mao tried to engineer a "Great Leap Forward" by organizing China's peasants into huge "people's communes." Each commune contained tens of thousands of people and was designed to be self-sufficient, even to the point of producing its own steel. The experiment proved disastrous. Confusion and disorganization led to widespread crop failures. As many as 30 million Chinese starved in the famine that resulted.

How did Deng Xiaoping reform China's economy?

Beginning in 1978, Deng gradually dismantled Mao's command economy. The impact of his reforms was felt first in the countryside, home to 70 percent of China's people. Instead of large collective farms, individual families were given responsibility for

working the land through long-term leases. Price controls were lifted and peasants were allowed to sell most of their crop in the marketplace. The "work units" that controlled housing, health care, education, and other necessities of life in the countryside were abolished. In addition, people in the countryside were allowed to open their own businesses outside of agriculture. Progress came quickly. Within seven years, output in rural areas had shot up by 48 percent.

"It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice."

—Deng Xiao-ping

Success in agriculture encouraged Deng to extend his reforms to industry and commerce. Deng opened China up to the global economy. Special economic zones were created along the southeastern coast that allowed Chinese entrepreneurs and foreign investors to go into business with little government interference. Exports were promoted. Central economic planners lost much of their authority to officials at the local and provincial levels. Across China, millions of new enterprises were established. Many were offshoots of state-run factories, universities, collective farms, or other institutions of the communist system.

The reforms have gone a long way toward bringing China into the global marketplace. Exports rose from \$14 billion in 1979 to \$198 billion in 1999. China ranked ninth world-wide in manufactured exports in 1999, with 3.5 percent of the global market. China also led developing countries by attracting \$44 billion of foreign investment in 1998.

How is China's economy a mix of communism and capitalism?

American investors have played a leading role in China's economic boom, but in recent years investments from Hong Kong and Taiwan have grown at an even faster pace. Most Hong Kong manufacturers, for example, now make their products in neighboring Guangdong province.

Deng labeled his country's economic system "socialism with Chinese characteristics." In fact, neither economic analysts nor government regulators have been able to keep up with China's economic transfor-

mation. In many respects, China today is moving swiftly toward the free-market economic system of the United States, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Most decisions about what goods are going to be produced and how much they will cost are made by producers and consumers, not by government planners.

In other ways, features of the communist system continue to define China. Most city workers, for example, obtain their housing through their workplaces and pay very little rent. The government provides free health care in most cases and steps in to prevent sharp increases in food prices.

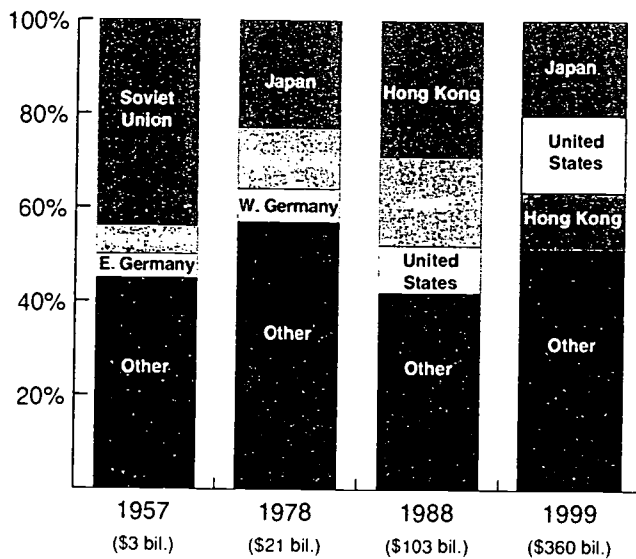
Most important, about one-third of China's industrial output is produced by state-owned factories. Many of them are outdated and inefficient giants with tens of thousands of workers. The Anshan Iron and Steel Mills in northeastern China alone employs 500,000 people. Half of the companies in the state sector are losing money. Under Mao, workers in the big state-owned factories were celebrated for propelling China toward industrialization. They were poor, but they were guaranteed the benefits of what was known as the "iron rice bowl" — a secure job, free housing, and health care.

Why does China's government still own and protect certain enterprises?

The government faces a dilemma in reforming state-owned enterprises. With roughly 90 million Chinese already without work, officials fear that cutting loose the 100 million workers in the state sector would lead to widespread unrest. At the same time, they recognize that state firms are draining the economy. In recent years, nearly 90 percent of the loans from China's state banks have gone toward keeping sinking state-owned enterprises afloat. The growing mountain of debt in the state sector has robbed other businesses of investment and has bankrupted China's banking system.

In 1997, Deng's successor, President Jiang Zemin, announced that China's 100,000 smallest state-owned enterprises could no longer count on government funding. For the moment, however, he will keep the 1,000 or so largest firms under state control. Together, they account for over two-thirds of the output from the state sector and dominate defense,

China's Leading Trading Partners
(percentage of total trade)



SOCIETY IN A WHIRLWIND

Even with much of China's economy on unsteady ground, the impact of economic growth is clearly evident, especially in the cities. A generation ago, Chinese consumers aspired to own a bicycle, a wristwatch, and a radio. Today, Chinese now set their sights on color televisions, refrigerators, and VCRs.

Chinese in all walks of life, from teachers to doctors to tractor drivers, have decided to go into business, or as the Chinese say, "plunge into the sea." Chinese society has turned its back on many of the guiding principles of communism.

Under Mao, the communists strove to create a new-value system. Equality, self-sacrifice, and cooperation were held up as the driving engines of the communist revolution. During the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, the communist authorities went so far as to try to restructure the family in the countryside. On some huge communal farms, husbands and wives were forced to live separately while their children were cared for in state-run nurseries.

How has economic reform changed Chinese society?

Deng's policies marked a return to more traditional Chinese values. The family has been restored to its central position in society, and Chinese have again been permitted to make use of their talents in business and commerce. At the same time, China's economic boom has introduced a new emphasis on materialism and individualism in Chinese society.

Corruption among government officials is now widespread. The combination of dedication, discipline, and fear that served to restrain China's bureaucrats under Mao has largely broken down. Many of them resent the sudden wealth of the country's new entrepreneurs and have sought a piece of the action for themselves by demanding bribes for export licenses, building permits, and other government documents. Hundreds of thousands more have taken advantage of their authority to set up their own businesses. A few have embezzled millions of dollars in state funds and fled overseas.

Meanwhile, Chinese officials are losing the battle

energy, steel, and other key industries.

Unemployment would be much worse in China if not for the startling growth of the non-state sector of the economy. Most non-state enterprises fall into two categories. The privately owned sector most closely resembles businesses in our own country. It consists of enterprises under the ownership of Chinese entrepreneurs, foreign investors, or Chinese-foreign joint ventures. Most of these firms are located in southeastern China.

More difficult to grasp is the economic sector that belongs neither to the state nor to private entrepreneurs. Many villages and towns in the countryside, for example, have branched out into other businesses. Although in theory they are public enterprises, they are not managed or funded by the government. In the cities, workers at state institutions are finding similar opportunities.

For example, professors from the engineering department of a university may decide to open a small factory producing machine parts. If their business prospers, they will likely take home profits that are many times above their university salaries. The question of ownership, however, usually remains unclear. Is the factory a private or a state enterprise? And who decides how the profits — or the potential losses — are shared?

to control the thinking of their citizens. The opening of China's economy has exposed the country to the forces of the information revolution. Fax machines, television satellite dishes, computer modems, and short-wave radios have linked China to the outside world. In addition, the influx of foreign business executives, tourists, and students has introduced millions of Chinese to life abroad. Most observers believe that Beijing's decrees to ban private satellite dishes, restrict Internet access, and censor the reports of foreign news agencies have come too late to close the gates.

"To get rich is glorious."

—Deng Xiao-ping

In addition there is a growing hunger for a spiritual life outside of the communist party. One example is the Falun Gong, a religious sect that draws on the meditative tradition of Taoism and Buddhism and has followers that number in the tens of millions. In the spring of 1999 it asked the Chinese government for recognition during a public gathering of 10,000 to 20,000 in Beijing. The response of the government was to ban the sect, detain thousands of its members, and issue an arrest warrant for its founder.

How has this era of openness influenced China's youth?

China's new openness has left the greatest impression on the outlook of the young. The generation of Chinese youth that has grown up since the late 1970s has faced a bewildering shift in values. Whereas communist slogans and portraits of Mao once held sway over city streets, customers in private shops today are more likely to encounter posters of Hollywood movie stars and Playboy pin-ups. There is little respect left for the ideals of communism.

Many Chinese youth, especially in the cities, voice their feelings by embracing what is known as "grey culture" — a defiant contrast to the official culture sponsored by the Communist Party. Grey culture is expressed mostly through punkish fashions, pop art, offbeat fiction, and rock 'n' roll.

The evolution of grey culture has reflected the course of Chinese political life. In 1987, the govern-

ment launched the "anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign" to rid China of "spiritual pollution" from abroad. The tide of the information revolution soon forced the authorities to retreat on the cultural front, but they continued to hold the line against political reform.

In the spring of 1989, a loosely organized democracy movement led by university students challenged them. Like their counterparts in government, many of the students felt that their elite position in society was threatened by economic change. By early June, the movement had taken the form of a mass demonstration in Tiananmen Square in the center of Beijing. Cui Jian, China's most well-known rock performer, played before the crowd wearing a red blindfold. Students erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty to symbolize their quest for democracy. The government responded by calling in the army to break up the protest. Troops killed dozens of people in the square and hundreds of others in nearby streets. Thousands more were arrested.

In the minds of the authorities, grey culture and the democracy movement are closely connected. Since the Tiananmen Square protest, Cui Jian and other rock performers have kept a low profile politically. A Hard Rock Cafe has opened in Beijing, but its customers are mainly foreign tourists and business executives. Meanwhile, private rock parties and slam dancing serve as an indirect form of protest against the government.

What new divisions strain Chinese society?

China's generation gap is only one of the many divisions that have opened up in society since the late 1970s. More serious is the widening gulf between rich and poor. Chinese cities are home today to stark contrasts, just as they were before the communist revolution. Homeless beggars can be found outside the storefronts of millionaire businessmen. Expensive nightclubs have opened for the new elite while ordinary Chinese complain about the dramatic rise in violent crime, drug use, and prostitution.

In the countryside, Chinese peasants look to the cities with envy. Although farmers were the first to benefit from Deng's economic reforms, agricultural modernization has slowed since the mid-1980s. In

many areas, the breakup of collective farms has undercut investment in roads, irrigation canals, and grain silos. Farmers are still not allowed to own land outright, thus discouraging them from spending on long-term improvements. In addition, crop prices have not kept up with the cost of manufactured goods. The average Chinese peasant earns only about one-tenth of the income of city dwellers along China's southeastern coast. Many Chinese villagers hang portraits of Mao in their homes to symbolize their discontent.

"No one likes the old days. But under his [Mao's] leadership at least we all lived the same kind of life. Chairman Mao put the interests of us villagers first."

—Chinese peasant woman

Since the Chinese government gradually freed peasants from travel restrictions, millions of villagers have formed a new class of rootless migrants who either are without land to farm or are looking for opportunity. As many as 150 million of them have abandoned rural life, often floating from city to city. Downtown streets in major Chinese cities are full of "one-day mules" — young men available for day labor at low wages.

In southeastern China, the destination of most migrants from the countryside, conditions recall scenes from the sweatshops of New York or the slaughterhouses of Chicago in the late 1800s. Young women looking for a factory job can expect to work long hours on an assembly line and to sleep in a crowded dormitory above the factory floor. Wages are as low as \$1 a day. Moreover, party officials often collect under-the-table fees of \$1,000 to arrange employment. Many of the young people who do not find a niche in the economy are sucked into China's

growing underclass of criminals, drug addicts, and prostitutes.

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY

The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests shook the confidence of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The level of dissatisfaction among many of China's most gifted university students stunned top officials. Their order to send tanks and troops against the demonstrators left the impression that China's communist rulers could hold onto power only through force. They seemed to be on the wrong side of history. In the months before the Tiananmen demonstrations, communist regimes in Eastern Europe that had been established at about the same time as the People's Republic of China fell one by one to mass movements for democracy.

Today, the people of China are still waiting to see which direction history will take their country. China's economic transformation has brought the country to a political crossroads. The values of Mao Ze-dong no longer hold China together. The generation of influential elders that led the communist revolution is dying out. The vision of a strong, self-



Prisoner #1: "What are you here for?"

Prisoner #2: "I opposed Hu Yaobang. And you?"

Prisoner #3: "I supported him. (Addressing Prisoner #1) What about you?"

Prisoner #1: "I am Hu Yaobang."

(Hu Yaobang was forced to resign as head of the Chinese Communist Party in 1987 after pushing to speed up the pace of reform.)

Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*

reliant communist society has been largely shelved by the generation that has grown up after Mao.

For the time being, the Communist Party remains in control, but its ideology has faded and its authority at the regional and local levels has waned. Meanwhile, there is no clear political roadmap to guide China into the future.

What new problems worry China's communist government?

Mao saw communism as a means for modernizing China under the control of a single-party dictatorship. As in other countries of the poor, developing world, Chinese officials under Mao wanted to apply the benefits of Western technology and science while breaking free of Western imperialism.

Communism served the goals of Mao well. China after the communist revolution was again unified following more than a century of fragmentation. A strong central government was built around the Communist Party. Mao reasserted China's independence from Western influence and took measures to promote modern industry.

The goals of Maoism, however, no longer fit Beijing's strategy for economic reform. China's political system today has more in common with the political systems of other states in East Asia than with China under Mao. Like South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, China has an authoritarian government that emphasizes promoting export industries.

In the coming years, however, China's political system will face several challenges. If the experience of China's East Asian neighbors holds true, pressure for democracy will build as economic progress draws more Chinese into the middle class. South Korea and Taiwan, for example, emerged as economic powerhouses under the rule of one-party dictatorships, but now appear headed toward democratic reform.

In the short term, democracy is seen as less of a threat to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party than is the increasing concentration of power at the provincial and local levels. China's wealthy southeastern provinces, such as Guangdong, hold onto almost all of their tax revenues and receive little from the central government in return. In a few cases, regional trade wars have erupted, with provincial

governments imposing tariffs on goods from neighboring provinces. Smuggling has frustrated Beijing's efforts to collect taxes. In 1994, for example, Chinese officials estimate that 80 billion foreign cigarettes were imported illegally into their country.

"The more we pursue reform and the open door policy...the more we must uphold [the dictatorship of the proletariat]. There must be no weakening at all."

—Jiang Ze-min

Meanwhile, China's national budget deficit has ballooned in recent years. Many of the big state-run factories that supply much of the revenue for the central government are themselves failing. Efforts to reform these factories have brought unemployment to tens of millions. China's leaders are even more worried that the central command of the Chinese army may dissolve, giving rise to the emergence of regional warlords.

What uncertainties followed Deng Xiao-ping's death?

Deng's death added to the sense of uncertainty in China. In contrast to the United States, China's political system is not guided by constitutional principles. China historically has been a society ruled by individuals rather than by laws. With Deng gone, rivals for leadership in China have sought to build support among top Communist Party officials, military generals, provincial leaders, and other powerful circles.

President Jiang has said that he wants to strengthen the rule of law and streamline the economy. The circle around Jiang, however, lacks the political will and the prestige to follow through on much of the unfinished business left behind by Deng. Curbing the power of the Communist Party and trimming the state sector of the economy will be especially difficult.

The Beijing leadership must also keep the peace with rival centers of power. Conservatives within the military, the party bureaucracy, and state-run industries favor slowing the pace of change and reasserting the authority of the party. They face opposition from regional leaders and business tycoons who are riding the wave of China's boom.

Part III: The U.S.-Chinese Agenda

China is impossible to overlook in the international arena. With 21 percent of the world's population, the second- or third-largest economy, and a nuclear arsenal undergoing modernization, China is poised to acquire the strength of a global superpower some time in the new century. For policymakers in the United States and elsewhere, relations with Beijing will be a leading focus.

What remains to be seen, however, is what kind of China will take shape from today's uncertainty. A strong, confident China could act as a force for peace and stability in East Asia and serve as an expanding market for high-tech American exports. Or it could become a regional bully and increasingly seek to challenge U.S. interests around the world. In contrast, a weak, unstable China presents another set of threats. An economic crisis in China could send shock waves throughout the global economy, especially in East Asia. Tens of millions of economic refugees could spill beyond China's borders, with millions of them heading for the United States. A collapse of political authority could draw the world's great powers into the confusion, just as it did in the 19th century.

In this part of the background reading, you will examine the issues that figure most prominently on the U.S.-Chinese agenda.

TRADE TENSIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

For the next few years at least, trade issues are expected to dominate the U.S.-Chinese agenda. Many of them are of very recent origin. During Mao's rule, trade between the two countries was meager. Throughout the 1980s, it grew steadily, with a fairly even balance between imports and exports.

What is China's trading relationship with the United States?

Recent years have witnessed a surge in Chinese exports. Americans in 1999 bought \$81 billion in Chinese products — over one-third of China's exports worldwide. Without access to the U.S. market, China would have registered a trade deficit.

Most of the Chinese-made goods were low-

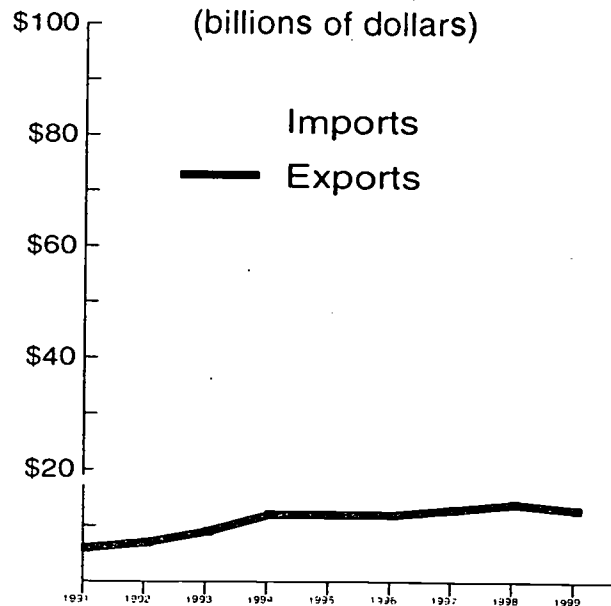
priced manufactured items, such as clothing, toys, shoes, telephones, and consumer electronics. China's labor costs in manufacturing average less than 50 cents an hour, compared to more than \$18 an hour in the United States. The U.S. trade deficit with China widened to \$68.7 billion in 1999 — second only to our country's trade deficit with Japan.

American exports to China have expanded rapidly as well, approaching \$13.1 billion in 1999. Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and other aviation companies have recorded billions of dollars in aircraft sales to the Chinese in the 1990s. Communications giant AT&T views China — not the United States — as its fastest-growing market.

How do U.S. and Chinese approaches to international trade differ?

Even as U.S.-Chinese trade ties multiply, the attitudes of the two countries toward international commerce remain sharply divided. Since World War II, U.S. leaders have strongly defended the principle of free trade. The United States has maintained comparatively low import tariffs and has opened its market to goods from around the world. In contrast, Chinese leaders have pursued a much more closed

U.S. Trade with China, 1991-1999
(billions of dollars)



Data from the U.S. Department of Commerce

trade policy. Like the United States in the 1800s, China until recently imposed import tariffs averaging over 30 percent to protect Chinese industries against foreign competition.

Since the late 1970s, Chinese leaders have taken steps to bring their country into the global economic mainstream. In 1986, China opened negotiations to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), the body that sets the ground rules for global trade and includes more than 130 member states.

The United States has viewed China's membership in the WTO as being beneficial to the United States not only because it would advance American business interests, but because it would promote the rule of law and integrate China in the international system. For China, participation in the WTO would help to strengthen the internal economic reform process and China's position as an international economic competitor.

The United States has prodded China to reduce its import tariffs on manufactured goods roughly in half. In addition, the United States wants Beijing to open China's banking, insurance, and telecommunications industries to outside competition. Such a move would cut into the profits of powerful interests within China, including the military.

What trade conflicts have strained U.S. relations with China?

U.S. pressure on China has brought the two countries to the brink of a trade war in recent years over violations of intellectual property rights in China. American music industry executives charge that hundreds of millions of compact discs and cassette tapes were copied illegally in China in the 1990s. In addition, U.S. computer software producers estimate that 91 percent of the software used in China in 1999 was copied illegally—a process known as pirating.

Prompted by U.S. threats to raise tariffs on more than \$1 billion worth of Chinese exports, Beijing has carried out several well-publicized raids on copyright pirates. American business groups, however, contend that the crackdowns are largely for show. They claim that companies profiting from copyright pirating are often closely connected to the military, secret police, and local governments.



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In addition to concern about intellectual property rights violations, U.S. officials have complained that Chinese clothing manufacturers frequently sell their goods below cost on the international market. The purpose of this practice—known as dumping—is to drive their competitors out of business. China also contributes to the destruction of endangered wildlife by importing rhinoceros horns, tiger organs, and other animal parts for use in Chinese folk medicines.

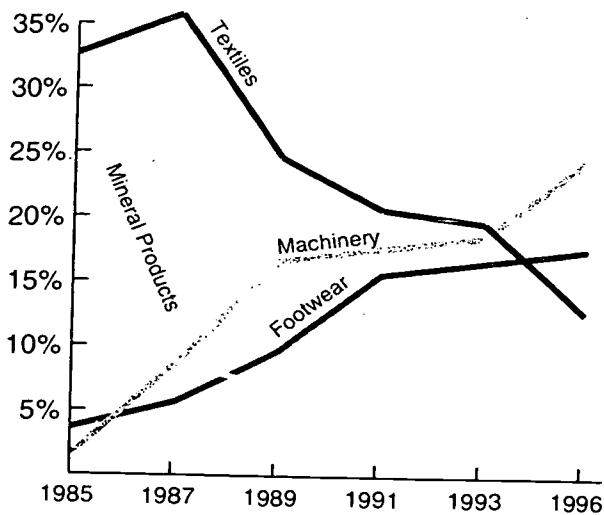
How have human rights affected U.S.-China trade relations?

China's human rights record has been a central feature of the U.S.-Chinese trade picture since 1989. After the government crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square, President George Bush stopped sales of military equipment and nuclear technology to China, as well as foreign aid.

Anger in Congress toward the Chinese leadership was much stronger. Until 2000, Congress annually reviewed China's most-favored-nation status (which allows countries to export goods to the United States at the lowest tariff rates) as a means of pressuring China's leaders to change their policies at home.

Data from the U.S. Department of Commerce

China's Exports to the U.S.



"We will never have a completely normal relationship with them [China's leaders] until they have a better human rights policy."

—Madeleine Albright, secretary of state

Human rights organizations have drawn up a long list of complaints against China. Their sources indicate that China holds thousands of political prisoners, many of whom were active in the democracy movement of 1989. China also has a history of using prison labor to manufacture export goods and of suppressing religious freedom.

Of particular concern is China's policy toward the region of Tibet. The Tibetans are an ancient people best known for their devotion to Buddhism and to their highland plateau, which lies to the north of the Himalayan Mountains in what is today southwestern China. The Tibetans enjoyed autonomy for centuries, but in 1950 Chinese troops overran their homeland. Communist officials have ruthlessly attempted to erase Tibet's distinctive culture. After a rebellion in 1959, hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were killed or imprisoned. Thousands of monasteries, temples, and other examples of Tibetan architecture also were destroyed. Since the 1980s, Beijing's policies have been aimed at promoting the migration of thousands of ethnic Chinese to Tibet. The Tibetans are now a minority in the region.

In 1997, human rights groups spearheaded a campaign that led Clinton to appoint a "special coordinator" on Tibet. Concerns continued to grow in 1998, when Chinese authorities, worried about social unrest, unemployment, and the upcoming 10th anniversary of Tiananmen, moved to restrain political dissent. The Department of State's most recent annual report on human rights concluded that China is one of the world's worst human rights offenders.

Why did President Clinton reverse his stand on trade and human rights in China?

As a presidential candidate in 1992, Bill Clinton argued that China's most-favored-nation status should be linked to Beijing's human rights record. As president, he signed an executive order in 1993 that required China to achieve "significant progress" on human rights in order for its most-favored-nation status to be renewed in 1994. China's use of prison labor and the emigration restrictions that prevented leading Chinese political dissidents from leaving the country topped America's list of concerns. The United States also raised the issues of Tibet, the treatment of political prisoners, and the jamming of radio and television broadcasts from abroad.

However, when the showdown came over China's trade status, President Clinton retreated. He conceded that China had not met the conditions called for in his executive order, but he went ahead and renewed China's most-favored-nation status. He also announced that he would oppose future attempts to link U.S.-Chinese trade with human rights issues.

"Will we do more to advance the cause of human rights if China is isolated or if our nations are engaged in a growing web of political and economic cooperation and contacts?"

—Bill Clinton

Most American business leaders also oppose linking trade with human rights issues. They contend that American companies cannot afford to be shut out of the Chinese market, especially when there is little support internationally for a tough stance on human rights.

What was the impact of Congressional approval of permanent normal trading status for China?

In September 2000, the United States Congress approved permanent normal trading status for China, a policy pursued by President Clinton and necessary for China to join the WTO. While China is anxious to join, Beijing has argued that the WTO's admission standards should be eased for China. China wants to be grouped with other, poor developing countries and given extra time to lower protectionist trade barriers. The United States and most of its allies maintain that China is ready to play by the same rules applied to wealthy countries.

Human rights organizations, labor activists, and conservatives make the case that by granting permanent normal trading status the United States has given up an opportunity to steer China toward greater openness and freedom.

SECURITY PRIORITIES

While trade and human rights issues have dominated the headlines of U.S.-Chinese relations, U.S. policymakers have often placed more emphasis on military concerns. China's defense budget has increased steadily in the 1990s, growing at about the same rate as the overall economy. In 1999, Beijing spent nearly \$30 billion on its military. (The U.S. defense budget for 1999 was \$277 billion.)

How is China a security threat?

By all accounts, China is many years away from matching the technological sophistication of the U.S. military. China's air force and navy continues to rely on equipment developed in the 1960s. Its defense spending, according to most estimates, is still behind that of Japan. Chinese leaders, however, seem committed to a long-term program of military modernization. They have moved to trim their armed forces to about 2.5 million soldiers and enhance their ability to strike quickly in a crisis. Their policies could soon tip the balance of power in East Asia.

China's nuclear weapons have attracted particular attention. In terms of explosive force, China has the third most powerful nuclear arsenal in the world.

(China has 450 nuclear warheads, compared to 10,400 for Russia and 9,150 for the United States.) Chinese leaders intend to develop a nuclear missile with multiple warheads and a longer range submarine-launched missile. Indian leaders fear that China's growing nuclear might is directed against their own country and, in-turn, have pressed ahead with India's nuclear program.

China has also become a key player in the international arms market. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, China has become a major customer for high-tech Russian military equipment. Beijing has been especially eager to acquire Russian warplanes, submarines, and long-range missile technology.

"If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the [nuclear] bomb."

—Mao Ze-dong

At the same time, Chinese weapons exports are well-known worldwide. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), China is the largest source of technology for developing countries seeking to build up arsenals of long-range missiles, chemical weapons, or nuclear bombs. CIA evidence also indicates that China has played a key role in helping Pakistan produce missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads within a range of 185 miles.

Why did President Clinton allow the sale of nuclear technology to China?

The Clinton administration avoided a direct confrontation with Beijing over security issues. When President Jiang visited Washington in 1997, Clinton applauded China's pledge to phase out its nuclear assistance to Iran. In return, he lifted a ban on sales of nuclear energy technology to China. Clinton's decision cleared the way for American companies to compete for construction contracts in China's rapidly expanding nuclear energy sector. The agreement gives China access to America's most advanced non-military nuclear technology.

President Clinton believed that this approach would help bring Beijing's policies in line with the

world's other major nuclear powers. In the 1990s, China has signed international treaties on controlling the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and long-range missile technology. U.S. diplomacy was especially effective in convincing President Jiang to reject the advice of many of his top generals and in 1996 to sign an agreement banning nuclear testing.

"It is no easy task for our two countries [China and America] to really understand each other."

—Jiang Ze-min

However, in the spring of 1999, a congressional committee released a report detailing allegations of extensive Chinese theft of secrets and spying at U.S. nuclear weapons laboratories. The Cox report, named for committee chairman Representative Christopher Cox (R-CA), created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust in the Congress. Many who had been strong supporters of the policy of engagement with China began to re-examine their thinking. Other members of Congress used this moment to reintroduce their concerns about human rights.

CHINA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

Under Mao Ze-dong, China presented itself as a model for the poor, developing countries of the Third World. The image, however, never sat well with many Chinese. They preferred to think of China as a country with a tradition of past greatness that would eventually return to its former status. Chinese leaders in recent years have indeed begun to reassert their country's voice in international relations, primarily in East Asia.

Before the arrival of the Western powers in China, the sphere of influence of the Chinese empire included Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, and Nepal. These states were considered "tributaries" of China, and honored the emperor by regularly sending officials bearing lavish gifts to the Chinese capital.

How is China extending its regional influence?

China today is seeking to extend its influence over many of the areas that historically fell under its

control. China has been especially assertive in staking its claims to two chains of tiny islands in the South China Sea. The islands, known as the Spratlys and the Paracels, reportedly lie atop rich oil deposits. Five of China's neighbors — Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei — have made their own claims on the islands, but China has shown little willingness to negotiate a settlement. In 1988, China seized six of the islands in the Spratly chain.

More recently, Beijing has undertaken a build-up of its navy and increased its presence in the South China Sea. China's attention to its naval forces has U.S. officials worried. Since World War II, the United States has been the leading naval power in East Asia. A Chinese bid to challenge U.S. dominance could set off an arms race in the region.

How does Hong Kong figure on the U.S.-Chinese agenda?

In 1997, Great Britain returned Hong Kong to China after controlling the territory for 150 years. Reunification has been complicated. The former colony of 6.4 million people is an international financial and manufacturing center. Before reunification, it was the largest single foreign investor in China and the gateway for much of China's international trade. Politically, Hong Kong's residents have shown their determination to defend the democratic freedoms they won in the last years of British rule.

China's leaders are eager to take advantage of Hong Kong's economic power and yet are worried



A perspective from Hong Kong on the threat of Chinese press censorship.

about the former colony's dynamism. Beijing officials have promised to preserve Hong Kong's uniqueness through a policy of "one country, two systems." At the same time, they have crafted election laws to ensure that Hong Kong's legislature will support Beijing.

U.S. officials have voiced concern that China may snuff out Hong Kong's open society. From Beijing's perspective, the fear seems to be that Hong Kong's vibrant brand of capitalism and democracy may fuel momentum for political change in China. Indeed, most of the Chinese troops stationed in the former colony have been positioned to block Chinese from flooding into Hong Kong.

Why is Taiwan a special problem?

The status of Taiwan represents a more long-term problem in East Asian affairs. Since losing its seat in the United Nations to China in 1971, Taiwan has existed in a sort of international limbo. Economically, it is a powerhouse. The country is one of the top ten exporters in the world and its 21 million people enjoy a per capita income about five times higher than that of the citizens of China.

The governments of Taiwan and China, however, both officially maintain that they represent China. Foreign countries and international organizations have been forced to choose which government to recognize. After the Korean War, the United States was Taiwan's key ally, providing billions of dollars in military aid to Chiang Kai-shek's government in Taipei, Taiwan's capital. President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 set in motion a change in U.S. diplomacy. In 1978, the United States broke relations with Taiwan and recognized China a few months later. Most other countries have adopted the same position. However, concerned about the future of Taiwan, Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act in March 1979 which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and provided American assurances for Taiwan's security.

Taiwan has responded to the shift in international policy by seeking to strengthen its economic and cultural ties worldwide. Taiwan's economy has continued to boom, even though Taipei has been forced out of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international organizations.

Officially, China, Taiwan, and the United States are committed to the eventual reunification of China and Taiwan. The lack of progress toward reunification, however, has convinced Taiwanese leaders that they should think of their country as an independent state separate from China. In recent years, they have explored the possibility of rejoining the United Nations. In July 1999, the Taiwanese President stated that relations between Taiwan and China needed to be considered as state-to-state. The United States immediately reiterated our commitment to a one-China policy.

Chinese leaders have warned that they will use force to block Taipei's drive for full-fledged independence from the mainland. China's naval expansion and military maneuvers near Taiwan are viewed as part of a larger strategy to intimidate the Taipei government. For its part, Taiwan has built a defense force of 425,000 troops equipped with sophisticated weapons, many of them from the United States. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which totaled nearly \$2.4 billion in 1999 and over \$10 billion during the last decade, have been a constant irritant in U.S.-Chinese relations.

Apart from its firm stance on reunification, Beijing has welcomed the billions of dollars that Taiwanese businesses have invested in Chinese industry. Chinese leaders have also lowered barriers to travel and communications between their country and Taiwan.

What is China's current international position?

China remains a wild card in the international arena. Chinese exports of missile technology and violations of global trade standards have cast China as a reckless outsider in the international community. At the same time, China has played a cooperative role in addressing crises in North Korea, Cambodia, Bosnia, the Persian Gulf, and other hot spots.

China's seat on the UN Security Council gives Beijing veto power over critical decisions of the UN. The UN's expanded involvement in international peacekeeping in the 1990s has made China's position on the Security Council all the more important.

China has not contributed troops to UN peacekeeping missions, but the Beijing government has generally gone along with the other members of the Security Council. Before the 1991 Persian Gulf War,

the UN's most significant military operation since the Korean War, the Chinese did not block U.S. efforts to form an international coalition against Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

Closer to home for China's leaders has been the confrontation over North Korea's development of nuclear weapons. China joined with the United States and Japan in 1994 to pressure North Korea's communist leadership to freeze its nuclear program in exchange for two nuclear energy reactors. China's exports of oil and food to North Korea give Beijing a crucial role in negotiations with North Korea.

How did the Kosovo conflict affect U.S.-China relations?

The Chinese government strongly opposed NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999. The bombing campaign, designed to force the Yugoslav government to respect the human rights of ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo, was regarded by the Chinese as a violation of a sovereign nation's right to handle its own internal affairs. Chinese leaders, under constant international scrutiny for their own human rights' record, may have worried that this precedent of international interference could threaten Chinese rule in Tibet.

In addition, many in China considered the mistaken bombing of the Chinese embassy and death of three Chinese citizens in Yugoslavia during the Kosovo conflict by U.S.-led NATO forces to be no mistake. In response, protestors in Beijing threw rocks and bottles at the U.S. Embassy and kept the American ambassador and his staff inside for several days. President Clinton's apology, which acknowledged the tragedy, seemed inadequate and insincere to many Chinese. Despite numerous trips to Beijing by American officials offering explanations and apologies for the embassy bombing, China suspended until the fall of 1999 all talks with the United States on human rights, arms control, and trade.

How does China affect the global environment?

China's economic growth has also become an international issue. China has fueled its industrial

expansion mainly with coal and oil. From 1970 to 1990, Chinese energy consumption increased 208 percent. China now produces more than 12 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, mostly from burning coal. By 2010, China is expected to account for 20 percent of carbon dioxide emissions (about the same proportion the United States currently emits). Scientists believe that the build-up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will lead to global warming and severely harm the earth's environment.

China is already shaking up the international market for energy and food. Since the mid-1970s, China's population control program has substantially lowered the country's birth rate. Nonetheless, China's population of 1.23 billion continues to grow by 12 million a year. Meanwhile, China's new wealth has allowed the Chinese people to become more demanding consumers, turning China into an importer of oil and food.

The trend is likely to continue. China is expected to have nearly 50 million vehicles by 2010, pushing it into the ranks of a major oil importer. China will also have to import more grain to feed livestock as prosperous Chinese acquire a greater appetite for meat.

CONCLUSION

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy towards China. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore in the next part of this unit is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and our stake in China. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy.

At the end of this unit, you will be asked to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from several options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide. There are, of course, no perfect solutions.

Advanced Study Guide — Part I
The History of U.S.-Chinese Relations

1. Why has the issue of U.S.-Chinese relations taken on greater importance in recent years?
2. Why did the Opium War of 1839-42 mark a turning point in China's relations with the outside world?
3. How did the values and the policies of the United States contribute to the rise of Chinese nationalism?
4. What were the main reasons that the United States made little effort to support the government of Chiang Kai-shek against the communists in the late 1940s?
5. What was the impact of the Korean War on U.S.-Chinese relations?
6. Explain the reasons why Richard Nixon and Deng Xiao-ping each pressed for an improvement in U.S.-Chinese relations in the 1970.

Nixon:

Deng:

Study Guide - Part II China's Transformation

1. After the death of Mao Ze-dong in 1976, _____ eventually emerged as China's leader and ruled until his death in 1997.

2. Why did Deng Xiao-ping see the need to reform China's economy?

3. Describe how the following areas of China's economy were reformed:
 - a. agriculture

 - b. industry & commerce

4. What have been the benefits of these reforms?

5. What elements of communism remain in China's economy? Why does the government provide such protections?

6. Describe two problems for China's government that are the results of economic reform.
 - a.
 - b.
7. What beliefs and attitudes are expressed by China's youth through the "grey culture"?
8. Why do many rural Chinese peasants envy those who live in the cities?
9. What problems await peasants who move to the city in search of work and a better life?
10. How will the following political problems challenge China's government in the years ahead?
 - a. pressures for democracy
 - b. power at the provincial and local levels
 - c. budget deficit
 - d. command of the Chinese army

Study Guide — Part III

The U.S.-China Agenda

1. Define and explain the significance of the following terms.

Term	Brief Definition	Significance in U.S.-China Relations
Free Trade		
WTO		
Tariff		
Most-favored-nation status		
Intellectual property rights		

2. The graph on page 18, "U.S. Trade with China, 1991-1999" shows that the United States:

- a. imports more from China than it exports
- b. exports more to China than it imports

Explain your reasoning:

3. Why has the United States favored China's membership in the WTO?

Day 3

4. List two complaints that human rights organizations have against China.
 - a.
 - b.

5. Why has Taiwan often been a source of friction between China and the United States?

6. List three reasons why China is a security concern.
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.

7. How does the cartoon on page 22 express a concern about the future of Hong Kong?

8. In 1979 the U.S. _____ diplomatic relations with Taiwan. That same year the U.S. Congress passed the _____ Act. Why did the Congress do this?

9. China's seat on the UN Security Council gives Beijing _____ power over critical decisions of the UN. The UN's expanded involvement in international _____ in the 1990s has made China's position on the Security Council all the more important.

10. What information was contained in the Cox Report?

11. Give two reasons why China is likely to have a significant impact on the global environment.
 - a.
 - b.

Foreign Policy/McCorry
Format for Final Presentations

Worth: 50 points

Enforced time limit (minimum 10 minutes – maximum 15 minutes including questions).

Overview: In pairs, select a topic that is of interest in Asia. You should follow the same procedure you have used for writing papers in this class. That is, choose a topic that is manageable. Once you select a country – make sure that you have a clear question that is narrow enough in scope for you to fully comprehend the research and are able to clearly explain it to your peers.

Timeline:

Submit topic on Tuesday.

Feedback returned on Wednesday – today. Revise question topic as necessary.

Research – again, go to academic journals first. Foreign Affairs, Current History, plus there are many regional journals –easily found at the public library – use them. Even with a strong bias – you can more quickly absorb the major themes, issues that are involved. Then head to weekly magazines – try The Christian Science Monitor. Do not have the majority of your research based on just one *type* of source (many of you refer to CNN, the Economist, etc.... There are also plenty of great books. You only have to read a great section and/or skim several to get good info – so don't be put off. Work with your partner – to get clarification and to help each other understand difficult content.

Monday: Begin planning presentation. What will you use to get ideas across in an interesting and meaningful fashion. Power Point? Transparencies? (use as would power pt – do not write everything down that you are stating – just main ideas). Maps, xerox a guided outline for your peers, etc... In what order will you present? Organize talking points on index cards – as you are NOT TO READ.

Wednesday: Presentations with a few minutes to spare and evaluate course. Grades posted before you graduate (just kidding).

Presentation Requirements:

Introduction: Let the class in on the question or approach you took in trying to understand the topic. Briefly preview what you will cover (1 minute).

History Content: Be sure to include the relevant history that is directly related to your topic and information that is indirectly related that maybe important to context. Ask me – if you are not sure before Friday. Not every historical detail is needed, -- part of your grade will be based on how well you are able to identify the information that is essential

to addressing your question or questions. Your summary and analysis is what is important here.

Current Issues: What are the hot button issues in this region – now? What is the impact of the current political/economic climate on your country? On the political front –what groups are players? What groups are left out? On the economic front – what challenges are still ahead? Don't merely summarize what you have read – interpret and analyze it.

If there is conflict or threat of conflict – what appears to be the source of the conflict? What are the respective views of the major players in the conflict?

US Policy (UN): What is our policy? What should it be? If the UN or other organizations are playing a role – be sure to identify the UN role and evaluate it.

Conclusion: What issues should we watch for in the future?
Relevant visuals – required and creative ways of communicating information
an added bonus.

Grading Criteria:

Content: Salient/relevant history is discussed and clearly communicated to the class.

US policy connection is clearly explained. (As noted in class – we may not have a clear policy – if you were part of the US foreign policy decision making team – where would you like to see us heading?)

Annotated Bibliography and source material: Nice breadth and depth -- see above. A variety of sources and types of sources.

Delivery: Enthusiastic! Eye contact with individuals in class, no reading, topics well organized and delivered in a fashion that is interesting to listen to. SLOW DOWN – do not talk too quickly!

McCorry/US Foreign Policy
China News Analysis Topics:

Should China replace the USSR as a new threat to the US?

What are the implications of China's admittance to the WTO?

China's emerging economy: Capitalist, Communist, Both?

Significance of the Wen Ho Lee Spy Case – impact on US/Chinese Relations

China and Taiwan: Does strategic ambiguity work?

China's "War on Terrorism" – our policy pre and post 9/11

Spy Plane Incident: 2 perspectives – US and Chinese perspectives compared and contrasted.

Impact of National Missile Defense on US/China relations.

Is a new China emerging in the Three Represents?

Rural China unlocking the key to revolution in the fields....

(This is merely a sampler of possible topics students can choose for their presentations -- or they may come up with their own).

Foreign Policy/McCorry
Evaluation Form Final Presentations

Overview: In pairs, select a topic that is of interest in Asia. You should follow the same procedure you have used for writing papers in this class. That is, choose a topic that is manageable. Once you select a country – make sure that you have a clear question that is narrow enough in scope for you to fully comprehend the research and are able to clearly explain it to your peers.

Introduction: Briefly previewed your topic. This may/should include the question you were attempting to understand.

History Content: Relevant history, directly and indirectly related to your topic – necessary to understand context.

Choices major as opposed to minor details

Analysis

Delivery: (Enthusiastic, Presented not read, Eye contact, Creative and Interesting):

Clear and easy to understand

Visuals (supports presentation – can be read by students from back of room)

Time limit met

Current Issues: What are the hot button issues in this region – now? What is the impact of the current political/economic climate on your country?

Key Player(s)

Conflicts

Challenges

Successes

US Policy (UN): What is our policy? What should it be? If the UN or other organizations are playing a role – be sure to identify the UN role and evaluate it.

Wrapping up and looking to the future: What issues should we watch for in the future?

Overall interpretation and analysis:

Bibliography: Quality of sources – depth and breadth

Final Grade:



PBS Home

Search

Programs A-Z

TV Schedules

Shop

Membership

FRONTLINE

Learning Resources
TEACHERS' GUIDE

resources

Resources

Books/Articles

Fitzgerald, John. "China and the Quest for Dignity," in National Interest, Spring 1999. Interesting essay on the development of nationalism in contemporary China.

Lampton, David M. Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001. Detailed, authoritative study of this period of U.S.-China relations by a leading academic and policy specialist in the field.

Mann, James. About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton. New York: Knopf, 1999. Enlightening account by a respected diplomatic correspondent for the Los Angeles Times about the narrow social base on which the U.S. rebuilt its relationship with China during the 1970s and 1980s.

Niu, Jun. "Suspicion: Present Chinese Understanding of and Reflection on the United States," from China and World Economy, No. 5, 2001. A review of recent U.S.-China relations from a Chinese perspective by specialist on international

About "Dangerous Straits"
An introduction to the FRONTLINE documentary

Background
Historical context in which to learn about U.S.-China relations, an overview of the key issues between the two countries, and information on the recent strains in the United States' relationship with China

Lesson Plan
Students are asked to prepare policy briefs for their U.S. representatives; to learn about the art and practice of diplomacy; and to engage in meaningful debate about U.S.-China relations.

Resources

- Books/Articles
- On the Web

Glossary
Short descriptions of the key terms and historical figures

China Daily

www1.chinadaily.com.cn

This newspaper is published in Beijing and represents Chinese government perspectives. Its search engine will return all kinds of topics relevant to this project. The homepage (lower right side) has hot links to other Chinese communications media, including Xinhua News xinhuanet.com.cn, various information agencies, and TV/radio sources.

Dialog@Carl News Collection

dialog.carl.org:3018

This subscriber service provides full text of over 115 national and international newspapers and news services. It is available at your public library and may well also be online at your school library. The Asian news services include Asia Intelligence Wire, Asia-Pacific News (covers 10 Asia regional newspapers and agencies including the China Daily PRC, the China News Taiwan, and the Central News Agency Taiwan), The South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), and Xinhua News Agency (PRC). An advantage of this service is that you can search up to 6 data bases simultaneously.

The Economist

www.economist.com

If your school subscribes to this resource, it is worth consulting. The Economist is a leading weekly English language journal for informed commentary on worldwide political and economic topics. (Current articles are free; to use the search engine costs \$4.95 a week or \$59 a year to subscribe.)

Far Eastern Economic Review

www.feer.com

Outstanding weekly journal published in Hong Kong. Provides broad review of developments throughout East Asia. Use its search engine to find relevant articles on China. (Free)

Inside China Today

www.europeaninternet.com

From EuropeanInternet.com. This source draws heavily on European wire services. It contains such resources as "Sino-U.S. Relations Since 1971" and many up-to-date news stories on China today. (There is a small registration fee to join this

relations at Beijing University, who is well regarded by colleagues in the field in both countries. (Available on the Web at <http://www.iwep.org.cn/wec/>.)

Schaller, Michael. The United States and China in the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1990. Good brief survey of U.S.-China relations.

Shambaugh, David. "The United States and China: Cooperation or Confrontation?" from The China Reader: The Reform Era. Orville Schell and David Shambaugh, ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1999. 470-479. Originally published in Current History, September 1997. Analysis of U.S.-China relations during the mid-1990s by an expert in the field, with insight into American opposition to China.

Starr, John Bryan. Understanding China: a Guide to China's Economy, History, and Political Structure. New York: Hill and Wang, 1997. Excellent general introduction. Chapter 16, on China's foreign relations, describes the range of interest groups in the shaping of Chinese foreign policy and discusses Chinese commercial and strategic priorities.

Tyler, Patrick. A Great Wall -- an Investigative History. New York: The Century Foundation, 1999. Account by a well-informed New York Times correspondent of how six recent U.S. administrations struggled to guide U.S.-China policy through a series of diplomatic and military challenges.

On the Web

Asiaweek

www.asiaweek.com

Weekly journal with provocative but thinner coverage than Far Eastern Economic Review. Use its search engine to bring up articles on a specific topic.

Central Intelligence Agency Factbook, China

www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ch.html

This source gives basic information culled by U.S. government researchers about contemporary China on a variety of topics. Up to date to July 2001.

service.)

The New York Times

www.nytimes.com

Typing "spy plane incident in China" into search engine, and choosing current year to date for the date range, brought up 93 articles (as of 9/21/01). (Free, but requires registration.)

South China Morning Post

www.scmp.com

Outstanding newspaper published in Hong Kong. Typing in "spy plane incident" into its search engine brought up 83 entries (as of 9/21/2001).

Trade Information Center, U.S. Department of Commerce

www.ita.doc.gov/td/tic

Major source for information on U.S. international trade.

World Bank

www.worldbank.com

This source provides considerable information on China's economy.

NOTE: There are many other URLs giving information about China. Don't believe everything you read in them. The Web sites of major journals and information agencies give the same information that is published in print and have the reputation of the journal or agency behind them.

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200

PERSPECTIVES

We really loved you, you know, but you killed our people
Wang Dan, a 26-year-old Beijing M.B.A. student who protested in front of the U.S. Embassy there while dressed in Levi's jeans and Nike shoes

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ATERAL DAMAGE UPDATE:

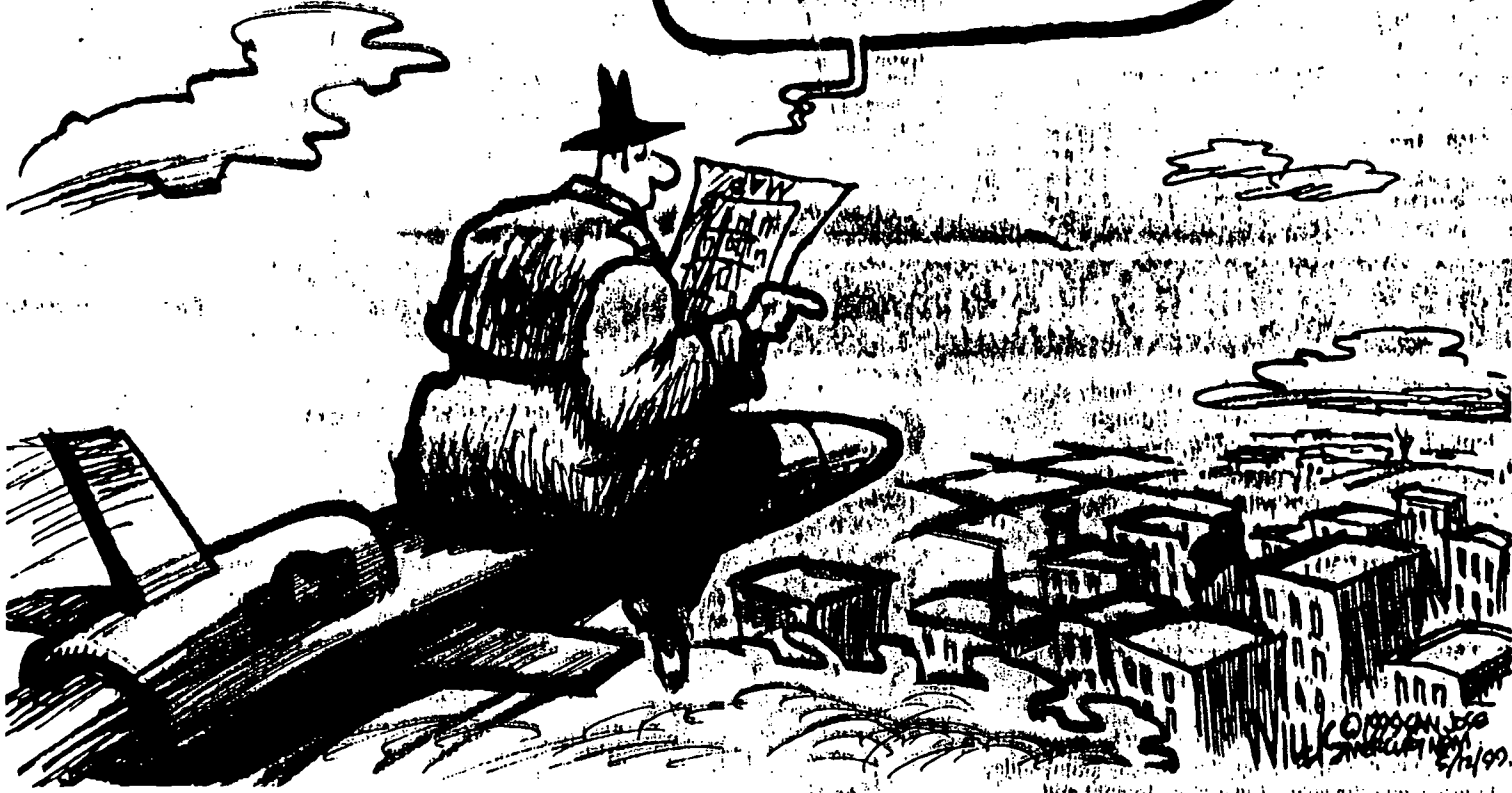


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ADVANCED C.I.A.
GUIDANCE SYSTEM

...THE HEADQUARTERS OF
THE YUGOSLAV ARMS
AGENCY MUST BE THAT
BIG BUILDING WITH THE
CHINESE FLAG FLYING
OVER IT...



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China and the U.S.: what priorities in a changing relationship?

As China rises to become potentially the next superpower, what are the implications for U.S. policy?

by Steven M. Goldstein



PRESIDENTIAL PLEASANTRIES: Jiang Zemin and Bill Clinton at joint press conference during Jiang's recent visit to the U.S.

THE OCTOBER 1997 visit to Washington, D.C., by China's president and party chief, Jiang Zemin, was intended to mark a new page in Sino-American relations, which had drifted from crisis to crisis since 1989. However, in the end, the major issues in the relationship remained unresolved. Summits, of course, are al-

most always symbolic affairs that produce little in the way of substance. Still, the absence of weighty decisions at this meeting reflects the deep differences that separate two countries whose stable relationship is vital not only to their own interests, but to the post-cold-war global and regional order.

'Rising China': A foreign policy challenge

China's leaders see the nation as a "rising power" and as the victim of an international and regional system, which it has neither acceded to nor helped to construct. They believe that China's

growing status entitles it to an important role in determining the shape of the Asian and international system.

A few simple statistics tell the story of China's rise. Now the world's third-largest economy, China is expected to surpass Japan and become second to the U.S. within the next decade. Its present population of 1.2 billion constitutes not only a source of inexpensive labor, but, if the economy continues to grow according to past performance, China will become the largest consumer market in the world in the early 21st century. With ambitious development plans on the drawing board, it may also become a market of unprecedented size for capital goods—an estimated \$700 billion in the next decade.

Economic growth may provide the sinews for political/strategic influence. Although analysts disagree over the quality, quantity and pace of military modernization, it is generally agreed that defense spending (including purchases abroad) has increased since the Persian Gulf war in 1990-91. Beijing, China's capital, seeks a better-trained, more technologically sophisticated and better-armed military. The size of China's standing army, its extensive involvement in the international arms trade and its possession of nuclear weapons since 1964 are reason enough for the world to take careful note.

Over the past two decades China has become an active member in numerous international organizations. It participates in approximately 50 governmental and some 1,000 nongovernmental organizations, ranging from the United Nations, where, as a permanent member of the Security Council since 1971, it has a veto, to the World Bank. China's emergence has shaped and will continue to shape the nature of, and the UN response to, a broad number of global issues ranging from arms control/proliferation and international crime to the environment and the viability of the UN organization itself.

In the Asia-Pacific region, China looms even larger. Its population represents 65% of a region encompassing Japan, the Southeast Asian nations, Taiwan and the Korean peninsula. Its landmass is 68% of the same area. Although its economic power does not match its size, it still produces close to 40% of the Asia-Pacific's gross domestic product (GDP) and approximately

STEVEN M. GOLDSTEIN, professor of government at Smith College, has written widely on Chinese foreign policy, domestic politics and revolutionary history. He is a member of the editorial board of *The China Quarterly* and *The Journal of Contemporary China*.

20% of its exports. However, finding a place for a rapidly emerging China in the region involves issues that go beyond economics. Rivalries and distrust are abundant in Asia (particularly in the Sino-Japanese relationship); past conflicts continue to fester (especially with respect to the issue of Taiwan); and China has become more aggressive (including engaging in an armed conflict with Vietnam and staking its claim to areas in the South China Sea that extend as far as Indonesia and could give it control of crucial international sea-lanes).

Of course, there are uncertainties about China's rise. The most serious of these is whether China can sustain past economic growth and remain a major power in the world economy. It faces serious problems, which include still unreformed, debt-ridden state-owned enterprises, up to 100 million migrant workers and growing unemployment. If China falters in resolving these issues, its future must be reconsidered.

Still, if China's ascent continues, the implications for American foreign policy will be enormous. Today, few would argue (as some did almost a decade ago) that Washington can ignore China. In contrast to the past, the U.S. is now the only superpower in the world. If China represents a rising nation, then the U.S. represents a status quo power. Beijing's dissatisfaction with the present and demands for change will, thus, inevitably be directed at America. In short, some kind of "conflict" between the two nations can be expected as a result of the roles into which the international system has cast them.

The nature of such a conflict, however, is still unsettled. Beijing has, in many important areas, adjusted to international norms and organizations. In others, it remains defiant. It is unclear whether China's leaders will be satisfied with a restructuring of the existing international system through adjustments and mutually acceptable compromise, or whether they will demand revolutionary change that could endanger others' interests and thus increase the threat of armed conflict. This could be the case with issues ranging from the Taiwan question to territorial disputes in the South China Sea to concerns arising out of Beijing's deep distrust of greater Japanese participation in Asia. No outcome is predetermined.

and leaders on both sides must address outstanding differences so that Sino-American relations do not stumble toward crisis.

For the U.S., this will require changing its image of China. In the past, American policymakers have seen it as either a weakened nation victimized by others; a proxy for, and then an exceptionally virulent strain of, the international Communist threat (China was the target of security treaties with two major Asian nations, South Korea and Japan); or a strategic partner opposing Soviet ambitions in East Asia. What U.S. policymakers have not seen for at least two centuries has been a globally involved and regionally integrated strong China.

Containment or engagement?

Although there is little disagreement on the growth of China's importance, Americans are sharply divided over the appropriate U.S. response. The two broad opposing policy approaches are containment and engagement. Although both of these schools contain subtly different approaches, they have become the principal bases for the debate on America's China policy.

Those advocating containment premise their argument on projections of China's future development and the diplomatic approach appropriate to it. Although some who favor containment see China lashing out in frustration due to failed domestic development, most believe that the future will see a continuation of growth that will provide China with the wherewithal to become a dominant military force in Asia. Based on its past uses of force, as well as belligerent statements from Beijing, they assume that China is a revolutionary state that will use newly acquired military, political and economic power to upset, rather than join, the existing global and regional systems. As such, China cannot be relied upon to observe arms-control agreements, international fair-trade practices and human-rights conventions or, in general, to act as a responsible nation.

The U.S. response, they argue, should be to strengthen alliance systems in Asia directed against China; strive to maintain military dominance there; check aggressive behavior in trouble spots such as Taiwan or the South

China Sea; place strict conditions on China's admission to international organizations; limit economic relations with China so as not to provide wealth to feed military growth; support "democratic forces"; and press hard on human rights. Although the precise endgame of this approach is not clear, some advocates feel that international pressure might induce domestic change in China, leading to a more open and internationally cooperative government. However, for the near term, China must be confronted, in this view. To seek common ground with China will only encourage and/or actually finance a growing threat.

Those who argue for engagement underscore that the U.S. and China share many common global and regional interests. These range from environmental concerns to peace on the Korean peninsula to stability in the Middle East. While recognizing that at times China has disregarded international rules and norms, those who argue for engagement highlight the many areas in which China has been willing to work with the international community. While cautioning that even though some in the Chinese leadership incline toward confrontation and certain bureaucracies pursue policies without the approval of the central government, there are also political forces in China seeking to adjust to the international system. Some supporters of an engagement policy argue that economic modernization will eventually strengthen the forces in China that are willing to adapt to international norms, and they advocate American support for Beijing's efforts to develop legal and bureaucratic structures that will promote such adaptation. Others suggest that even the present regime, given the chance, is capable of compromise. Engagement's supporters argue that China's military is far from becoming a serious threat to American interests. To pursue a containment policy would not only gain little support from America's allies and possibly provoke a dangerous arms race in Asia, but it could also create a self-fulfilling prophecy that would quash possible favorable trends: treat China as an enemy, they maintain, and it will become one.

Advocates of engagement share a belief that any judgment on China's future behavior is premature. The full

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range of U.S. foreign policy options will only be known if Washington seeks to engage China by such means as the development of economic links, the promotion of its participation in international organizations, and the holding of high-level talks between security and political officials to promote mutual

understanding and facilitate China's entry into the global system. Finally, some in the engagement school would hedge against a turn for the worse in Beijing's foreign policy by setting strict standards for judging Chinese future behavior and preparing militarily and politically for adverse outcomes. ■

tween the mainland and Taiwan have grown tremendously, political relations have been strained. Chinese leaders have become increasingly suspicious that Taiwan's government is paying lip service to unification as it embarks on a course of independence with foreign—especially American—encouragement.

Major unsettled issues

SETTling THE IMPORTANT and complex issues that divide China and the U.S. is as daunting a challenge as any that exist in contemporary international relations. Some of these differences go back decades; others were put aside in the past; a few have only recently emerged as a result of China's economic upsurge.

The Taiwan issue

In 1949, the Chinese civil war ended. The Communist party took over rule of the mainland, and the remnants of the former Nationalist government retreated to the island of Taiwan. Although the Nationalist government had been a close ally in World War II, the U.S. was prepared to accept its ultimate defeat and deal with the mainland. However, the North Korean invasion of South Korea in June 1950 changed all that. Relations with the Nationalist regime thickened: in 1954, a mutual security treaty was signed with the Republic of China on Taiwan; military support was provided when Taiwan relations with the mainland became tense; and the U.S. gave strong support in international forums for the island's claim to represent all of China. To mainland China's leaders, the government on Taiwan was a rebel regime and how they dealt with it was a matter of domestic politics. The U.S. was not only maintaining relations with an insurrectionary movement within China, it was elevating it to the level of a legitimate government despite the Communist victory.

When the U.S. established diplomatic relations with China in 1979, it allowed the security alliance with Taiwan to expire. However, it established unofficial ties and trade continued. Moreover, Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, which called for providing Taiwan with "arms of a defensive character" and

suggested an American commitment to the security of Taiwan. The Chinese leadership felt they had been cheated as "unofficial" American ties with the island grew. Distrust of U.S. intentions remained.

This distrust has increased as a result of the events of the past two decades. Although the U.S. continued to acknowledge that Taiwan is a "part of China" and even pledged in 1982 "to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan," these sales, as well as a flourishing American relationship with the island, persisted. In addition, Taiwan has sustained sound economic growth and undergone a remarkable transition to democracy. With freedom of speech a reality, calls for independence have become more open, and the government has responded to popular pressures to gain greater international visibility. The mainland has looked upon these developments with deep concern. Since the late 1980s, although economic ties be-

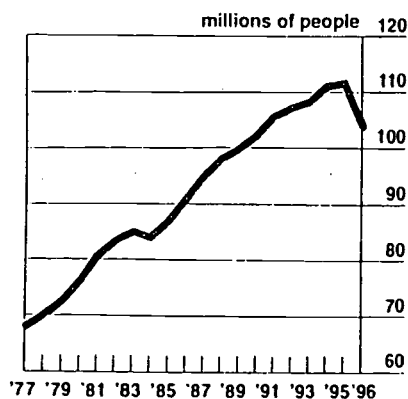
Sino-American differences over Taiwan are embedded in differing values as well as in the domestic politics on each side. For the Chinese, the incorporation of Taiwan into a China ruled from Beijing represents the end of the civil war and of foreign interference in China's domestic affairs. Like Hong Kong, which reverted to Chinese rule on July 1, 1997, the recovery of Taiwan is a matter of national honor, and no Chinese leader can long survive who ignores this fact. Although the Chinese have committed themselves to seeking a peaceful resolution of the dispute, they have retained the right to use force, if necessary. As time passes and China's international status grows, Beijing can be expected to press harder on this issue.

For the U.S., the commitment to Taiwan is an amalgam based on national interest, historical ties, legal obligation (albeit ambiguous), American values and economic interest. U.S. policy on the Taiwan question has been watched carefully by Asian leaders for an indication of American willingness to play a prominent role in Asia. The historic relationship with the island, the Taiwan

few about the war C.I.



State-sector employment



'77 '79 '81 '83 '85 '87 '89 '91 '93 '95 '96

Source: *The Economist*

THE NUMBER of Chinese employed by the state sector has only recently begun to decline. However, what the chart does not show is that the percentage of the urban workforce employed by the state sector has declined sharply, from 79% in 1977 to 61% in 1996.

lence. Foreign policymakers have been unable to see their counterparts as they are and not as they might imagine or wish them to be.

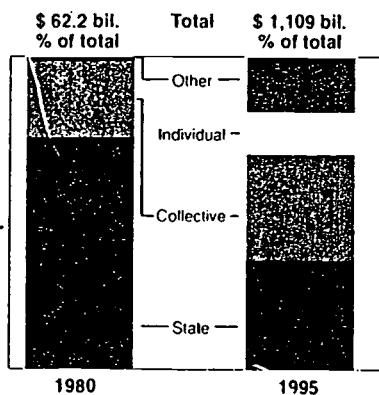
Chinese politicians and intellectuals have, on the one hand, looked to the U.S. as a source of values and/or technological resources to transform China. On the other, they have also depicted the U.S. as a nation that has, since the imperialist onslaughts of the 19th century, demeaned China and sought to frustrate its transformation.

Such ambivalence courses through the Chinese body politic. Walking on the streets of major cities, visitors regularly encounter youths proudly sporting symbols of Western culture or enthusiastically consuming American fast foods. Yet public opinion polls show that a deep distrust of the U.S. exists among the same youth who sport jeans and devour hamburgers. The intellectual scars of past humiliations remain. One can see evidence of them in President Jiang's proud recounting on July 1, 1997, of how China had recovered its national dignity with the return of Hong Kong, or in the widely distributed book, *China Can Say No*, which calls for a greater determination to resist international affronts—particularly from the U.S. In the minds of many Chinese, elites and nonelites alike, the U.S. remains a nation to be approached with great care.

Similarly, American perceptions of China are characterized by a contradictory attitude that some refer to as the American "love-hate" relationship with

Diminished state economic role

Industrial output



Source: *The Economist*

China. For the past century, views of China have fluctuated between great sympathy—particularly during times when it seemed to be becoming "more like us" in the economic, political or religious realms—and deep hostility or resentment when these unrealistic hopes were dashed. Thus, when the "democratic" ally of World War II became a Communist adversary, it helped fuel the cold war, just as the impact of the Tiananmen tragedy abruptly changed American views as unrealistic hopes for a capitalist, democratic China faded.

This lack of a clear vision is reflected in, and also reinforced by, the domestic political process in both countries. When Mao ruled China, there was little question about who made foreign policy. Thereafter Deng dominated Beijing's foreign policy, but Deng was no Mao. The economic reform process which Deng set into motion has changed the ideological underpinnings of Chinese foreign policy and government decisionmaking. The dominant figure in China, President Jiang, is first among equals in a collective leadership in which there are clear differences over fundamental issues such as Taiwan, the U.S. and the economic opening. Foreign policy decisions are the product of a give-and-take process among these leaders.

The domestic influences on China's foreign policy extend beyond this narrow circle. In the effort to accomplish strong and rapid economic growth, China's leaders have granted considerable discretion and independence to different bureaucracies that, due to divi-

sions between the top leaders, have been able to influence foreign policy. For example, industries in China's provinces, cities and villages that have made crucial contributions to the economic success depend heavily on foreign trade and investment. Consequently, certain regions have been rumored to have lobbied against policies that might damage ties to the outside world. Localities have not simply sought to shape foreign policy, they have often made it. For example, much of the pirating of CD disks and the production of counterfeit name-brand products that have strained China's foreign relations have taken place in localities that have evaded the central government's control.

The military exercises its influence in a similar manner. Factories owned by the military have engaged in the production of counterfeit goods, but it is the army's sale of arms abroad that has often embroiled China in controversy. Like the localities, the military has sought to influence the formulation of foreign policy. The precise nature of the "military view" is difficult to define. And, like other militaries, China's has sought to advance its institutional interests. Some observers concluded that it was pressures from the navy, intent on increasing its capability, that were behind China's recent claims in the South China Sea.

The reform process has done more than disperse political power. Mao's Cultural Revolution left much of the Chinese population disillusioned with socialism. In order to buttress its legitimacy, the leadership has turned to nationalism, asserting that the Communist party should rule because it is restoring China's dignity in the world and is improving the people's economic livelihood. Economic betterment has certainly helped increase popular support for the government. And intellectuals and students, often depicted as hostile to the regime, have rallied to the party in the face of perceived international insults, such as China's failure to be chosen as the site for the Olympics in the year 2000.

All of these elements of domestic politics shape China's approach to foreign policy. The leaders in Beijing have to consider, and also react to, a wide range of views and pressures emanating from colleagues, bureaucracies and the

people of China. Most importantly, they must always consider the sometimes contradictory impact of any international action on the leadership's two bases of legitimacy—nationalism and economic betterment. Indeed, these elements, combined with uncertainties regarding China's future, could lead to a number of possible outcomes. These might include a China that has collapsed; has turned to aggressive nationalism to rally support in the face of domestic problems; remains authoritarian yet achieves economic breakthroughs; or proceeds on the road to democracy.

In the U.S., a divided government and political trends have also had a profound impact on foreign policy. For example, separate units in the executive branch with different priorities make different parts of a sometimes incoherent China policy. Specifically, while the Defense Department seeks to limit China's access to new technologies, the Department of Commerce seeks to promote trade, and the State Department sees these issues as a small part of a broader China or even global policy. Such divisions of responsibility, in the absence of White House coordination, have been the source of much confusion in the China policy of the Clinton Administration.

More importantly, despite the President's primary responsibility for foreign affairs, Congress can shape and even contradict his policy. It may be motivated by a bipartisan desire to assert the rights of Congress in the policymaking process or a very partisan wish to use congressional power to embarrass a President of an opposing party. One dramatic example of this occurred in the late spring of 1995, when both houses of Congress called for the granting of a visa to President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan to attend—and speak at—a Cornell University alumni gathering. This took place after the White House had announced that no visa would be forthcoming. In quieter ways, politicians use congressional hearings or the introduction of legislation to raise issues (such as human rights, support for Taiwan and Tibet, etc.) that incur Chinese anger.

The growing role of Congress in China policy reflects more than simple institutional or party politics. Policy toward China has become an item on the agenda of a growing number of politi-

cally active groups in the U.S. that have joined with sympathetic members of Congress. Since 1989, and particularly during Clinton's first term, which saw a Republican congressional victory in 1994, the number and organizational skills of these groups, as well as their ability to gain support from all branches of the government, have grown.

Conservative Christians concerned with reproductive rights and religious freedom; human-rights groups focused on similar issues as well as on the status of Tibet; organized labor seeking to slow economic ties because they see American jobs going to China; Taiwan sympathizers; and, finally, politically

conservative politicians and commentators who see China as a threat akin to the "evil empire" of the former Soviet Union have all exerted pressure for a more containment-oriented policy. Their lobbying efforts have been countered by a coalition that includes economic bureaucrats, a large sector of the American business community, former high government officials and foreign policy specialists who seem more supportive of the policy of engagement. It has been the scrutiny by—and political pressures from—all these groups that have been a major factor in shaping Washington's response to an emerging China. ■

Toward a new basis for Sino-American relations

IN ITS FIRST TERM, the Clinton Administration's China policy seemed to be driven largely by domestic politics as the President and his advisers continued the campaign's tough containment-oriented rhetoric. In his confirmation hearings in early 1993, Secretary of State-designate Warren Christopher argued that U.S. policy toward China would be directed toward promoting democracy in China. Later that year, Anthony Lake, the President's new national security adviser, stated that Washington's policy was one of "enlargement" that sought to expand the number of "market democracies." He specifically named China (an identification that was omitted in a later statement), along with Libya, Iran and Iraq, as "backlash" states. Finally, most infuriating to the Chinese was the decision taken by President Bill Clinton in May 1993 to endorse the granting of "conditional" MFN to China:

This executive order stated that renewal of China's MFN status in 1994 would be conditioned upon "overall and significant progress" on human rights. The decision was praised by human-rights and labor groups but opposed by the business community, which over the next year mobilized its considerable political resources. It soon became apparent that it would be difficult to dem-

onstrate significant Chinese compliance. So, in May 1994, President Clinton announced that he would "delink" MFN and human rights. China would receive MFN trade status, and the U.S. would pursue its support for human-rights progress in China by other means.

This policy reversal did not settle the issue. The relationship between human rights and MFN was bitterly debated in every renewal from 1995 to 1997. Arguments were often framed in terms of containment and engagement. The debates have done little to advance relations; rather they have sharpened American differences over China policy and angered China's leaders.

From 1993 to 1996, Sino-American relations seemed to lurch from crisis to crisis. There was continued tension over the human-rights issue and it seemed to ebb and flow in response to the latest congressional initiative, Chinese arrests of dissidents, visits by American officials to China or MFN renewal. For some Americans, issues of human rights continued to shape a confrontational approach to China policy. Others sought to remove human rights from a dominant position in order to promote engagement, which might define other areas where compromise would be possible.

Economic and intellectual-property issues continued to dog the relationship. Washington's demands for more-open markets in China in order to reduce the trade deficit and its threats to impose sanctions in response to intellectual-property infringements or unfair trade practices stopped short of outright trade wars. The agreements that averted conflict were used in Washington by advocates of competing policy positions as evidence for the two contradictory propositions: that China will compromise when confronted or that China values economic ties and therefore will conform to international norms.

China's admission to WTO remains unresolved. Since the U.S. is a leading force in WTO, an agreement with the U.S. is the key to Chinese membership. Yet, such an agreement has been complicated not simply by the Administration's unwillingness to accede to China's requests for certain exemptions. American opinion remains divided along familiar lines. Some argue that it is important to get China admitted quickly—albeit under certain conditions—since membership would not only bring a major nation's trading practices under some regulation, it would also provide the stimulus for further Chinese reforms. Others maintain that China still does not have the economic and legal infrastructure needed to meet even minimal requirements and that given its irresponsible international behavior China should not be "rewarded" with membership.

Charges and countercharges concerning alleged illegal arms transfers by China further embittered the relationship. Distrust over this issue led to American shadowing and eventual search of a Chinese freighter bound for the Middle East in 1993 (nothing of an illegal nature was found), as well as an ongoing controversy over alleged sales of missile-related technology to Pakistan, which brought to a halt certain American hi-tech sales to China, notably computers and nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. In Asia, although China's response to Washington's confrontation (and very nearly armed conflict) with North Korea over that country's nuclear program was muted, attempts to draw up new guidelines for America's security relationships in the region have enraged Beijing. Specifically, China's leaders see Washington's

efforts to increase the Japanese role in Asia as a direct threat to China, raising the specter of a return of Japanese militarism and the cold war.

As Washington pursued a policy that seemed to be fluctuating between belligerence and incoherence, the leaders in Beijing, whose perceptions were shaped by distrust of the U.S. and who were also under domestic pressures, reacted strongly and provocatively. Rhetoric escalated as China's leaders increasingly became convinced that the aim of Clinton Administration policy was to frustrate China's efforts to promote its economic development and gain its rightful place in the world. Resultant statements or actions were used, in turn, to justify the arguments of those in the U.S. who were advocating a more confrontational policy toward China, pushing the Clinton Administration toward more belligerency, which, in turn, led to a sharper response from Beijing that further escalated the spiral and left Sino-American relations to drift aimlessly from one crisis to another.

Forging a new relationship

In retrospect, it was one of these crises—the Sino-American confrontation over Taiwan in 1995–96—that demonstrated the power of this interactive cycle and provided the impetus to overcome it.

In June 1995, on the eve of new Taiwan-mainland talks, the State Department, under pressure from Congress, granted President Lee of Taiwan a visa. Beijing abruptly called off cross-strait talks, implicated the U.S. in Taiwan's independence orientation and, under strong pressure from the military, took a more confrontational stance, complete with military exercises in Fujian province.

During Taiwan's presidential election in March 1996, China fired missiles close to Taiwan's shores. Under pressure to respond, the Clinton Administration dispatched two aircraft carrier groups and warned the Chinese—directly and indirectly—regarding the possible consequences of further escalation. In the end, there was none, as both sides backed down.

That confrontation seems to have had a sobering effect on both Washington and Beijing. In the U.S., many who had hoped that Taiwan would settle the issue of its future relations with the mainland peacefully, without U.S. involvement,

began to consider the importance of a greater American role. Those who had advocated more U.S. support for Taiwan became sensitive to the potential for a dangerous Sino-American conflict over this question. In China, Asian support (often in private) for American actions, the reminder of the power of the U.S. military, and concern about how an armed confrontation with Taiwan would affect China's international position all contributed to an apparent willingness to improve relations with the U.S. Beginning in the summer of 1996, the tone of Sino-American relations changed dramatically.

In July 1996, Anthony Lake went to Beijing for talks with Chinese officials. Thereafter it was announced that there would be an exchange of presidential visits (President Jiang in the U.S. in 1997 and President Clinton in China in 1998). In November 1996, President Clinton declared that "the U.S. has no interest in containing China. That is a negative strategy. What the U.S. wants is to sustain an engagement with China." The Chinese response was somewhat more reserved but still quite positive. During the summer of 1997 President Jiang warmly welcomed the China visit of Samuel Berger, the President's new national security adviser, saying that he looked forward to his visit to Washington and would join in an effort "to bring a long-term, stable and healthy relationship of cooperation to the 21st century."

These conciliatory words were complemented by actions. On the American side, the human-rights issue was muted; MFN was renewed in the spring of 1997; and the Administration sought to resolve differences on hi-tech sales to China. Beijing also moderated its behavior. It closed some CD factories accused of counterfeiting; joined with the U.S., South Korea and North Korea in talks intended to address the crisis on the Korean peninsula and took great care with the transfer of power in Hong Kong.

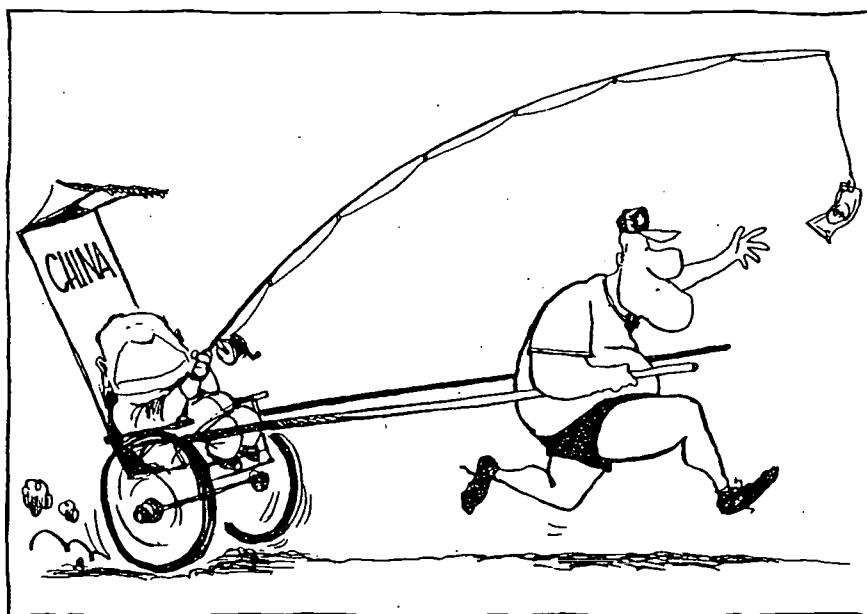
Yet old problems persisted. During the summer and fall of 1997 reports indicated that the U.S. trade deficit with China was increasing and could very well reach \$44 billion. In the first seven months of 1997, China's exports to the U.S. grew by 26% while U.S. exports to China went up only 0.3%. In a related area, little progress was made regarding Chinese admission to WTO. Congress

continued to press the President on the trade and human-rights issues. As the presidential summit approached, there were several pieces of legislation tabled in the Congress that would denounce or impose sanctions on China. Finally, the defense guidelines that had been drawn up by the U.S. and Japan in September called for cooperation in "areas surrounding Japan." This definition drew a sharp criticism from Beijing's leaders who, not without reason, saw it as a sign that the two nations might, under certain circumstances, be prepared to intervene in a Taiwan Strait conflict.

In the months preceding the October summit there was a flurry of visits by important military and political leaders from both sides and there were reports of hard bargaining on a number of issues, including human rights, Taiwan, trade relations, WTO membership and nuclear proliferation. Yet, as the summit approached, it was clear that little progress had been made, and both sides spoke openly of the need to lower expectations for the meetings.

In the end, of course, the Clinton-Jiang summit demonstrated the triumph of ceremony over substance. There were few concrete agreements. The most important substantive result was an agreement by the Clinton Administration to lift a 12-year ban on the sale of nuclear-power equipment (estimated to bring up to \$60 billion in deals over the next 15 years to a sagging U.S. industry) in exchange for a Chinese pledge to cease nuclear-related sales to Pakistan and Iran. Other results included the establishment of a hot line connecting the leaders, an agreement intended to avoid "accidental" confrontations between the two nations' navies on the high seas, an American commitment to assist the development of China's legal system, and cooperation on drug enforcement.

The remaining very serious issues dividing the two nations were unquestionably addressed, but there was little evidence of substantive progress. Human rights remained contentious, both sides seemed simply to restate their positions on the question of Taiwan, and the U.S. made it clear that it would not "lower the bar" to allow China's accession to the WTO. Still, China's adherence to a global agreement that would open its markets to high-tech imports, commitment to purchase 50 Boeing



airliners for \$3 billion and President Jiang's visit to Wall Street were reminders that economics was still the core of the relationship.

A major cause for the stated outcome lay in domestic politics. On the U.S. side, the continued disagreement over how to approach China was evident in demonstrations, editorial opinion, the behavior of local politicians and, most of all, congressional reaction. Jiang was denied the opportunity to speak to a joint session of Congress; instead he had a contentious meeting with some of China's leading critics. Moreover, congressional determination to examine the accords on nuclear power and the backlog of China-related legislation in Congress means that China policy will continue to be a matter of domestic debate. In the end, the Clinton Administration seemed happy to settle for economic gains and a high-profile opportunity to present the case for engagement to the American public. On the Chinese side, there was an apparent readiness to focus less on substantive results than on enhancing the international image (and, hence, the domestic political standing) of Jiang Zemin. Still in the midst of the succession to Deng, Jiang could add a U.S. summit to his earlier accomplishments—the successful takeover of Hong Kong and the 15th Congress of the Chinese Communist party. Jiang seemed satisfied to bask in the glow of media attention and to demonstrate to an audience back home his ability to present forcefully the views of the nation.⁴

The summit evoked early cold-war summits with the former Soviet Union, which tended to focus on individuals, had an underlying tone of distrust and left unresolved a long list of questions. There seemed to be little evidence of the complex network of bilateral ties that the two countries had been developing since 1972. This was a stark reminder of the role that the events at Tiananmen Square and the fall of the Soviet empire had played in destroying much of the foundation for Sino-American relations. The two nations seemed to be starting over to build the stable relationship that still eludes them after more than a century.

Both presidents, at the end of their meetings, emphasized their determination to build the foundation of a relationship that would develop into the next century. It may well be that the U.S. and China are preparing to deal with each other not on the basis of misperceptions or illusions but as two major global powers with real common interests as well as some deep differences. Still, any such optimism (as well as the inevitable expectations for the return visit of President Clinton in 1998) must be tempered by an awareness that real progress will require not only the resolution of some very difficult remaining issues but concomitant changes in the domestic politics and perceptions of both countries.



Opinion Ballot
on page 19



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"In the end, the fate of China's experiment in grassroots democracy may hinge on whether Beijing will commit itself to extending the process upward. The risks to the regime in moving forward will be tremendous. But after promoting grassroots democracy for a decade and allowing democratic elections to take root in the countryside, the risks of retreat might be just as high."

Village Elections: Democracy from the Bottom Up?

TYRENE WHITE

During President Bill Clinton's state visit to China in late June, his itinerary included a trip to a village outside Beijing whose leaders were elected by popular vote. For both the Chinese and the Americans planning the president's trip, the village stop was potentially very useful. China could use the visit to highlight its progress in promoting and implementing grassroots democracy, and to suggest the possibility of an expanded agenda of political reform. President Jiang Zemin could also use this public event to silence domestic critics of the grassroots initiative and possibly build momentum for further reforms.

The United States could use the village tour in precisely the same fashion. By exposing a skeptical American audience to signs of incipient liberalization and democratization in rural China, President Clinton might be able to increase domestic support for his trip and deflect his many critics. The village tour could be used to reiterate what has become one of the central themes of Clinton's foreign policy: the importance of freedom and democracy to economic vitality and political stability in the twenty-first century.

As it turned out, the village visit was completely overshadowed by live coverage of a joint presidential news conference and Clinton's question-and-answer session with Chinese students at Beijing University. Yet its inclusion on the itinerary was the logical culmination of a decade-long process that has transformed an obscure rural political reform

into a widely touted democratization project with international and foreign policy implications. How and why did this transformation come about? And how do grassroots elections work in the context of continuing Chinese Communist Party rule? Whose interests do they serve?

MANAGING DISSENT

In the mid-1980s, when China's economic reforms began to take off, the country's rural institutions were breaking down. The reforms had begun to undermine the state's monopoly of economic and political power, and many local cadres saw more profit in working their own fields or starting sideline businesses than in carrying out difficult jobs such as collecting taxes and enforcing birth control. Peasants grew bolder in their resistance to authority, especially as price inflation, tax increases, and corruption began to erode the economic gains of the early 1980s and incomes began to stagnate or fall. Meanwhile, local governments sometimes ran out of money to buy peasants' grain and dared to hand out 100s instead. Predictably, relations between peasants and cadres, and between cadres at higher and lower levels, grew tense, and skittish party leaders in Beijing began to worry about the prospect of rural unrest.

It was in this context that the foundation for village-level elections was established. In 1986 and 1987, heated debate took place on a draft law on grassroots organization called the Organic Law of Villagers' Committees. Adopted on a trial basis by the National People's Congress (NPC) in June 1988, the law attempted to address the problems of village-level organization and township-village relations by establishing a system of village autonomy (*cunmin zizhi*) and self-management.

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The bill was designed to clarify the legal status of the village, which is not a formal level of government (the township, a level above the village, is the lowest official level of government), and to limit the rapacious tendencies of township and county governments to extract as much as possible from villagers to fund local development projects, pad budgets, and boost salaries. By declaring villages to be autonomous and self-managing, supporters of the bill hoped to establish a sound basis for village organization, and to temper the power of township officials by setting clear limits to their authority and defining village obligations explicitly.

If villages were to have any chance of achieving meaningful self-rule, however, they needed leaders who were empowered to defend village interests while still carrying out those unpopular and thankless tasks—collecting taxes, enforcing birth control—that villagers resisted but the state required. This legitimacy could come only through some form of popular representation or election. To that end, the trial law called for the creation of:

- villagers' councils (comprised of all adults or a representative from each household),
- villagers' representative assemblies (comprised of delegates nominated and elected by the villagers), and
- villagers' committees (comprised typically of about five elected village leaders).

Despite intense opposition from conservative county and township cadres—who feared the new law would erode their power over village leaders—the bill took effect in 1988, only to be derailed by the 1989 democracy protests and crack-down. In the repressive climate that followed, conservatives tried to repeal the law, only to find that they were blocked by Peng Zhen, a conservative party elder who had been instrumental in navigating the law through the NPC. Peng was convinced that village autonomy would stabilize the countryside and thereby strengthen, rather than weaken, party rule. In late 1990, a party central directive endorsed the trial law, and in 1991 it began to be enacted in a variety of locations across the country.

The law's implementation over the intervening years has led to the establishment and election of village assemblies, the public posting of village finances, and the drafting of village compacts that cover rules and regulations on all aspects of village life and state policy. What has earned the law so

much attention at home and abroad, however, is the practice of direct elections of village officials every three years. While the shadow of Tiananmen still hung over China in the early 1990s, few in or out of the country took much notice of the rural reform, assuming that the countryside was a conservative backwater that served as a brake on democracy, or that any elections under Communist Party rule had to be a sham.

SPREADING THE WORD

The office in the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MCA) charged with the implementation of the village autonomy law, the Department of Basic-Level Government, worked steadily and methodically to establish model sites for villagers' autonomy in every province in the country, cultivating close ties with local authorities who were receptive to the

program and attempting to win over those who were not. By 1992, contact with the Ford Foundation's Beijing office had translated into an initial cooperative agreement that allowed the MCA to bring foreign advisers and scholars to China, and to send members of the office staff to the United States for brief investigatory visits. That same year, the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations hosted an MCA delegation and introduced the visitors to the operations of local government in the United States. From this beginning the MCA office began to draw increasing media attention at home and

abroad, as reporters started to investigate village self-government on their own, or with the assistance and cooperation of the MCA.

Throughout the early and mid-1990s, as international contacts, scholarly interest, and media attention escalated, the process of village elections became institutionalized in many areas. Although foreign observers, especially in the United States, were skeptical about how democratic the elections were, reporting on the topic began to shift as the shadow of 1989 receded and as more information about the electoral process became available. Chinese officials provided access to a wide variety of village election sites, including some that were exemplars of fair and competitive elections and others where elections had clearly been orchestrated by local party leaders. This gave outside observers the opportunity to gain a balanced view of the reform and draw their own conclusions. By the mid-1990s, officials who had confined themselves to the lan-

The grassroots democratization project is a rare piece of terrain on which Chinese interests and American values seem to converge.

guage of “villagers’ autonomy” after the Tiananmen crackdown began to speak more openly about “grassroots democracy,” and foreign observers, while remaining circumspect and cautious in their appraisals, began to acknowledge that village elections showed real democratic potential, even if that potential was rarely fully realized.

As Sino-American relations plunged to their nadir in the wake of the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1996, and as conservatives in Washington and Beijing pressed to gain the upper hand in domestic policy debates, those on each side seeking to avoid a breach in the relationship began to marshal evidence to support a policy of constructive engagement. By 1996 and 1997 that evidence included documentation of progress in implementing rural elections in Chinese villages, documentation that was leading even skeptical observers to appreciate the Chinese effort, however imperfect and limited it remained.

It was by this path that village self-government made its way into the seemingly distant world of foreign policy and Sino-American relations. In a landscape littered with conflicts over trade, human rights, and security issues, the grassroots democratization project is a rare piece of terrain on which Chinese interests and American values seem to converge.

HOW TO THINK ABOUT VILLAGE ELECTIONS

Village elections may aid Sino-American diplomacy, but are they useful and meaningful to Chinese villagers? Answering that question requires critical examination of some of the claims made about village elections.

Village elections are conducted democratically.

Although the Chinese press consistently makes this claim, it is true only by the narrowest definition of democracy. If by democratic one means that China’s villagers get the chance to cast a ballot, then the elections are indeed democratic. If, however, one means that the candidates for village leadership have been democratically selected in a transparent process that meets with villagers’ approval, and that elections to each post are competitive, or at least potentially competitive, then many—perhaps most—village elections do not yet qualify as democratic.

There is no question that hundreds of millions of rural residents now have the opportunity to vote for their village leadership team, a group that usually consists of a village chairman plus several deputies.¹ But specific election methods vary a great deal from place to place. All regions are supposed to conduct their elections according to the Organic Law of Villagers’ Committees, but this still leaves ample room for provinces, municipalities, counties, and even townships to draft laws, regulations, or guidelines that specify local election procedures. In many regions local people’s congresses have drafted laws or regulations, while local branch offices of the MCA have their own set of administrative regulations. This process may eventually lead to a set of harmonized procedures in individual provinces (units equivalent in population to large European nations), but for now there continues to be substantial variety in how the elections are conducted.

The one feature most areas have in common is that the number of people on the ballot exceeds the number to be elected by at least one, thus creating a small element of competition. Villagers are asked to vote for a slate of leaders (for example, choosing five out of six or seven candidates), and may also be asked to indicate which individual on the slate they prefer as village chairman. A step beyond this is direct competition between two or more candidates for the post of village chairman, with the rest of the leadership team selected from a group of nominees that exceeds the total number to be elected by one or two. This type of competitive election first appeared in northeast China during the initial round of elections a decade ago, and was picked up quickly by other regions, such as Fujian and Hebei provinces, which have been leaders in implementing competitive elections.

Just as important as a competitive ballot is the issue of how nominees are selected. The Organic Law allows for several methods of nomination, including indirect nomination by a villagers’ representative assembly, or direct nomination by any group of 10 villagers. Because such public forms of nomination can intimidate villagers or be manipulated by local party officials, some areas have recently moved to a new method of nomination called *haixuan* (literally, election by sea), in which all villagers are allowed to write the names of candidates they would support on a secret primary ballot. Then a process of public winnowing occurs until the two or three most popular candidates have been selected for the final ballot.

¹Estimates of the proportion of China’s 930,000 villages that has held elections range from a low of one-third to nearly two-thirds. This means that roughly 300 million to 600 million villagers have been exposed to the electoral process.

No matter what method of selection is used, the test is whether villagers are satisfied with the candidates who emerge, and with the process that produced them. Some provinces and regions score better on this test than others, and there can be wide variation even within the same county on how the nomination process is conducted. Interference by party and government officials at the township and county levels, or unlawful manipulation of elections by corrupt village election commissions, has led some villagers to lodge formal complaints demanding the voiding of election results. If the complaints are a sign of continuing attempts to rig elections, they are also a sign of the growing sense of empowerment some villagers feel in the face of such abuses.

Village elections are designed to prop up a repressive regime.

It is true that the Chinese Communist Party turned to village elections in the hope that they would ease tensions and create the stability that would assure unchallenged party rule. But village elections cannot be labeled a sham merely because they serve the party; they are a sham only if they do not serve the interests of villagers by making local leaders more accountable. On this point the early evidence, although partial and incomplete, suggests that many villagers believe the elections give them an increased stake and a voice in village politics. According to MCA data, voter turnout is high, including participation by absentee ballot, and roughly 20 percent of incumbents are defeated in each round of elections.

Still, it is also true that where local party officials are determined to control an election they may succeed in doing so, especially if no one in the village complains or the officials have powerful allies at higher levels. As a general proposition for all of China, however, the statement that village elections are a sham is false. The fallacy here lies in assuming that the Chinese Communist Party is one uniform, monolithic authority, when in fact it is not. If China's economic reform has given us a strange, hybrid economic system, it has also given us a strange, hybrid communist system, one in which local power, prestige, status, and money are no longer monopolized by the Communist Party. If the party were monolithic, the villagers' autonomy law would not remain controversial in some quarters. Inland agricultural regions continue to drag their heels on implementing meaningful, competitive elections, while coastal areas in northeast and southern China work to improve the process by

requiring campaign speeches, ensuring full secrecy in the balloting process, eliminating proxy voting, and providing absentee ballots for residents working outside the village.

The assumption that party power is inconsistent with meaningful elections underestimates the importance of local party sanction and support for getting the process right. Where elections have been successfully implemented and where nomination is fair and competition fully integrated, the county-level party secretary is usually a strong supporter of the process, setting the tone for township and village party leaders. So while it is true that party interference can crush all meaning out of the elections and turn the process into a sham in some locations, it is equally true that a supportive party leadership at the county and provincial levels can restrain township and village officials who might otherwise skew the election results their way.

The best indicator of a democratic process is the defeat of candidates who are party members.

This is one of the most common and most misguided assumptions that foreign observers make when evaluating village elections. Certainly it is important to know that non-party candidates can not only run for election, but sometimes win, turning out incumbents who are party members. This provides outside observers with added assurance that the electoral process is reasonably competitive and fair. Viewed from the point of view of China's villagers, however, the defeat of an incumbent who holds party membership may or may not be a good thing for the village, for several reasons.

First, what villagers want is what most people want in a local leader: someone who is honest, competent, capable of improving the local economy, and efficient and thrifty with tax money. They also want someone who will defend their interests in the face of pressures from county and township officials. Depending on local circumstances, local politics, and the merits of the candidates for village chairman, villagers may choose the candidate who is a party member as their best option. They may calculate that party membership will work in the leader's favor, or that his personal or family ties with township and county officials (or, even better, factory managers) will mean more jobs for villagers in township enterprises and greater economic development opportunities. Although party membership no longer carries the clout it once did, it can sometimes be seen as an asset, not a liability, where village interests are concerned.

Second, while party members voted out of office will learn one kind of democratic lesson, those voted into office may learn another. Assuming there is open and fair competition from nonparty candidates, party members who must stand for election and reelection may begin to experience in a new way the tension between their roles as party members and as representatives of their village interests. As a result, what the party gains in legitimacy from winning elections it may lose in internal discipline as village leaders resist the implementation of orders that cut against the grain of village interests. Conversely, but equally positive from the vantage point of villagers, local party branches filled with members who must stand for reelection may become more responsive to village needs and interests and less arbitrary in their rule.

Finally, in some rural villages, the party, whatever its limitations, may be the only force that can restrain the power of a strong local clan or village faction that has come to dominate village life at the expense of the weak and vulnerable. From abroad, the party is easily perceived as the only political bully on the block. But other bullies have emerged in recent years as the power of local party branches has declined. For example, complaints are already being heard about attempts by clans to dominate local elections by engaging in intimidation and vote buying. In villages where this is the case, a strong and uncorrupted party presence would be a welcome improvement, especially if it could eliminate clan violence and break up criminal gangs. In short, the diversity and complexity of contemporary village life and politics are easily overlooked by those who see the Communist Party as the only threat to China's prospects for liberalization and democratization.

China is another Taiwan in the making, building democracy out of authoritarianism.

It is true that Taiwan's experience of first introducing elections at local levels has been noted and studied by Chinese officials, and that China's decision to begin at the grass roots echoes that experience. Yet the differences between the two are so great, and the trajectory of the People's Republic still so uncertain, that any attempts at comparison are entirely speculative.

One of the most important differences at this stage is the scope for elections in China as opposed to Taiwan. When the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) began to implement local elections in Taiwan in

1950 and 1951, it simultaneously introduced elections at the village, township, city, and district levels for positions on local councils. Like the Communist Party in China today, the KMT did not allow organized political opposition, and there was wide variation in the quality of the election process, with central and local KMT officials resorting to an array of methods to defeat, intimidate, or co-opt nonparty candidates.

The difference is that elections were not confined to the bottom of the political hierarchy, as they are in China today. The result, for China's village leaders, is that they alone have been elected to serve, while the government leaders they must answer to are appointed, and then confirmed by local people's congresses. Meanwhile, county and township officials, who are not subject to electoral politics, and with their careers, incomes, and bonuses in the hands of other unelected authorities, find themselves increasingly at cross-purposes with village cadres who live in intimate contact with their electorate and are subject, to some degree, to public accountability. Their instinct is to resist village elections altogether, or to manipulate the process in their favor to ensure the election of compliant local leaders who will make their lives easier.

NO GOING BACK?

In the run-up to the fifteenth party congress in September 1997, the issue of extending elections to the township level was debated at senior levels and tentatively endorsed by President Jiang Zemin. And on June 10, 1998, shortly before President Clinton's trip, a Communist Party Central Committee circular announced the party's intention to "make active efforts" to extend elections to the township level. The fears and uncertainties raised by this prospect, however, appear to have forestalled the creation of a timetable for implementation.

Yet unless China moves quickly to extend the electoral process upward to the township and county levels, forcing state officials to face the same public scrutiny beginning to fall on village leaders, the contradiction between the two political cultures will grow sharper. In the end, the fate of China's experiment in grassroots democracy may hinge on whether Beijing will commit itself to extending the process upward. The risks to the regime in moving forward will be tremendous. But after promoting grassroots democracy for a decade and allowing democratic elections to take root in the countryside, the risks of retreat might be just as high. ■

Monday January 15th 2001

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SURVEY: CHINA**Now comes the hard part**

Apr 0th 2000

From The Economist print edition

China looks set to change as much in the next five years as in the past extraordinary 20, says Dominic Ziegler

IF YOU think, says a high administration official in Washington, DC what will be required for economic success in the globalisation that is exploding around us technically dynamic, information-rich, highly entrepreneurial then the winners in that environment will be those able to provide at least the following... He counts on his fingers. Free access to global information and markets. Protection of physical and intellectual property. People able to speak and associate freely. A government that has sufficient legitimacy to feel comfortable joining the global economy. An educated population. And a rules-based polity... This is a set of qualities that does not conform to a highly authoritarian system. That, put simply, is the case for political change in China.

In the past few years, two uncertainties about China have cleared themselves up. The first is that China's central government has committed itself wholeheartedly, irrevocably and (to all but the dimmest apparatchiks) unambiguously to creating a market economy at home, tied to the world at large. This is not because China's septuagenarian leaders, all former central planners, have become born-again liberals (although a surprising number of liberals are moving up through the ranks). Rather, the remnant Maoists have long been banished to the wings, from where they shout ineffectually from time to time. Meanwhile, the remaining dominant factions whether their leaders are gung-ho reformers, cautious conservatives or nationalists who see economic success as the basis of future power projection all agree on one thing: the Communist Party is history unless it can deliver growth. And for each of the past seven years now, China's stellar economic growth has been slowing, risking unmanageable dissatisfaction amongst the people.

So Zhu Rongji, the prime minister, by temperament and training an engineer, not a free-marketeer, and popular neither with his peers in the Politburo nor with minions, has had his reforming way all the same. New sources of growth, he insists, have to be found by drastically (and painfully) shrinking the state. The 15th Communist Party Congress in the autumn of 1997 was a watershed. It marked the start of this new phase with the suggestion that tens of thousands of small and medium-sized state enterprises would be cast loose upon private waters, to float or sink. In the spring of 1999, guarantees that acknowledged the private sector for the first time were written into the state constitution.

Growth from heaven

The first two decades of reform have in essence been catch-up growth, gains that came from disbanding the agricultural communes and from allowing capital and particularly labour to be poured into low-end manufacturing and processing, a lot of it for export. The government did not really have to do anything to foster such growth, other than to keep out of

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the way. Double-digit growth rates were the norm, and fast growth created new jobs for workers made redundant by inefficient state-owned enterprises, migrants from the countryside to urban areas, and young people looking for their first job.

Now those high growth rates are gone, possibly for good. Growth is not only lower these days, but its labour intensity—according to Yukon Huang, head of the World Bank's mission in China, has also slowed. What growth China is achieving is creating fewer jobs.

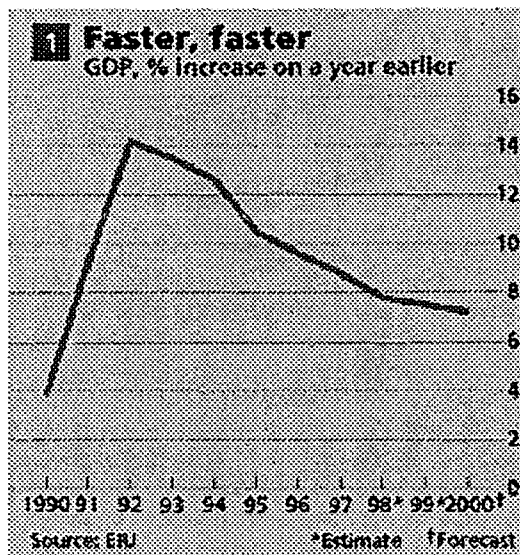
We have run out of easy things to reform, explains a senior Chinese official. Laying the foundations for the next phase of growth will be very much harder. The productivity of the land—and remember that two-thirds of China's 1.3

billion people still live in the countryside—has almost reached its natural limits, given China's severe shortage of water. Higher productivity in agriculture will come at the price of even more people leaving the land for urban areas—perhaps 8m-10m a year, for whom jobs will need to be found. Another 6m jobs need to be created in the cities just to allow for the modest natural increase in the urban population each year. Then there are the 4m-7m a year being thrown out of work by shrinking state-owned enterprises. That is a minimum of 18m urban jobs that the economy must create every year for the next few years. But from where? The woes of China's industrial sector are well known, and the service sector has been so stunted by the country's socialist legacy that it is only half the size expected for a country at that stage of development.

The possibility is there for a prolonged industrial slump and a restive population. For China's leaders, that prospect tilts the balance of risk and reward in favour of serious structural change and market reforms—short-term pain that should, touch wood, lay the foundations for long-term growth and, they think, for the party's long-term survival. Hence the radical commitment to a private sector that breaks free from a predatory state, to cleaning up the state sector over the next few years, and to membership of the World Trade Organisation.

After years of procrastination, China has at last shown itself to be serious about doing what is necessary to join the WTO. After NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade last summer, relations with the United States deteriorated sharply, and Zhu Rongji's future was in doubt. Despite these tensions, China signed a trade deal with the United States in November to pave the way for WTO accession, possibly later this year. Membership will prove as momentous a step as Deng Xiaoping's opening to the world in late 1978.

This helps resolve a second uncertainty, which is whether China can bring about a smooth and successful change to an open economy under a political system that remains highly authoritarian, indeed Leninist. The answer, as the American official suggests, is that it cannot. This survey will argue that in the next three to five years, China's closer integration with the world economic order will increase the pressure on it to become much more open, liberal and receptive. That, in turn, will force profound changes on both its political system and its society.



Until now, China's Communist leaders have been able to scorn predictions of political change, and to repress demands for it. They have two decades of growing prosperity to point to, certainly the swiftest, most extensive rise out of poverty any nation has seen. All the same, says a senior official in the Chinese government (one of the liberals), Given globalisation, in all its meanings, the mainland Chinese are no longer satisfied to look back at the change in the past 20 years. They want to be like Chinese in Hong Kong or the US, or they want to be like Japan... Politicians are not given much time these days. (Not even authoritarian ones like China's) with strong powers of coercion—although admittedly these are not as strong as they were.

Out into the unknown

Lazy editorial writers in the liberal West assume that a free-market economy can be introduced, as one exasperated Chinese economist puts it, with the wave of a central planner's wand. And democracy, too, he might have added. This is not to say that free markets and accountable government in China are out of the question. Cultural impediments to them are not as serious as political ones. The country's vast size, its poverty, and its legacy of a command economy surely need to be taken into account in guessing how swiftly and how smoothly free markets and democracy can be introduced—and how the interests of the central government and the varied periphery can be reconciled.

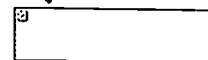
China's sheer size requires an active effort to comprehend. The country's 1.3 billion people make up one-fifth of the world's population, but they live on only one-fifteenth of the world's land. In fact, because a large part of China is inaccessible and inhospitable, the density in the main population centres is much higher than those figures suggest. Two-thirds of mainland Chinese live in the fertile eastern fifth of the country.

Mao Zedong once said that China was like "another United Nations." At present it has 31 provinces, if you include the four municipalities with province-level status and the five "autonomous regions" which (especially in the case of Xinjiang and Tibet) are anything but autonomous. In addition, there are the two "special administrative regions"—Hong Kong and Macau. Thanks to their closely policed territorial borders with the "motherland" they really are special and autonomous.

Think, for a moment, of the provinces as if they were separate countries. By land area, the biggest is Xinjiang, three times the size of Spain, although with less than half of Spain's population. China's largest city, Shanghai, has five times the population of Singapore. The most populous province, inland Sichuan, has over 110m people, about as many as Japan. Guangdong, Hubei, Anhui, Hunan, Hebei, Jiangsu, Shandong and Henan each have between 59m and 93m people, that is, populations very roughly the size of Egypt, France or Mexico. The Guangxi Autonomous Region, with 46m people, is more populous than Poland, yet how many people would be able to pinpoint it unhesitatingly on a map? And this paragraph has mentioned fewer than half of China's provinces.

Or look at China's GDP per head. The national average (excluding Hong Kong and Macau) was \$735 at 1998 prices, which makes China somewhat poorer than Indonesia. That average, though, conceals great regional inequalities. The poorest province, Guizhou, has a GDP per head of \$280, on a par with Bangladesh or Yemen. Sichuan, with a figure of \$525, is level with Pakistan. Meanwhile, Shanghai's residents, at \$3,400, are up there with Turkey or South Africa. Now bring in Hong Kong, which at \$22,990 has a higher per-head income than Britain, its former master. The dozing commuter on the Star Ferry is likely to be 90 times wealthier than the vegetable-seller in Guizhou.

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Town and country

Regional inequalities, then, are a serious matter, and Beijing's leadership is at last beginning to wake up to them. Equally serious is the wealth gap between city and countryside. In cities, 90% of households have washing machines and colour televisions. On farms, the most widely owned consumer durable, found in 70% of all households, is the sewing machine. Least remarked upon, but equally serious, are huge differences in wealth within the same locality, along with dire cases of poverty, even on the prosperous eastern seaboard.

Bearing in mind China's sheer scale, variety and relative poverty, it is hard to see how a monolithic leadership in Beijing can prevail in the longer term, now that the Chinese people are no longer in thrall to Maoism. (And remember that even under Mao Zedong, during the Cultural Revolution, anarchy rather than central rule held sway for ten years.) Indeed, far from being monolithic, China's political system, both in the regions and at the centre, is one of sharp elbows and centrifugal forces. Yet at the same time China has refused to break up into a warring mess of baronries, as many western experts had predicted.

Until now, the centre—that is, perhaps no more than 200 unelected, often elderly, men—have by and large kept control of the reform process and of the country as a whole. In simple terms, they have done so by devolving responsibility for economic growth to the local level, whilst enforcing party discipline by keeping control of the hiring and firing of local and provincial officials. Crucially, they have attempted to recentralise the collection of tax revenues and, more successfully, the rationing of credit to the state sector. With implications that have gone largely uncommented on in the West, a de-facto federal system may evolve in China that could possibly form the template for future political and institutional change. It could even help solve what is currently the biggest threat to the region's security: the question of Taiwan.

Predicting that political change will come is the easy bit; predicting how it will come about is harder. And the outcome will not necessarily be happy. Integration with the world economic order will also mean more opportunities for friction, aggravating the sores of China's formerly centralised economy. The opportunities for corruption that will arise from state assets being stripped by officials and managers of state enterprises are also a cause for pessimism.

China's history is full of shimmering metaphors, parallels and examples that usually help to throw light on current events. But this time, history offers no guide to what happens next.

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"The guiding elements of China's calculative grand strategy are clearly reflected in the policies China is pursuing in four separate areas: policies toward the United States; policies toward military modernization; policies toward territorial claims and the recourse to force; and policies toward international regimes."

Does China Have a Grand Strategy?

MICHAEL D. SWAINE

Concern has arisen in the West and among many Asian nations over the implications of China's steadily growing economic and military prowess. Much of this concern focuses on measuring and interpreting upward changes in the "objective" determinates of national power, such as the capabilities of China's military and the size and rate of growth of China's GDP. Although extremely important, these estimates convey little meaning unless they are placed in a larger context that describes how China's leaders employ the attributes of national power and to what ends. In short, any accurate assessment of the ultimate significance of China's growing power for the international community requires an understanding of China's grand strategy.

Some analysts of China's approach to security argue that the Chinese state has never deliberately pursued a grand strategy. Others argue that the premodern Chinese state was primarily concerned with ensuring its cultural and ideological preeminence through proper ritual and right conduct, and that the modern Chinese nation-state similarly emphasizes status and prestige over state power. Yet although China's grand strategy has never been explicitly articulated in a comprehensive manner by its rulers, China, like any other state, has pursued a grand strategy in the past and is pursuing a grand strategy today.

CHINA'S GRAND STRATEGY DEFINED

China's grand strategy is keyed to achieving three interrelated objectives: first and foremost, the preservation of domestic order and well-being in

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the face of social strife; second, defense against persistent external threats to national sovereignty and territory; and third, the attainment and maintenance of geopolitical influence as a major and perhaps primary state in the Asia-Pacific region and possibly beyond.

For most of Chinese history, efforts to attain these objectives have produced a security strategy oriented toward maintaining internal stability and prosperity along with achieving Chinese preeminence, if not control, along a far-flung geographic periphery. To carry out this strategy, China has relied on a strong authoritarian government that has employed a monolithic, hierarchical value system, frequent and at times intense coercive force, a wide range of highly pragmatic diplomatic stratagems involving balance and maneuver, and the many advantages resulting from the preservation of a dominant cultural and economic system throughout most of Central and East Asia.

During the premodern era, strong unified Chinese states sought to control their strategic periphery and assert Chinese preeminence by eliciting deference from nearby peoples, preferably through the establishment of unambiguous suzerainty relations that were backed, if possible, by superior military force. When faced with various internal and external obstacles to such methods (including domestic resistance to a prolonged, intensive use of force), strong Chinese states used a variety of non-coercive external security strategies, including appeasement, alliances, culturally based sinocentric patterns of interaction, and personal understandings among rulers, as well as a heavy reliance on static defenses.

Weak or declining Chinese states depended primarily on noncoercive tactics to stave off foreign attacks or maintain stability along the periphery while avoiding the offensive use of force. When

such strategies proved unsuccessful, weak regimes would sometimes resort to desperate military means, at times in response to the demands of dominant conservative domestic leadership factions. Such resistance invariably met with little success, and a regime severely weakened or completely collapsed would result in major reductions in Chinese control over the periphery and, in some instances, the loss of Chinese territory to foreigners. Strong unified Chinese regimes would eventually reemerge and seek to recoup these losses. The interaction among changing foreign and domestic capabilities and domestic elite attitudes and behavior thus created a pattern of expansion, consolidation, and contraction of Chinese control over the periphery that coincided with the rise, maintenance, and fall of Chinese regimes.

China's basic security objectives have remained unchanged during the modern era (roughly 1850 to the present). However, significant changes have occurred in China's threat perceptions, its definition of the periphery, requisites for periphery control, state capacities, and internal as well as external requirements of domestic order and well-being. Together these present implications for the specific type of security strategies pursued by the Chinese state. In particular, the modern era has witnessed the emergence of a hybrid weak-strong state security strategy that combines elements of traditional strong-state efforts to control the strategic periphery through military and political means with elements of a weak-state approach employing a primarily territorial defense-oriented force structure and a relatively high level of involvement in diplomatic balance and maneuver.

In recent decades, following the absorption of many former periphery areas into the Chinese state and the emergence of increasingly strong industrial powers along China's periphery, China's weak-strong state security approach has produced a calculative grand strategy that is neither assertive nor cooperative. This strategy has three guiding elements. First, it is based on a highly pragmatic, non-ideological policy approach tied to market-led economic growth and the maintenance of amicable international political relations with all states—especially the major powers. Second, the strategy depends on a general restraint in the use of force, whether toward the periphery or against more distant powers, combined with efforts to modernize

and streamline the Chinese military, albeit at a relatively modest pace. Third, it calls for an expanded involvement in regional and global interstate politics and various international, multilateral forums, with an emphasis on attaining asymmetric gains whenever possible.

The roots of this grand strategy can be traced to China's position as a relatively weak power. It requires high levels of undistracted economic and technological growth and hence significant geopolitical quiescence to ensure domestic order and well-being and to effectively protect its security interests along the periphery and beyond. The need for undistracted growth has been basic to the reform policies under way since the late 1970s.

The guiding elements of China's calculative grand strategy are clearly reflected in the policies China is pursuing in four separate areas: policies toward the United States; policies toward military modernization; policies toward territorial claims and the recourse to force; and policies toward international regimes.

STILL WEAK, BUT RISING

Given China's accurate appreciation of its status as a weak yet rising power, the thrust of Beijing's security-related policies toward the United States as the world's preeminent power can be characterized as a two-sided effort focusing on co-optation and prevention. The effort at co-optation focuses essentially on developing and maintaining cordial relations with the United States to encourage it to consistently underwrite the continuing growth in Chinese power; prevention seeks to hinder any American efforts that could frustrate the expansion in Chinese capability, status, and influence. This two-pronged strategy is grounded in the Chinese leadership's recognition that the United States subsists "in economic terms as an important trading partner and major investor" in China, while simultaneously remaining, "in nationalistic terms, [a] major rival in a competition for 'comprehensive national strength.'"¹

The efforts at co-optation and prevention are manifested in direct and indirect forms. At the direct level, they are oriented at convincing the United States to accept the rise of China as a stabilizing event internationally and regionally. Convincing the United States that the inevitability—indeed, the desirability—of a more powerful China is essential to prevent any attempts at containment either by the United States and its allies or by other Asian powers. It is also essential to forestall a heightened

¹Xiaoxiong Yi, "China's U.S. Policy Conundrum in the 1990s," *Asian Survey*, August 1994, p. 681.

defensive American counterresponse to a rising China, especially one that, if it leads to greater military acquisitions, increased forward deployments, and accelerated military research and development, would not only increase the gap in power capabilities between the United States and China still further, but also provide Beijing's regional competitors with the political cover under which they could challenge Chinese interests more effectively.

A THOROUGHLY MODERN MILITARY

As part of its current calculative strategy, China has sought to develop a range of military capabilities to sustain an expanded level of political and operational objectives. These objectives include securing the defense of Chinese sovereignty and national territory against threats or attacks from all opponents, including highly sophisticated military forces; acquiring the ability to counter or neutralize a range of potential short-, medium-, and long-term security threats along China's entire periphery (especially in maritime areas); learning to use military power as a more potent and versatile instrument of armed diplomacy and statecraft in support of varied regional and global policies; and eventually developing the power projection and extended territorial defense capabilities commensurate with the true great-power status expected in the twenty-first century. These objectives may be summarized as an effort to reduce China's existing vulnerabilities while increasing the utility of its military forces for purposes of securing diplomatic and political leverage.²

The attempt to reduce vulnerability has materialized at two levels. The first consists of a slow but determined effort at nuclear modernization designed to reduce the vulnerability of China's small and relatively primitive strategic-nuclear force to preemptive strikes by the industrialized powers' larger and more sophisticated forces. This program has been directed primarily toward improving "the surviv-

ability of [its] strategic forces, develop[ing] less vulnerable basing modes, and mak[ing] general improvements in the accuracy, range, guidance, and control" of its missile forces.³ It is not aimed primarily at expanding significantly the overall size of China's nuclear arsenal.⁴ China is also attempting to modernize its conventional weaponry; its labors in this area are much more concerted and its achievement more significant. Because China's contiguous land borders are relatively secure—thanks both to Chinese diplomacy and a current unwillingness on the part of China's potential neighboring adversaries to press their claims—the most visible dimensions of China's conventional modernization efforts have involved air and naval forces. Contingencies involving Taiwan in particular have provided a sharp focus for China's conventional modernization efforts in recent years. These include developing both interdiction (including morale-breaking) capabilities aimed at Taiwan as well as denial capabilities targeting Taiwan's potential defenders, primarily the United States.

In their effort to achieve the objectives of developing a force capability that resolves near-term challenges while simultaneously supporting longer-term aspirations, Chinese security managers have recognized that the state's military modernization efforts must be built on a foundation of indigenous scientific, technological, and economic capabilities. Hence, the level of resources devoted to military modernization has increased at a pace that is intended neither to undermine the attainment of essential civilian development priorities nor to unduly alarm both the peripheral states and the major powers and thus erode the generally benign threat China faces today. This is, in essence, the clearest manifestation of the calculative strategy.

TERRITORIALITY AND THE USE OF FORCE

China's approach to territorial claims remains a subset of its general strategic approach toward the peripheral states under the calculative strategy. Under this strategy China has pursued a generalized good-neighbor policy that has focused strengthening its existing ties in Northeast and Southeast Asia, mending ties wherever possible in South and West Asia, and exploring new relationships in Central Asia.

Beijing has adopted a two-pronged approach in dealing with territorial issues. If the territorial dispute in question is marginal to China's larger interests, the government has sought to resolve it amicably to pursue its larger goals. The border disputes with Russia,

²A good summary of the multidimensional facets of China's military modernization can be found in the "Special Issue: China's Military in Transition," *The China Quarterly*, June 1996.

³John Caldwell and Alexander T. Lennon, "China's Nuclear Modernization Program," *Strategic Review*, Fall 1995, p. 30.

⁴However, the deployment by the United States of even a limited national missile defense system (NMD) (that is, one designed to intercept 20 to 25 long-range ballistic missiles) would likely compel the Chinese to increase significantly both the size and sophistication of their nuclear force beyond existing planned levels. A limited NMD system, when combined with a devastating first strike by the United States, would almost certainly eliminate even a modernized yet small Chinese arsenal.

for example, are evidence of this approach; China's overarching interest in improving political relations with Moscow and securing access to Russian military technology have resulted in quick, hopefully permanent, solutions to these disputes.

If the dispute in question is significant but cannot be resolved rapidly to China's advantage by peaceful means, Beijing has advocated an indefinite postponement. This tactic has been adopted in territorial disputes with India, Japan, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) states; China has steadfastly avoided conceding any claims with respect to the dispute while simultaneously trying to prevent disturbing the environment that China needs to complete its internal transformation successfully. Beijing has applied the same logic to the dispute over Taiwan, whose presently ambiguous status the government would like to freeze. China would prefer not to employ force to resolve the issue, but may

be compelled to do so because the principle of avoiding significant territorial loss—especially of an area possessing enormous nationalistic significance as a Chinese province—would demand a military reaction, no matter how costly, if the Taiwanese sought to change the status quo unilaterally. The reluctance to employ force to resolve outstanding territorial disputes remains a good example of the calculative strategy at work.

COOPERATION VS. DEFECTION

Beijing's calculative strategy has led it to adopt an "instrumental" attitude toward international regimes. This implies that China possesses neither commitment nor antipathy to existing international norms and organizations but approaches these in terms of a pragmatic calculation centered on the benefits and drawbacks of participation and non-participation. Consequently, it has pursued a wide range of strategies regarding existing and evolving international regimes that can range from full participation in search of asymmetric gains, and contingent cooperation in pursuit of reciprocal benefits, to overt or covert defection.

This wide range of behaviors is by no means unique to China: it is typical of most states. Consistently simple and straightforward behaviors—either in the direction of cooperation or defection—are usually manifested only by those few states that disproportionately benefit from the regime or are dis-

proportionately penalized by it. The established great powers usually fall into the first category, the "revisionist" states into the second. Those states that occupy the middle ground—either favored or disadvantaged by prevailing regimes—would adopt behaviors similar to China's. Since Beijing encounters a variety of international regimes in the areas of economic development, trade, technology transfer, arms control, and the environment, this calculus is often reflected in different ways.

China either participates or has sought to participate in all regimes that promise asymmetric gains where accretion of new power or maintenance of existing power is concerned. It has also tried to participate in all international organizations and regimes where consequential policies adverse

to China's interests might be engineered if Beijing were absent. At the same time, China has sought to undercut—through participation—those regimes that threaten the political

interests of its communist government. And China has attempted to overtly or covertly undercut or leave those regimes that threaten its political and strategic interests, and generally to adhere to those regimes that advance such interests. China has remained a member of those international regimes that notionally provide joint gains, if the initial private costs of participation can either be extorted, shifted, or written off. China has also participated in regimes where the costs of unilateral defection were very high (for example, China continues to adhere to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty).

THE CALCULATIVE STRATEGY: BENEFITS AND RISKS

China's calculative grand strategy has resulted in significant security gains for the Chinese state during the past decade. Most important, it has greatly strengthened domestic order and well-being by producing sustained high rates of economic growth and major increases in the living standards of many Chinese. It has greatly increased China's international leverage, especially along its periphery, and raised its overall regional and global status and prestige. The strategy has resulted in an expansion in China's foreign economic presence and an increase in its political involvement and influence in Asia and beyond. It has also generated a huge foreign currency reserve as well as provided the Chinese state with the financial ability to purchase advanced

*The calculative strategy
has paid off handsomely for China.*

weaponry and critical technologies from foreign states, thus partially compensating for the continued shortcomings in its military capabilities (for example, Chinese purchases of advanced weapons from Russia are to a significant extent a testimony to the failure of China's defense industry to domestically produce many such critical systems). In perhaps the greatest achievement of all, the calculative strategy has contributed—despite the many unresolved disputes between China and its neighbors—to the maintenance of a relatively benign external environment that allows Beijing to continue to focus on internal economic growth.

The calculative strategy has thus paid off handsomely for China, putting it on a path that, if sustained, could see China become the largest economy in the world sometime in the first half of the twenty-first century. More significant, it has allowed this growth through an export-led economic program that increasingly employs imported technology and inputs. China has been able to rely on the markets and, increasingly, the resources of its partners to create the kind of growth that might eventually pose a major concern to its economic partners—without greatly unnerving those partners in the interim. This does not imply that China's economic partners are unconcerned about the implications of China's growth in power. It does indicate that such concerns have not resulted in efforts to constrain China's growth because the desire for absolute gains on the part of all (including China) has outweighed the corrosive concerns created by relative gains.

This represents the true success of the calculative strategy: because the strategy has been explicitly premised on a refusal to provoke fear and uncertainty through Chinese actions, Beijing has succeeded, whether intentionally or unintentionally, not only in desensitizing its trading partners to the problems of relative gains but has also, by rhetoric and actions aimed at exploiting all sides' desire for absolute gains, created the bases for the kind of continued collaboration that inevitably results in further increases in Chinese power and capabilities. Carried to its natural conclusion, the Chinese transition to true great-power status could occur in large part because of its partners' desire for trade and commercial intercourse, so long as Beijing is careful not to let any security competition short-circuit the process.

China's calculative grand strategy is not risk-free. Confrontation or conflict with the United States or its Asian allies could occur as a result of "normal"

disputes between states—especially those arising from perceived threats to China's domestic order and China's territorial integrity—and not from explicit or implicit struggles over control of the international system. The current tensions between the United States and China over Taiwan provide the foremost example of this type of "normal" dispute.

A FUTURE GRAND STRATEGY

If current economic, military, and domestic political trends hold, by 2015–2020 at the earliest—and more likely by 2020–2025—China might begin an extended transition phase to a new grand strategy. This phase could last for one or two decades, and its span will largely be determined by how quickly and fully Beijing can consolidate its power capacities relative to other great powers in the international system, including the United States.

If China acquires a relatively high level of national capabilities during this period—such that a power transition at the core of the global system becomes possible—what would Beijing's new grand strategy look like? Clearly, it is unlikely to persist with the calculative strategy because this plan, which was born primarily of weakness and dependence, will have transformed the circumstances that generated it and will have outlived its necessity and usefulness. The calculative strategy would slowly transmute into another that better comports with China's new power and capabilities. Three basic alternative strategies are possible: a chaotic China, a cooperative China, or an assertive China.

China's political, economic, and social order will probably not disintegrate into chaos in the near term or during the transition beyond the calculative strategy. It is also unlikely that a more cooperative China will emerge during this period if Beijing's relative power grows to the point where a systemic power transition becomes plausible. Instead, growing Chinese power will most likely result, over the long term, in a more assertive China. And China could reasonably be expected to pursue most, if not all, of the core elements of those assertive grand strategies pursued by major powers in the past. These include efforts to augment its military capabilities in a manner commensurate with its increased power; develop a sphere of influence by acquiring new allies and underwriting the protection of others; acquire new or reclaim old territory for China's resources or for symbolic reasons by penalizing, if necessary, any opponents or bystanders who resist such claims; prepare to redress past wrongs it believes to have suffered;

attempt to rewrite the prevailing international "rules of the game" to better reflect its own interests; and, in the most extreme policy choice, even perhaps ready itself to thwart preventive war or to launch predatory attacks on its foes.

HOW TO HANDLE A RISING CHINA

Even if the rise of Chinese power and its associated assertiveness should occur, preemptive containment and preemptive appeasement strategies would be counterproductive for the foreseeable future. As long as some chance exists that the predicted outcome of assertiveness may fail to materialize, or may be less severe than anticipated because of economic failure or the emergence of a more cooperative, democratic China, American strategy should neither create the preconditions for its occurrence nor retreat with the expectation that its occurrence is inevitable. And if it appears that the worst ravages of future security competition between the United States and China can be avoided, American grand strategists are bound both by the dictates of prudence and moral sensibility to explore every possibility that reduces international turmoil. Hence, a policy that assumes the need to realistically engage China over the course of the calculative strategy is the optimal approach.

To maximize the desired effects of such engagement, United States policy must orient the concept of engagement to include three different but related strands of policy: to pursue, whenever feasible, the possibilities of cooperation aimed at attaining deeper levels of encounter, stronger degrees of mutual trust and confidence, more clearly defined notions of reciprocity or equity, and greater levels of integration into the international system, and to use the resulting expanded level of cooperation and integration to encourage movement by China toward a democratic form of government; to discourage or, if ultimately necessary, prevent China's acquisition of capabilities that could unambiguously threaten the most fundamental core national security interests of the United States in Asia and beyond; and to remain prepared, if necessary, to cope with—by means of diplomacy, economic relations, and military instruments—the consequences of a more assertive and militant China with greater capabilities in a variety of political, strategic, and economic issue-areas

United States policy must maintain a clear

understanding of the ends to which engagement is pursued by developing a short list of objectives, preferably centered on China's external security behavior in key issue areas of interest to the United States, such as the American presence and alliance structure in Asia, the open economic order, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. American policy should also clearly appraise the multiple instruments available to support the three central strands of engagement just described and assess the trade-offs inherent in the use of these instruments. Overall, the development of a more effective engagement policy requires a more thorough understanding of how the operational elements of China's calculative strategy might evolve over time as China's capabilities change.

Even as this sharper assessment of engagement is developed, it is important to clarify America's own grand strategy and the objectives to which it aspires. The engagement of China should not be a policy prescription designed to assist the growth of Chinese power so that it may eventually eclipse the United States, even if peacefully. Rather, engagement must be focused on encouraging a more cooperative China, whether strong or weak, while also preserving American primacy in geopolitical terms. Together, the predicates of engagement should also focus on assisting Beijing to recognize that challenging existing American leadership would be both arduous and costly and, hence, not in China's long-term interest.

America's effort to engage China will be facilitated if China becomes a democratic state, more fully integrated into the international order and thus less inclined to employ military force. If Beijing eschews the use of force and works peacefully to adjust to and shape the future international system, the most destabilizing consequences of growing Chinese power will be minimized and, if the advocates of the democratic peace thesis are correct, a United States-led international order of democratic states that includes China might even be able to avoid the ravages of security competition. Unfortunately, the historical record suggests that achieving this goal will be difficult because the structural constraints imposed by competitive international politics will interact with the chaotic domestic processes in both the United States and China to produce antagonism between these two countries at the core of the global system. ■

WORLD

Chinese democracy arrives in Monkey Rock

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elections in China are an attempt by the central government in Beijing to adjust to land reforms of the 1980s. Party, they are an attempt to stay a step ahead of the evolving sentiments and pressures brought by 900 million peasants who make up the bulk of China, and who have begun to shoulder a greater share of living costs - higher taxes and food costs, price rises on fertilizers, even new fees for those who want a higher education.

"Chinese have always worried about feelings in the countryside, and today there are more cases of instability," says a rural expert in Beijing. "The party needs to solve the authority problem. If they can keep 60 percent of the farmers happy, that will be positive."

Nor do elections mean the Communist Party is folding its tents in rural China. The popularly elected village council and chief exist in parallel with the local party structure. The village council has no power of the police, or of police, and no real authority. About 80 percent of the village heads in Jilin, in fact, are also party members. (Party members make up 70 percent of

elected village chiefs across China, officials say.)

Yet village councils do have a kind of populist influence, with peasants lobbying hard in the doorways of party officials for the building of roads, settling disputes, and other local management issues.

The Houshi elections, moreover, represent another step in a decade-long "democratization" of villages. In 1998 the National People's Congress in Beijing passed the Organic Law or "Stage of Further Development" for village elections - allowing for commonly recognized standards, including secret ballots, limited campaigning, and a 20-day nomination process that takes place outside the party. Today, the election process is moving up to larger towns (see related story below).

In Houshi, for example, Gao's main challenger was a former local party chief, Qin Ming Yan. Mr. Qin promised in his campaign speech to work closely with the village council, even if he lost the election. Qin, a majority ethnic Han Chinese, faced Gao, a minority Manchu - and felt he would win. Yet by 3 p.m., as votes were tallied amid humorous skits and loudspeakers blasting patriotic



ROBERT MARQUAND

ANGRY LOSER: The village's Communist Party leader, Qin Ming Yan (center), complained that the elections in Houshi were 'unfair.' He was then whisked away by officials to keep him from talking to foreign reporters brought to cover the rural election.

music, it was clear Qin would lose by a 60-plus-vote landslide - and he began to mutter ever more loudly to those who would listen. "It's not fair, it's not fair," he said, cursing Gao in a huff, as reporters and translators overheard.

Yet while Qin was whisked away by embarrassed election and security officials and told not to make a scene with foreign reporters present - his outburst seemed a signal that the Houshi election was authentic. Reporters visiting Houshi under the sponsorship of the Foreign Ministry in Beijing were not allowed outside the schoolyard compound to talk independently with Chinese.

Yet Gao, the father of two, and owner of a local eatery, also offered a plan that tells about political realities at the village level. Having been declared the winner in a seemingly free and fair election, and having given his acceptance speech wearing a huge ceremonial ribbon, Gao told friends he would now apply for party membership. His reasons: "You need to be in the party to have an effect. It's the way to help direct finances."

To this point, experts say that village elections, along with keeping peasants mollified, serve another purpose: They are a natural means for the party to identify rising leaders who can join their

Villages are a powerful element in both Chinese history and imagination. The countryside is where Chairman Mao Zedong, himself from peasant stock, sent millions of urban dwellers to learn the wisdom of the farmer and to get closer to the land. Farms were steadily communalized in the 1950s and '60s; the peasants essentially lost their land, and were required to give their produce to the state. The experiment was a disaster. Peasants bickered, worked haphazardly - and by the late 1970s and early '80s, a land-reform movement was ushered in that restored many of the fields to the ordinary farmer.

During the 1980s, with farmers earning their own wages, life was good for many. Yet the liberalization of the economy also removed some of the social safety nets - and tensions have risen as peasants shoulder new costs.

Taking China's elections to the next level

BEIJING - Pushed by a desire to quell growing rural unrest and to clean house in a town in Henan plans to hold general elections for unpopular leaders can be stamped out of office.

Taking China's elections to the next level

BEIJING - Pushed by a desire to quell growing rural unrest and to clean house in the lowest level of government, the Communist Party is edging toward broadening democratic elections in towns. Government officials and activists say.

Towns are the lowest administrative level of government, with final say over village affairs. With populations ranging from 10,000 to 50,000, towns can hold from 10 to 40 villages each. Around 60 percent of China's 45,000 towns are broke because of bloated payrolls and mismanagement, says an official at the Ministry of Civil Affairs, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Budgets are controlled by the provinces. While towns are budgeted around 40 positions, most now have around 100 employees, the result of widespread patronage. Salaries for the extra workers comes from town-owned enterprises, but a soft economy is prompting officials to levy taxes on villagers - sometimes exceeding 50 percent. Many of these taxes are collected in the form of illegal fees for such things as road use or land rights. Meanwhile, many villagers have seen their incomes shrinking because of falling grain prices.

That has led to bursts of unrest across the country as peasants rebel against high taxes. In one case, 200 rioters destroyed the town hall, set cars on fire, and clashed with police over illegal surcharges levied by the primary school. Elections are seen by government officials as a way to solve this prob-

lem. Anger against unpopular leaders can be channeled by having them voted out of office. And peasants will be more cooperative with government policy if they have a say.

Three years ago, two towns held elections. Buyun, an impoverished town in Sichuan, secretly organized direct elections after a financial scandal damaged the local government's credibility. Dapangzhen, in the rich coastal area near the border with Hong Kong, also held elections.

The central government let the results stand and has monitored the outcome closely, even sending informal delegates to talk with locals. Next fall, the three-year term of most town chiefs across China will expire, sparking hope that more places will follow in the footsteps of the two pioneers.

Li Fan, head of the World And China Institute, a nongovernmental think tank, helped draft the election regulations in Buyun. He has prepared an election "how to" manual and mailed it to all 2,000 county governments in China.

Another group of activists is promoting a "two-vote system" that would achieve the result of direct elections without subverting the Constitution. By law, township heads must be appointed by Local People's Representative Congress, a party-dominated rub-

ber-stamp town council. But a town in Henan plans to hold general elections for town head, and then have the People's Congress vote to approve that candidate, reducing the congress to a symbolic role.

"If we do it well, then it can serve as a model for others," says one of the organizers, who feared giving his name could cause publicity that would derail the experiment.

But the ministry official says the two-vote system is perfectly acceptable and versions of it will be piloted in other towns this year. "It's a good way to practice, to open their minds," the official says.

Despite these moves, there is still strong resistance by local leaders loathe to give up power

and a central government that fears sparking chaos. But central government officials maintain the need for better management. The growing rural unrest has broader impacts. China's bond ratings are lower because "a serious economic setback could jeopardize China's political system and not just result in a change of leadership," writes the global ratings firm Standard & Poor's.

Says the ministry official: "Democracy is like a rubber band. Once you've stretched it to a certain point, if you let go, it has to go forward."

- Shai Oster

'It's a good way to practice, to open their minds.'

- Beijing official on elections

During the 1980s, with farmers earning their own wages, life was good for many. Yet the liberalization of the economy also removed some of the social safety nets - and tensions have risen as peasants shoulder new costs. Some villagers in Houshi whispered to reporters that they give no less than half their \$375 monthly salary in taxes.

There is also a shadow between the idea and the reality of local democracy. In Houshi, for example, it was unclear just who the most recent village chief had been. Queries met with contradictory answers. One possibility is that the former directly elected village chief had not been liked by the party, or had been corrupt, and had been summarily replaced by the party.

Only about a quarter of the 800,000-plus village councils in China are elected under proper international standards. Dr. Liu Yawei, associate director of the Carter Center's China Village Election Project, told the South China Morning Post last year.

At the same time, villages like Houshi have modernized and improved. The streets are paved. Houses and schools are well-built. Neat pens encircle herds of ducks and geese outside individual homes. "We used to have roofs made of corn stalks," one peasant said. "Now they are made of brick and mortar."

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Rural Chinese begin tasting democracy 'lite'

■ Monkey Rock votes in a 'populist' and joins some 200,000 other villages electing their own officials.

By Robert Marquand

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

HOUSHI, CHINA - Candidate Gao Zhi Li didn't need Democratic strategist James Carville. Facing skeptical voters, Mr. Gao, a tall ethnic Manchurian, did what any savvy Western politician might do: He ran as an outsider, a man of the people.

Gao's electorate, however, were about 550 stoic Chinese farmer-peasants, gathered outside in a freezing schoolyard to vote by secret ballot. Gao ran for village chief of Houshi (Monkey Rock) - an outcropping of frozen tundra in China's northeast Jilin Province, where the principal industry is corn and sugar beets. The power structure Gao wanted to avoid identifying with: the local Communist Party.

"You all know me, I'm one of you," Gao said from a podium, in what turned out to be the



ROBERT MARQUAND

winning speech. "I will put farmers' interests first. I will not be corrupt."

China's villages now routinely experiment with a word that has only recently been spoken casually around steaming peasant hot pots - democracy. Partly, the estimated 830,000 village

THERE HE IS, MR. DEMOCRACY:

Gao Zhi Li (far right), is the newly elected village chief in Houshi (Monkey Rock), China. Beside him are the other elected members of the village council.

See VILLAGES page 8

Key Documents in U.S.-Chinese Relations

Document #1

Excerpts from the Treaty of Peace, Amity and Commerce signed by the United States and China, 1844

ARTICLE II: Citizens of the United States resorting to China for the purposes of commerce will pay the duties of import and export prescribed in the Tariffs, which is fixed by and made a part of this Treaty. They shall, in no case, be subject to other or higher duties than are or shall be required of the people of any other nation whatever. Fees and charges of every sort are wholly abolished, and officers of the revenue, who may be guilty of exaction, shall be punished according to the laws of China. If the Chinese Government desires to modify, in any respect, the said Tariff, such modifications shall be made only in consultation with consuls or other functionaries thereto duly authorized in behalf of the United States, and with consent thereof. And if additional advantages or privileges, of whatever description, be conceded hereafter by China to any other nation, the United States, and the citizens thereof, shall be entitled thereupon, to a complete, equal, and impartial participation in the same.

ARTICLE XXI: ...citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States. And in order to the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

Document #2

Excerpts from the "Open Door" note addressed by Secretary of State John Hay to the government of Britain (and the other imperialist powers), 1899

This Government is animated by a sincere desire that the interests of our citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their so-called "spheres of interest" in China, and hopes also to retain there an open market for the commerce of the world, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, and hasten thereby united or concerted action of the powers at Peking [Beijing] in favor of the administrative reforms so urgently needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China in which the whole western world is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly assisted by a declaration by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China of their intentions as regards treatment of foreign trade therein. The present moment seems a particularly opportune one for informing Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the desire of the United States to see it make a formal declaration and to lend its support in obtaining similar declarations from the various powers claiming "spheres of influence" in China, to the effect that each in its respective spheres of interest or influence —

First. Will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

Excerpts from the joint U.S.-Chinese communique issued at Shanghai on the occasion of President Richard Nixon's visit to China, 1972

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states....

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

Questions for discussion

Instructions: Answer the questions below with the other members of your group. Be prepared to share your views with the class.

1. Which historical events set the stage for the document assigned to your group?

2. What were the most important American interests at stake at the time your group's document was written?

3. What does your group's document suggest about China's position in the world at the time the document was written?

4. How did your group's document affect the course of U.S.-Chinese relations?

Joint U.S.-Chinese Communiqué Issued at Shanghai, 1972

(The three joint communiqués issued by the United States and China in 1972, 1979, and 1982 continue to serve as the foundation for U.S.-Chinese relations.)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant of the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung [Mao Ze-dong] of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious talk and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest, and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking [Beijing] and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hanchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar points of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitude.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic cause of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside

pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communications between countries that have different ideologies as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972, represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is opposition, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and

strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference on the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of

force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

- both wish to reduce the danger of international conflict;

- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all US forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, or one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan," or advocate that the status of Taiwan remains to be determined.

The US side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all US forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending

of a senior US representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, January 1, 1979

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1, 1979.

The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communique and emphasize once again that:

- Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.
- Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-

Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

- Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

- The government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.

- Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China will exchange Ambassadors and establish Embassies on March 1, 1979.

Taiwan Relations Act, April 14, 1979

Declares it to be the policy of the United States to preserve and promote extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan, as well as the people on the China mainland and all other people of the Western Pacific area. Declares that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern. States that the United States decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means and that any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes is considered a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States. States that the United States shall provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character and shall maintain the capacity of the United States to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or social or economic system, of the people of Taiwan.

Reaffirms as a commitment of the United States the preservation of human rights of the people of Taiwan.

Declares that in furtherance of the principle of maintaining peace and stability in the Western Pacific area, the United States shall make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capacity as determined by the President and the Congress. Requires such determination of Taiwan's defense needs to be reviewed by United States military authorities in connection with recommendations to the President and the Congress.

Directs the President to inform the Congress promptly of threats to the security or the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan, and any danger to the United States interests arising from such threats. Specifies that the President and the Congress shall determine the appropriate action in response to any such danger.

Stipulates that the absence of diplomatic rela-

tions with or recognition of Taiwan shall not affect U.S. laws relating to Taiwan.

Authorizes the President or any department and agency to conduct and carry out programs, transactions, and other relations with respect to the people on Taiwan, including, but not limited to, the performance of services for the United States through contracts with commercial entities in Taiwan, in accordance with applicable laws of the United States.

Stipulates that withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of the Government on Taiwan shall not affect, including actions in all United States courts, the ownership of, or other rights or interests in, real property or other things of value, nor the contractual obligations and debts of the people on Taiwan.

Stipulates that whenever the application or a rule of law of the United States depends upon the law applied on Taiwan or compliance with such law, the law applied by the people on Taiwan shall be considered the applicable law for that purpose.

Prohibits any United States agency, commission, or department from denying an export license application or revoking an existing export license for nuclear exports to the people on Taiwan based on the lack of diplomatic recognition by the United States of the Government of Taiwan.

Permits Taiwan to be treated in the manner specified in the selection system for a separate immigration quota for purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Allows Taiwan to sue and be sued in courts in the United States, in accordance with United States laws.

Stipulates that all treaties and international agreements which were in force between the United States and Taiwan, known as the Republic of China, on December 31, 1978, and that multilateral conventions to which the United States and Taiwan are contracting parties shall continue in force between the United States and Taiwan unless terminated in accordance with law.

Provides for the continued membership of the people on Taiwan in any international financial institution or any other international organization.

Allows the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to provide insurance, reinsurance, loans, or guaranties for projects on Taiwan during the three year period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act,

unrestricted by the \$1,000 per capita income restriction of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

Provides for relations between the United States and Taiwan to be conducted by or through the American Institute in Taiwan (or such comparable successor nongovernmental entity as the President may designate) and an instrumentality established by the people of Taiwan.

Sets forth the duties the Institute may authorize any of its employees in Taiwan to perform, including, but not limited to, administration or taking from any person an oath, affirmation, affidavit, or deposition and any other acts such as are authorized to be performed for consular purposes which assist or protect the persons and property of citizens or entities of United States nationality.

Stipulates that the Institute shall be treated as a tax-exempt organization.

Authorizes U.S. departments and agencies to furnish and accept service to and from the Institute.

Authorizes the President to extend to the instrumentality established by the people on Taiwan the same number of offices and complement of personnel as previously operated in the United States by the government recognized as the Republic of China prior to January 1, 1979.

Authorizes the President to extend to the instrumentality established by the people on Taiwan privileges and immunities comparable to those provided to missions of foreign countries, upon the condition that similar privileges and immunities are extended on a reciprocal basis to the Institute.

Authorizes U.S. departments and agencies to allow Federal officers and employees to separate from Federal service and accept employment with the Institute. Provides for the reinstatement of such employees with their former department or agency with no loss of rights and benefits. Stipulates that alien employees of U.S. departments and agencies be transferred to the Institute. Stipulates that employees of the Institute shall not be Federal employees. Exempts certain amounts received by employees of the Institute from taxation.

Requires the Secretary of State to transmit to the Congress the text of any agreement to which the Institute is a part (or to the appropriate committees of the Senate and House of Representatives if such disclosure would be prejudicial to the national security of the United States).

Directs the Secretary to report to the Congress every six months on the economic relations between the United States and the people on Taiwan.

Requires that the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate monitor the implementation of the provisions of this Act; the operation and procedures of the Institute; the legal and technical aspects of the continuing relationship between the United States and Taiwan; and the implementation of the policies of the United States concerning security and cooperation in East Asia.

Authorizes the appropriation of funds necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

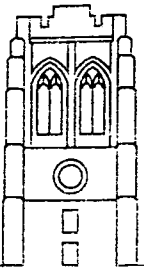
Makes this Act effective as of January 1, 1979.

Joint U.S.-Chinese Communique, August 17, 1982

1. In the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations on January 1, 1979, issued by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the United States of America recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, and it acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China. Within that context, the two sides agreed that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. On this basis, relations between the United States and

China were normalized.

2. The question of the United States arms sales to Taiwan was not settled in the course of negotiations between the two countries on establishing diplomatic relations. The two sides held differing positions, and the Chinese side stated that it would raise the issue again following normalization. Recognizing that this issue would seriously hamper the development of the United States-China relations, they have held further discussions on it, during and since the meetings between President Ronald Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang and between Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua in Oc-



J O H N C A R R O L L U N I V E R S I T Y

T H E J E S U I T U N I V E R S I T Y I N C L E V E L A N D

**CURRICULUM REPORT:
THREE KINGDOMS PROJECT**

submitted by
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1. Objective
2. Course Overview
3. Project Description
4. Evaluation
5. Sources
6. Project
 - A. PowerPoint® Presentation
 - B. Essay Questions
 - C. Discussion Questions, Handouts
 - D. Course Syllabus

1. OBJECTIVE:

Although I incorporated many of my experiences from the Fulbright Seminar into my Fall 2002 survey course on the history of China, I selected as my project the historical novel *The Three Kingdoms*, also known as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, a 14th century work attributed to Luo Guanzhong, which was required reading for the course. This was the first time I have used this work and my project objective was to present the novel to the students as a means to help them understand social and political aspects of premodern China and provide them with the necessary background to the write a critical essay on the novel and participate meaningfully in class discussion.

2. COURSE OVERVIEW:

The *History 282: Chinese History* course I teach, is designed to meet the requirements of both the History Department and the University's Core Education. The Department requires majors to take at least two courses on non-western cultures. (Until this semester I was the department's sole non-western specialist.) The University's Core Education also requires that all students take at least one course on a non-Western culture and one history or art history course. (Since students can "double-dip," many of the students enrolled in this course are seeking to fill Core requirements in both history/art history and non-western cultures.) There are no pre-requisites for the class and the students generally have no background in China or East Asia. Enrollment includes history majors and non-majors from the freshmen, sophomore, junior, and senior classes. The majority of the thirty students enrolled, however, are seniors and juniors seeking Core credit and not planning to pursue in further study in either history or East Asian studies. (I might add, that my PhD was in modern Japan history and Chinese history is one of my outside fields.)

Since the course covers the whole history of China, from its prehistoric origins to contemporary events, I try to complement the survey text with additional readings that are relevant to two or more lectures. Along with the text and anthology of source materials, the students are assigned four additional book-length primary sources. Since one of the goals of the class is to have the students analyze and respond to primary sources, I often select literary works because they are generally more accessible to the students. *Three Kingdoms* was written in the late 14th century, as the Yuan Dynasty fell and was replaced by the Ming, but the novel is set in 3rd century during the collapse of the Han Dynasty and subsequent period of disunity. It therefore provided the groundwork to discuss not only the decline of one of China's great dynasties along with a growing sense of Chinese nationalism following the expulsion of the alien Mongol regime. It also allowed for discussion of Confucian morality and statecraft as the three kingdoms vie to fill the vacuum left by the Han. The work provides the students with the opportunity to look at historical personalities and evaluate their representations through the critique of the work as a primary source. Students were exposed to work through lecture, discussion, reading, and writing.

3. PROJECT DESCRIPTION:

Although examples from the novel were referred to throughout the course, the formal project was presented in two parts. The first part was a PowerPoint® presentation to introduce the students to the novel, its plot and characters. The *Three Kingdoms* is a sprawling episodic novel with dozens of characters even in its abridged edition. In order for students to get a handle on the story it was necessary to provide them with the historic background of the plot and identify key characters that appear throughout the novel. It was also following the PowerPoint® presentation that the students were given the writing assignment which required them to respond to one of three essay questions. The three choices dealt with [1] the relationship between rulers

and advisors, [2] the moral qualities esteemed or condemned in Confucian culture, and [3] the role of women among the ruling elites. The project's second part, conducted about four weeks later as the course neared completion of the coverage of premodern China, was class discussion of the novel. My discussion questions were based on points I felt the students would cover in their own essays along with additional material from cartoon versions of the *Three Kingdoms* which recounted in a simplified form the various military strategies described in the novel.

4. EVALUATION:

Based on both the quality of class discussion and student essays, I feel that the project was successful. The challenge in using a work such as *Three Kingdoms* in this type of class, is getting students to pull out the "telling details" to support their argument. The better essays not only analyzed the specific examples given in the essay questions, but included significant additional examples for support. In class discussion, when asked, students generally enjoyed the book, although they found the Chinese names difficult, a constant problem for this and other courses on East Asia.

Although I was generally pleased with the project, I plan to revise it when I teach my Chinese history class again in Fall 2003. While for discussion purposes students were given a deadline to complete the novel, next time I will also include reading assignments of specific portions of *Three Kingdoms*. Not necessarily for its historic components, but to illustrate cultural aspects depicted in the book, such as why Cao Cao's behavior is considered so traitorous or how Liu Bei and Kongming represent an ideal ruler-advisor relationship. I hope this will help the students develop better analytical skills needed for their essay and class discussion as well as make the assignment of reading the novel a little less daunting.

This was my first real experience with PowerPoint®. While the technology and procedure to create the presentation were not difficult, prior to this I had only seen a handful of presentations and had not had the opportunity to give much attention to matters of style and visual impact. I feel that my slides may have been too wordy. In my revisions I intend to include more images and less text per slide. (Although, this will increase the total number of slides.) China does not seem to have the tradition of historical paintings like Japan. While in China I purchased a simplified illustrated version of the novel, but it is in Chinese. In order to keep to the chronology of China, the PowerPoint® presentation had to be scheduled within a month of my return from China. In revising the presentation for next year I should have adequate time to compare the chapter numbers and illustrations of the simplified version with the unabridged text as well as look for other sources of illustrative materials.

5. SOURCES:

Translations, editions of *Three Kingdoms*:

- Brewitt-Taylor, C.H., translator. *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* by Lu Kuan-Chung. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959. 2 Vols.
- Liu Zhenyuan, illustrator and compiler. *Three Kingdoms*. Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1997.
- Roberts, Moss, translator. *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel*, attributed to Luo Guangzhong. Foreign Language Press/University of California: Beijing/Berkeley, 1999. Abridged Edition. [Edition required for course.]
- *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel*, attributed to Luo Guangzhong. Foreign Language Press/University of California: Beijing/Berkeley, 1991. [Unabridged edition.]
- Tsai Chih Chung editor and illustrator. *Romance of the Three Kingdom: A Humorous Interpretation of the Historical Chinese Classic*. Singapore: Asiapac Publications, 1993.
- Yaohui, illustrator. *Strategies from the Three Kingdoms*. Singapore: Asiapac Publications, 2000.

Source, background materials:

- Arlington, L. C. *The Chinese Drama from the Earliest Times until Today*. New York: B. Blom, 1966.
- Clunas, Craig. *Oxford History of Art: Art in China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Hook, Brian, editor. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, new edition.
- Hsia, C.T. *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction*. Ithaca, New York: East Asian Program, Cornell University, 1996 [reprint of 1968 edition.]
- Paludan, Ann. *Chronicle of the Chinese Emperors*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. <www.3kingdoms.net>.

6. PROJECT:

- A. PowerPoint® Presentation
- B. Essay Questions
- C. Discussion Questions, Handouts
- D. Course Syllabus

The Three Kingdoms
A Historical Novel



Sanguozhiyanyi
Attributed to
Luo Guanzhong

The Three Kingdoms



- I. Historical Background
- II. The Novel
- III. Key Figures

1. Historical Background



1. The Fall of the Han
2. The Three Kingdoms Era

1. The Fall of the Han



- Latter Han plagued by two problems
- Corruption and palace intrigues
 - Domestic Rebellions

Corruption and Palace Intrigues

- Emperor tried to counter power of consort families through alliance with eunuchs.
- Resulted in three-way power struggle among officials, noble families, eunuchs.

Eunuchs Usurp Power

"The cause of the Han's fall may be traced to the reigns of Xian's two predecessors, Huan and Ling. Huan drove from office and persecuted officials of integrity and ability, giving all his trust to his eunuchs. After Ling succeeded Huan as emperor, Regent-Marshal Dou Wu and Imperial Guardian Chen Fan... planned to execute the power-abusing eunuchs. But their plot was brought to light, and Dou Wu and Chen Fan were put to death. From then on the Minions of the Palace knew no restraint"

- *Three Kingdoms*, chapter 1

Last Emperors of Han

Emperor	Age at accession	Reign
Hedi	9 years	88-106
Shangdi	3 months	106
Andi	12 years	106-125
Shundi	10 years	125-144
Chongdi	1 year	144-145
Zhidi	7 years	145-146
Huandi	14 years	146-168
Lingdi	12 years	168-189
Xiandi	8 years	189-220

Twenty Years of Eunuch Rule

Emperor Lingdi's reign (168-189) began and ended with attempts to massacre eunuchs.

- Eunuchs discover Dou Wu and Chen Fan's plot, execute conspirators.
- For next twenty years, eunuchs control the court. Appointed relatives, proteges; senior officials killed or disgraced.
- In 189 warlord Dong Zhong entered and destroyed the capital. Executed 2,000 eunuchs.
- Dong Zhong puts Xiandi on throne.

Rise of Warlords

- Emperor Xiandi's reign (189-220) saw power in hands of warlords.
- Beginning with Emperor Hedi, (88) eunuchs had taken power of officials, consort families.
- Now, the military had broken power of eunuchs.
- The powerful general Cao Cao tries to assassinate Dong Zhou and offers Xiandi protection.

The Yellow Turbans

- The most infamous and threatening of domestic rebellions (184-205).
- Followers influenced by religious Daoism.
- Name refers to members' head gear. (Also known as "Yellow Scarves".)
- Rebellion put down by Cao Cao.

Domestic Rebellion

- Corruption breeds local rebellions.
- During reign of Lingdi, tax money intended for government misspent on emperor and eunuchs.
- Administration unable to handle agricultural crisis. Without funds, local relief system could not operate.
- Each flood, draught, famine added to peasants problems and discontent.
- Generals who lead attack on local rebels establish selves as regional warlords, wrested power from eunuchs.

Cao Cao's Rise to Power

- A successful "poet-general" from aristocratic family. Father was adopted son of a eunuch.
- Marries daughter to emperor.
- Named "protector of the empire" and becomes *de facto* ruler
- Puts down Yellow Turbans.
- Dies in 220
- Son, Cao Pi, forces Han Emperor Xuandi to abdicate and posthumously names father as founder of Wei Kingdom.

2. *The Three Kingdoms Era*

The Three Kingdoms Era (206-264) refers to the three successor states that appear as the Han Empire disintegrates: the Wei in the North, the Shu-Han in the West and the Wu in the South.

The Kingdom of Wei

- Established by Cao Cao in the North.
- The largest and most powerful of the three kingdoms.
- Cao Cao increased agricultural production by resettling displaced peasants on state-owned agricultural colonies.
- A "Legalist" state, its policies favored great families who had won distinction in the military.

The Three Kingdoms

246



The Kingdom of Shu-Han


- Founded by warlord Liu Bei (Xuande), a descendant of Han, who had fought with Cao Cao against the Yellow Turbans.
- Established in the West. Protected by mountains, it was easy to defend and hard to attack.
- After the death of Liu Bei's military strategist Zhuge Liang, Shu-Han was annexed by Wei in 263.

The Kingdom of Wu




- Founded in the southern Yangzi River Basin by Sun Quan, a rival of Cao Cao.
- During the Yellow Turban Rebellion, powerful families in region had severed themselves from the central government.
- The Wu forces allied with Shu-Han in an alliance against the Wei.

The Kingdom of the Western Jin



- The Three Kingdom Era ends when China is again unified as a single state.
- In 265 the Sima Clan, a powerful noble family in the Wei Kingdom, overthrew the Wei imperial line and established a new dynasty.
- The Sima Clan and its forces defeated the Wu Kingdom in 280 and unified China under the Western Jin (265-316).

The Three Kingdoms: From Later Han to Western Jin



Later Han, 29-220	
	Western Jin, 265-317

II. The Novel



Luo Guangzhong (ca. 1330-1400)

- Attributed author of *Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhiyenyi*).
- Almost nothing is known of Luo's life.
- Three Kingdoms Era had been of interest to storytellers since the Tang. Luo's intent was to compose a historical narrative based on history as he knew it.
- His version, revised by father and son Mao Lun and Mao Zongqiang, has remained the standard version for over three centuries.

Plot

- An example of *yan-yi*, retelling official history to make its meaning clearer.
- A historical narrative: the plot is the plot of history, almost no ahistorical characters.
- The stories of the Three Kingdoms have been popular among both literati and commoner, including China's modern revolutionaries, Sun Yatzen and Mao Zedong

Theme: "Unity of the Empire"

Here begins our tale. The empire long divided, must unite; long united, must divide. Thus it has ever been.

—Opening lines, chapter 1

The world's affairs, an endless stream;

A sky fate, infinite in reach, dooms all.

The kingdoms three are now the stuff of dreams,
For men to ponder, past all praise and blame.

—Closing stanza, chapter 120

Theme: "Human Ambition"

"A fascinating novel whose chief theme is the nature of human ambition."

—R.A. Miller, "Introduction,"
Brewitt-Taylor translation of
Romance of the Three Kingdoms

Theme: Talent, Ability and Fame



"Theirs [the major protagonists] is a secular world conditioned by the Confucian and Legalist philosophy of public service in which a man's greatest satisfaction is to achieve the kind of fame commensurate with his ability and talent and thus earn a place in history."

—C.T. Hsia *The Classical Chinese Novel*

III. Key Figures



1. Rulers
2. Warriors & Warlords
3. Advisors

I. Rulers



Cao Cao: Ruler of Wei



- Rises to power through his defeat of the Yellow Turbans.
- Lays the foundations for the Wei Kingdom, which is founded after his death by his son.
- He is considered a villain because he usurped the Han throne. [An example of the disloyal minister.]
- Despite his moral weakness, he is both an outstanding military leader and poet.

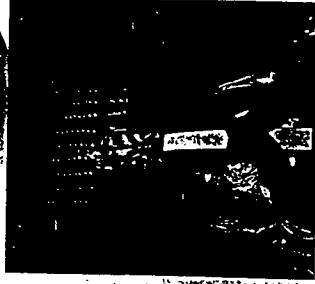
Chinese Opera Villain: Cao Cao



- In Chinese opera his face is chalk white to reflect his treachery with touches of black to show his quick wit.
- "Better to wrong the world than have it wrong me!"

—chapter 4

Image of Liu Bei at Wu Hou Shrine



"...I, Bei, the August Emperor, resolve to proclaim to the shining august Heaven and the fruitful earth that the Han hold the in unbroken succession.... All agree that the Mandate of Heaven must be heeded.... and that the realm not be without its ruler."

—chapter 80

Liu Bei: Ruler of Shu-Han

- Also known as Xuande.
- Swears brotherhood in the Peach Orchard with Guan Yu and Zhang Fei to fight against the Yellow Turbans.
- A descendent of the Han imperial line, he is seen as seeking the restoration of the Han. (Referred to as "Imperial Uncle")
- A hero of the epic, he dies shortly after launching a misguided military assault against the Wu Kingdom to avenge the death of Guan Yu.

Sun Quan: Ruler of Wu

- Inherits from his elder brother, Sun Ce, the foundations of the Wu kingdom.
- At first hostile against the Shu-Han kingdom, he later allies with Liu Bei against Cao Cao.
- Known for his bravery, the first Ming emperor (r. 1368-1398) allows Sun's tomb to remain even though it blocks access to the Ming emperor's own mausoleum

Memorial to Three Brothers' Peach Garden Oath



2. Warriors & Warlords

Dong Zhou

- Another great villain of the Three Kingdoms saga. "Dong Zhou and Cao Cao proved two of a kind" (chapter 4).
- Enlisted to help put down the eunuchs, he then usurps the throne.
- Makes his most feared enemy, Lu Bu, his most trusted supporter and adopted son.
- Is killed by Lu Bu, who is tricked into a jealous rage over Diaochan, a singsong girl.

Guan Yu of Shu-Han

- Swears brotherhood in the Peach Orchard with Liu Bei and Zhang Fei against the Yellow Turbans. (He is the "middle" brother, has ruddy complexion.)
- Captured by Cao Cao, who treats him with respect. Guan Yu later allows Cao Cao to escape.
- He is executed, along with son Guan Ping, by Sun Quan of Wu.

Zhang Fei of Shu-Han

- In Ming era Guan Yu is transformed into a popular deity, Guandi, with the title "Faithful and Loyal Great Deity, Supporter of Heaven and Protector of the Realm."
- Guandi was popular among the commoners because unlike Western war gods, Mars and Ares, he prevents wars.
- By the end of Imperial China there were 1,600 state temples and thousands of smaller ones.



Sima Yi of Wei

Zhang Fei's war blood rose
at Steepslope Bridge:
Spear leveled, horse poised,
his eyes round-fixed.
With a single thunderous cry
that shook the ground,
Alone he turned Cao's might
host around.

—chapter 42



Zhang Fei of Shu-Han

- Impulsive, hot-tempered, given to drink, he's the youngest of the three sworn brothers, Liu Bei and Guan Yu. (Has dark complexion.)
- Noted more for his one-on-one fighting than strategy.
- He is assassinated by two subordinates who he had whipped for delaying his attack to avenge his brother Guan Yu's death

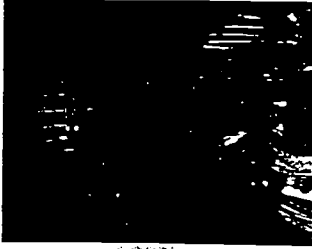
Sima Yi of Wei

- A general in the service of Cao Cao
- Plots with Cao Cao to break the fragile alliance between Liu Bei of Shu-Han and Sun Quan of Wu.
- Prepares the way for the Sima clan to usurp the Wei throne and establish the Jin Dynasty in 264.

3. Advisors



Image of Zhuge Liang at Wu Hou Shrine



That day thick fog bound the river,

Dissolving distance in a watery blue.

Like rain or locusts, Cao Cao's arrows struck;

But Kongming prevailed—

—chapter 46 (after using subterfuge to collect 100,000 arrowheads)

Zhuce Liang



- Advisor to Liu Bei of Shu-Han, Zhuge Liang is a master strategist and tactician.
- Also known as Kongming and "The Sleeping Dragon."
- Noted for his reluctance to serve and his great loyalty to Liu Bei and the restoration of the Han.

Pang Tong



- Known as "Young Phoenix," he was Zhuge Liang's peer.
- Wanted to serve as advisor to Sun Quan of Wu, but is refused because of his looks.
- Although he has letter recommendation, he seeks and gains position with Liu Bei on own merits.

Zhou Yu

- Recommended as commander-in-chief of the Wu forces to Sun Guan by his brother General Sun Ce.
- Goaded into war with Wei by Zhuge Liang's poem that Cao Cao sought both the Kingdom of Wu and Zhou Yu's wife and sister-in-law.
- Seeks to execute Zhuge Liang by giving him an impossible task—produce 100,000 arrow heads in 10 days.

Lu Su

- Succeeds his mentor Zhou Yu as head of the Wu forces.
- Advises Zhou Yu to focus on the threat from Cao Cao and not his personal grudge against Zhuge Liang.
- Although commander-in-chief of the Wu forces, Lu Su prefers diplomatic solutions.

Lu Xun

- Scholar and son-in-law of Sun Ce, he is appointed commander-in-chief of the Wu forces after Lu Su.
- Because of his scholarly background, his appointment by Sun Guan is opposed by leaders of the Wu military.
- His "wait-till-the-time-is-right" strategy nearly succeeds in capturing Liu Bei.
- He is later appointed Prime Minister of Wu.

The Three Kingdoms: End

"Therefore, the three kingdoms came under the rule of the Jin Emperor, Sima Yan, who laid the foundation for a unified realm, thereby fulfilling the saying, "the empire long united, must divide, and long divided, must unite."

—chapter 120

ESSAY ASSIGNMENT: THREE KINGDOMS

The essay length is 3 pages, typed. It should not be a summary of Luo Guangzhong's *Three Kingdoms*, but a response to *one* of the questions below. While you may use information from lectures and *The Illustrated History of China* for background, you should support your argument with specific examples from *Three Kingdoms*. Cite your examples and evidence by page number. There are many web sites on the *Three Kingdoms*. <www.3kingdoms.net> is useful in sorting the figures in the story as well as providing illustrations of the characters and weapons. Keep in mind, however, that many of these web sites base their discussion on the unabridged versions and often use Wade-Giles romanization of names and places. You should base your argument on examples from abridge version translated by Moss Roberts and give all Chinese names and words in *pin-yin*.

Three Kingdoms is a story of the break up of the Han Dynasty of the 3rd century AD, but it was not written until the late Yuan and early Ming Eras of the 14th century. While the story of the novel follows the historical account and there are few if any ahistorical characters, it, nevertheless, reflects the values of the author, Luo Guangzhong, more than the values of the historical figures in the saga. Keep this in mind when forming your argument

Answer one of the following three questions.

- ① In counseling on the selection of ministers, an imperial advisors notes: "In times like this, not only does the lord choose the man, but the man chooses the lord" (chapter 29). How is this bond between ruler and advisor demonstrated in *The Three Kingdoms*? What seems to bring ruler and advisor together and what holds them together, regardless of circumstances? What does this suggest about the Chinese ideal of good leadership and administration? [HINT: Two good examples are Liu Bei's efforts to win over Zhuge Liang (chapters 37-38) and his disastrous decision to lead the assault on Wu in retaliation for the death of Guan Yu (chapter 84). Add two or three other examples to support your argument. Other advisors you may want to look at include Pang Tong, Zhou Yu, Lu Su, and Lu Xun.]
- ② In the "Afterwards," the translator holds Xuande and Cao Cao up as two mythic and historical models. What virtues and qualities are found in these two figures and what does this suggest about the traditional Chinese view of political succession? [HINT: Why is Xuande memorialized at a shrine in the Chengdu, the capital of the former Shu-Han Kingdom, and why would Cao Cao be a villain in traditional Chinese opera, as seen his in chalk white make-up?]

- ③ Although there is no significant female figure in the Three Kingdoms saga, women do play an important part in the moral and political fabric of the era. Look at Shan Fu's relationship with his Madam Xu (chapter 36), the arrange marriage between Liu Bei and Sun Quan's sister (chapter 54), **and** three other examples. What is the proper role of wife, mother and daughter to husband, son, and father in Chinese society?

NB: Liu Bei, Xuande, and Imperial Uncle refer to the *same* individual. His advisor is known as Zhuge Liang *and* Kongming.

HS282 / CHINESE HISTORY

Discussion:
THE THREE KINGDOMS

NB: The following questions and activities were used for the formal class discussion of the novel. Since it is not always possible to anticipate students' willingness to participate or their preparation, there are more questions and activities than covered in-depth during the hour-and-a-quarter class period. More importantly, the additional questions allow for flexibility so the direction of the discussion can substantially respond to students' comments and questions.

=====
Reading:

Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*. Moss Roberts trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, abridged edition.

=====

Outline:

- I. Background
- II. Discussion of characters
- III. Discussion of warfare
- IV. Discussion of values: *wen* vs. *wu*
- V. *Three Kingdom* values in China today

I. BACKGROUND:

The story is set in the period of disunity which followed the collapse of the Han.

✓ AS PRIMARY SOURCE FOR CHINESE HISTORY:

1. *Three Kingdoms* is a historical novel written in the 14th century, but set in the 3rd. What value does it have in helping one understand Chinese history?
2. It was a very popular story (no number of sales). Why? What might be its appeal to the Chinese?

3. According to the novel's plot [and history] what was the major concern of the leaders of China during the 3 Kingdoms era?
 - A. Of the three major rulers of Wei, Shu-Han, and Wu, what was each's claim to authority?
 - >> Cao Cao:
 - >> Liu Bei
 - >> Sun Quan
 - B. By extension, what do you think was the major concern of a Chinese peasant?

✓ YANGZI:

4. Although the fighting never reaches the coasts of China, how important is each kingdom's navy?
 - A. From this, what can you conclude about the importance of rivers, canals, and a ruler's responsibility to control water?
 - >> *character for "law" is "water" radical plus character for "turn off" "control"*
 - B. What river (or its tributary) do these naval battles take place?
 - >> Yangzi
 - >> *Sanguo's 17th century editor Mao Zongong added the epigram found in the beginning of the novel*
 - >> read epigram
 - >> *from the Ershiwu shi tanci a collection of popular poems and songs compiled during Ming*
 - >> *"river" is a conventional Chinese metaphor for "history"*

✓ BUDDHISM:

5. Besides disunity, what else was going in China at that time?
 - >> *spread of Buddhism*
6. What role does Buddhism, Buddhist doctrine and values seem to play in the novel?
7. What might be an explanation for the omission?

II. DISCUSSION OF CHARACTERS:

One of the appeals of the novel are the characters.

8. Who are some of the major and/or interesting characters?

>> on board: CAO CAO [Wei]

LIU BEI (XUANDE) [Shu-Han]

ZHUGE LIANG (KONGMING)

GUANG YU (LORD GUANG/YUNCHANG) [2d brother]

ZHANG FEI (YIDE) [3d brother]

others selected by class

9. Who are the good guys and bad guys?

A. [rhetorical] What makes them good or bad--their success or their morality?

✓ ZHUGE LIANG:

One of the key character is Zhuge Liang (Kongming, Sleeping Dragon) who is an advisor to Liu Bei.

10. What type of person is Zhuge Liang?

>> read: p. 159 Shu Fan's answer to Cao Cao

11. What makes Zhuge Liang a "good guy"?

A. Why does he join with Liu Bei (rather than remain a recluse)?

>> read:

>> p. 144--Xuande's reply to Kongming

>> pp. 144-45--poem

>> p. 145--Zhuge Liang's response to Liu Bei's sincere and weepy plea

B. How is Zhuge Liang as a strategist/advisor?

C. Is he a Confucian or a Daoist or a Legalist?

>> all three

>> Daoist: recluse beginnings / p. 238--after "borrowing 100,000 arrowheads [Chinese: "make clever use of weather"

qiǎo yòng tiān shí--characters: 巧用天时

- >> *Legalist: suggests (chapter 44, p. 213) that Cao Cao seeks to take Sun's daughters as wives/concubine as ruse to get Wu to ally w/ Shu-Han*
- >> *Confucian: his loyalty to Liu Bei restoration of the Han / "Afterword" p. 471, "classical Confucian ideal of the conjunction of great virtue (de) and talent (cai).*

While we often compartmentalize the Chinese as being Confucian or Daoist or Legalist, in reality most Chinese represent an amalgam of all three

12. [To those students who wrote essay on relationship between ruler and advisor.]
What binds an advisor to a ruler? Is it shared fame or shared ideology?

✓ CAO CAO:

13. Another key character is Cao Cao. Is Cao Cao a good or bad guy?
- A. By whose standards?
 - B. When Zhuge Liang seeks to win Wu as an ally, (to Liu Bei: "Trust my three inches of tongue" p. 194) the Wu advisors point at that Cao Cao is already so strong, that perhaps he has the "mandate of heaven." What is Zhuge Liang's reply?
[Assuming they don't recall the episode, chapter 43 pp. 202-03, what might be his reply]
>> read: pp. 202-03--"Cao Cao is a traitorous son"
 - B. What is the significance of calling Cao Cao a "traitorous son"? What values is Zhuge Liang referring to?
14. If not morality or virtue, what are Cao Cao's strengths

✓ LIU BEI:

Robert's "Afterwords" (p. 424) holds up Liu Bei, ruler of Shu-Han as one of two of the most important models for the post-Three Kingdom dynasties.

15. [To those who wrote essay on Liu Bei and Cao Cao] If Cao Cao is the "traitorous son," then how would you describe Liu Bei?
16. Examples of his loyalty?

17. Who do you think was the better ruler? Better general?
- A. Who would you rather serve as an officer in the military? As an advisor?
Why?

III. DISCUSSION OF WARFARE AND STATECRAFT:

18. What was warfare like in the battlefields and rivers?
19. Were battles won or lost on manpower or strategy?
- A. What was the basis of good strategy?
20. What was the basis of good statecraft? How did the rulers and officers of one kingdom seek support from their people, allies?
21. ACTIVITY: (See handouts)

Give group *Strategy of the Three Kingdoms* reading and ask them to explain what strategy was being used.

- A. "Make Clever Use of Weather" (class)
B. "Sow Discord Among the Enemies"
C. "Shift the Blame and Remove Resentment"
D. "Spread A Rumour to Fool the Enemy"
E. "Murder With A Borrowed Knife"
F. "Adopt Measure That Suit Conditions"
G. "Torture Oneself So As to Win the Enemy's Trust"
H. "Chain the Enemy's Fleet of Boats With Locks"

? What type of strategy was employed? [write on board]

? What philosophy--if any--was it based on?

After groups respond, to whole class:

? Do these strategies have any application in today's warfare or statecraft?

The last two strategies were for the Battle of Red Cliff which stopped Cao Cao's serious advances to conquer the kingdoms of Shu-Han and Wu.

IV. DISCUSSION OF VALUES: *WEN* vs. *WU*

Throughout the history of imperial China--since Qin--rulers sought to find the balance between *WEN* and *WU*

Between civil arts and martial arts/military

22. What are the four classes in Chinese society?

23. Where is the military?

Confucianism had a disdain for the military

== reason that military often fell to mercenary non-Chinese armies

== best and brightest would be attracted to the civil

24. How is this balance seen in *Three Kingdoms*?

25. [For those who wrote essay on women in *Three Kingdoms*] While there are no women equivalent to Cao Cao, Liu Bei, Zhuge Liang in *Three Kingdoms*, there are female characters. What role do these women take in statecraft and society?

V. CHINA TODAY:

The stories of *Three Kingdoms* were read and enjoyed by modern revolutionaries like Sun Yatsen [Sun Zhongshan] and Mao Zedong

26. What might Chinese today find appealing or interesting *Three Kingdoms*

27. The 16th party congress will be held next month. Based on the qualities of the characters in the novel, what type of person do you think the Chinese would like for their next premier and party general secretary?

CONCLUSION:

28. How did you like the book?

29. How does the story compare to western epics?

30. How do the characters in the story compare to characters in Western novels?

HANDOUTS FOR DISCUSSION ACTIVITY

- A. "Make Clever Use of Weather"
- B. "Sow Discord Among the Enemies"
- C. "Shift the Blame and Remove Resentment"
- D. "Spread A Rumour to Fool the Enemy"
- E. "Murder With A Borrowed Knife"
- F. "Adopt Measure That Suit Conditions"
- G. "Torture Oneself So As to Win the Enemy's Trust"
- H. "Chain the Enemy's Fleet of Boats With Locks"

Make Clever Use Of Weather

巧用天时
qiǎo yòng tiān shí

This tactic turns a weather condition, for example, heavy fog, storm or snowstorm, to one's advantage when carrying out military operations. The use of weather as a natural shield will prevent the enemy from discovering one's movement and in the end help one to achieve a remarkable victory.



(A)

Zhugé Liàng

Zhou Yu is an able man but he is narrow-minded. He is very jealous of my talents and has plans to remove me.

Zhou Yu wanted Zhuge Liang to produce 100,000 arrows in 10 days.

Ten days is too long; three days will be enough.

OK! If you fail to accomplish it, you'd be dealt with under martial law.

Please lend me 20 boats, each deploying 30 soldiers on board. Use green cloth as sail and erect straw bars on the two sides of the boats. Don't tell Zhou Yu about this.

Lu Su

On the third evening, Zhuge Liang and Lu Su proceeded to gather the arrows.

You'll know in a moment.

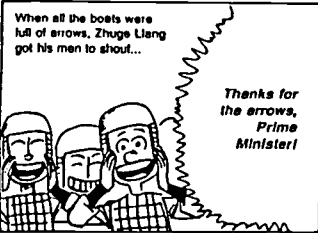
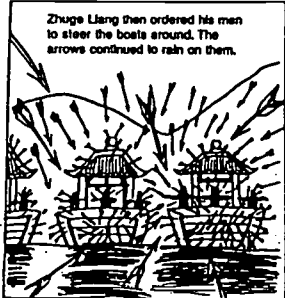
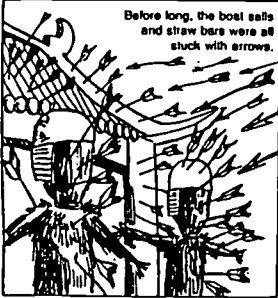
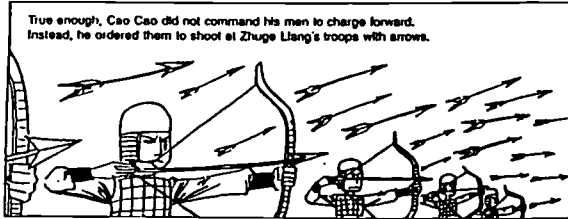
Zhugé Liàng had forecast dense fog during the night. He decided to use the weather to advantage and go to Cao Cao's camp to "borrow" arrows.

Where are we going to get the arrows?

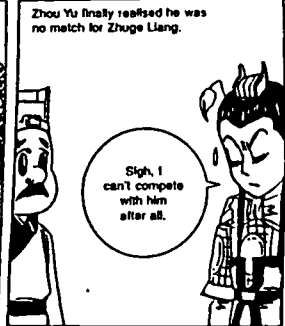
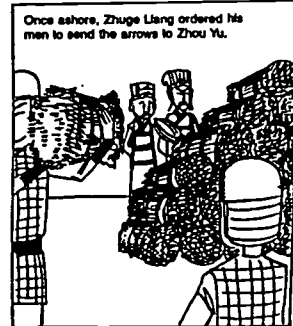
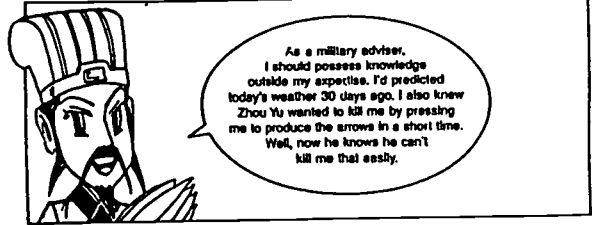
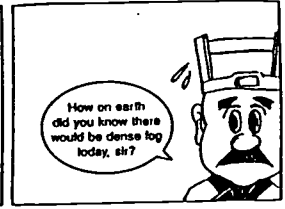
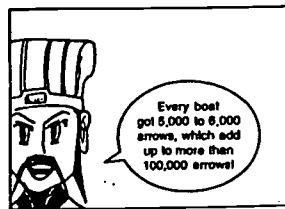
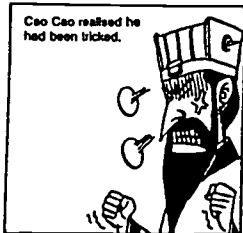
As predicted, there was a thick fog. Zhuge Liang had his 20 boats chained in a row and floated towards Cao Cao's encampment. He also asked the soldiers to make a lot of noise.

What happens if Cao Cao's troops charge forward?

Take it easy. They'll never dare come out to fight in such dense fog.



Thanks for the arrows, Prime Minister!



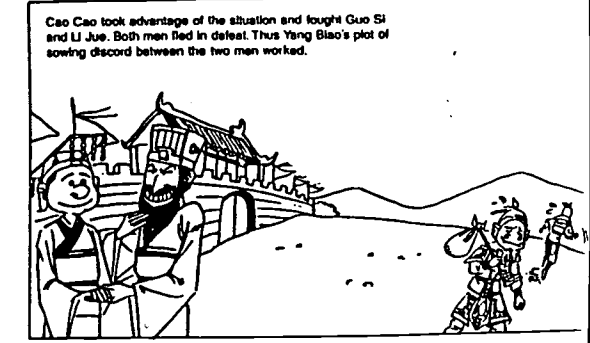
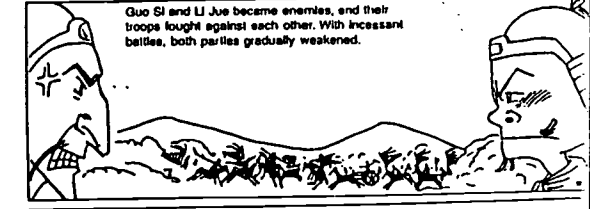
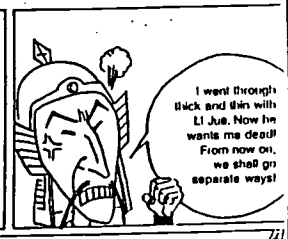
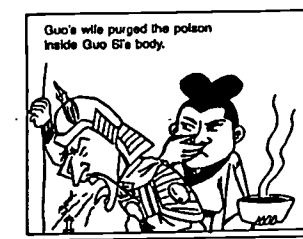
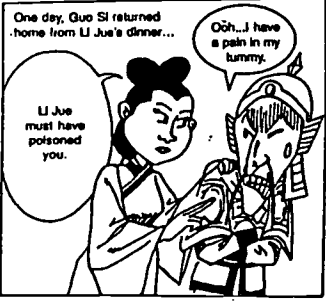
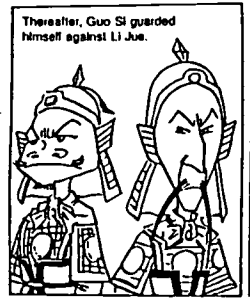
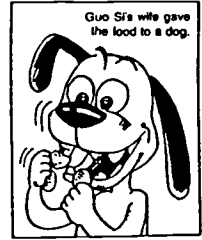
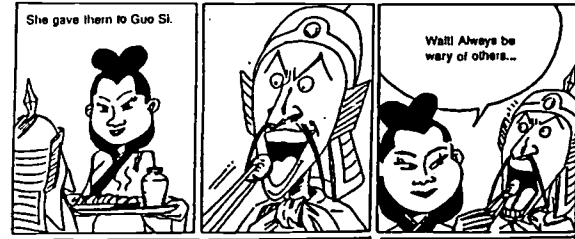
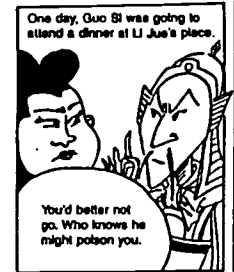
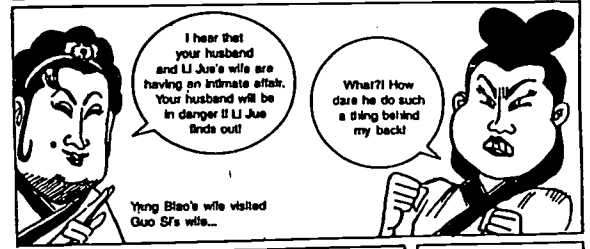
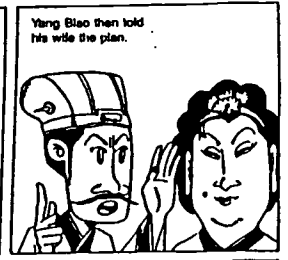
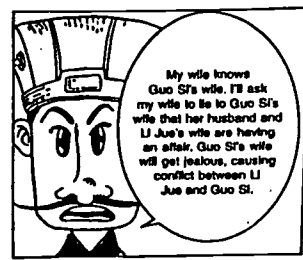
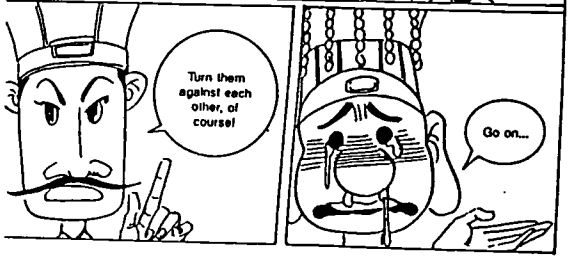
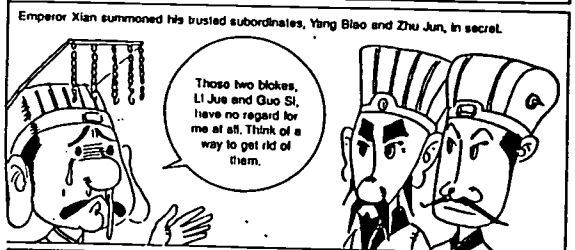
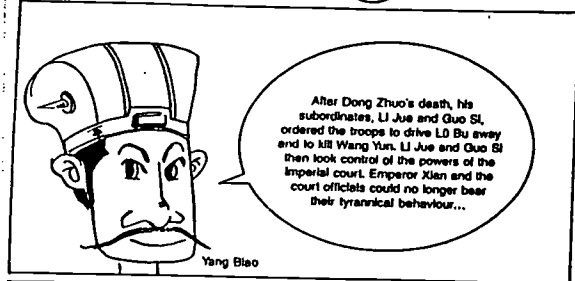
3

Sow Discord Among The Enemies

挑拨离间
niǎo bō lí jiàn

To strengthen one's position, one may engage the stratagem of sowing discord among one's enemies. This takes advantage of the internal weaknesses and conflicts in the enemies' camp so that the enemies turn hostile and kill one another. Internecine struggles will result in destruction on every side, thus weakening their forces.





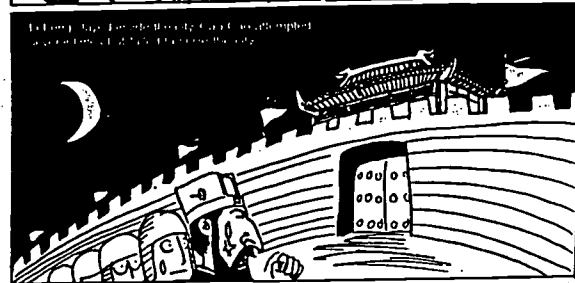
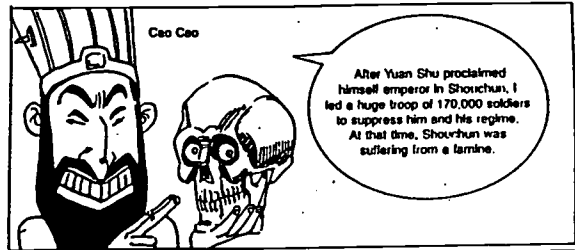
Shift The Blame And Remove The Resentment

移罪释怨
yí zuì shì yuàn

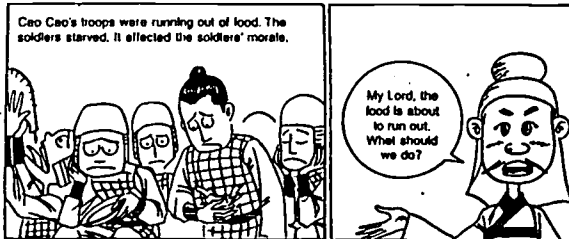
When one's troop comes face to face and confronts another's, it is most dangerous to find the morale of one's soldiers plunging or unwavering. At this critical moment, the important thing to do is to find a scapegoat and shift any blame to him in order to remove any resentment against oneself among the soldiers. This may stabilise, or even lift, the morale of one's soldiers, and lead one to victory.



82



83



84

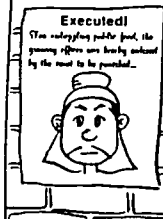


85

Cao Cao had a notice put up, announcing that the granary officer had embezzled public food and had been executed.

Realising that Cao Cao was not responsible for the food shortage, the soldiers' resentment against him was removed. Cao Cao then issued an order...

In the battle to seize the city, Cao Cao killed two of his own warriors who hesitated with fear to charge forward.



By using the granary officer as the scapegoat for his problems, Cao Cao finally managed to capture Shouchun.

None of Cao Cao's soldiers dared to shrink from the battle and bravely joined in the attack.

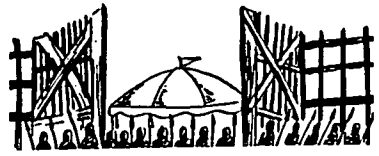


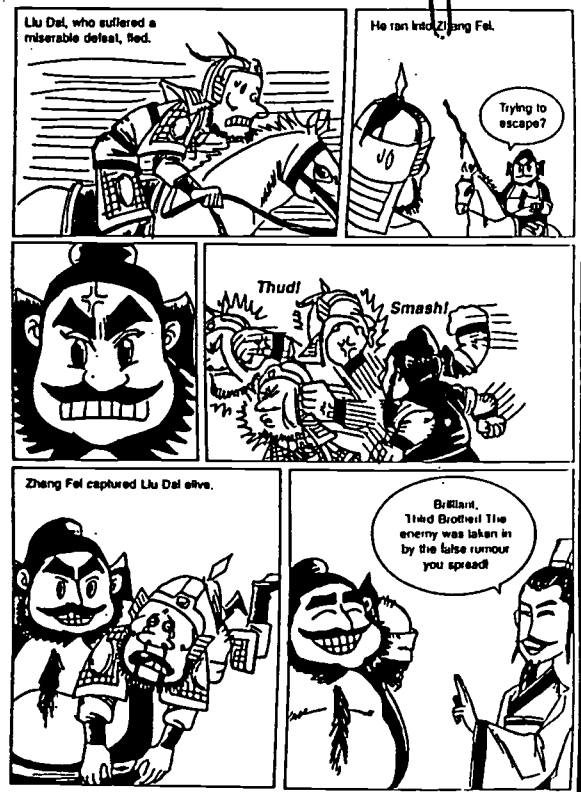
①

Spread A Rumour To Fool The Enemy

传谣诳敌
chuan yao kuang di

Passing on false military information to the enemy can secure victory for one. For instance, announce a false plan to one's soldiers or subordinates. It may be a sneak attack on the enemy's encampment or a city at night, a breakthrough from a siege or a withdrawal. Better still, initiate someone to spread the rumour. After the enemy is taken in and makes its deployment accordingly, one may then launch a surprise attack, surround the enemy city, or intercept its reinforcement forces. The enemy, caught unawares, will be beaten, thus securing victory for one.





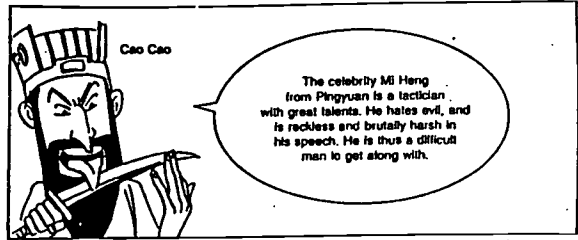
Murder With A Borrowed Knife

借刀杀人
jiè dāo shā rén

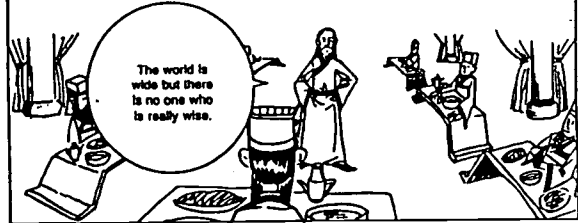
Instead of removing one's enemy personally, one may use another person to kill the intended victim. When applied successfully, the stratagem not only helps one to get rid of the enemy, but one may also get away with it by not having to bear any responsibility or face any backlash. The accusation will fall upon somebody else, and if the accused is also someone one plans to remove, one can even launch an expedition against the "murderer" in the name of justice, thus killing two birds with one stone.



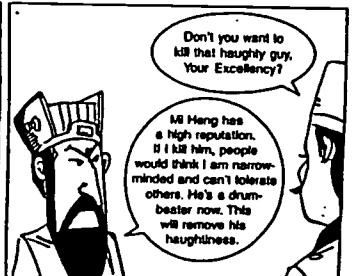
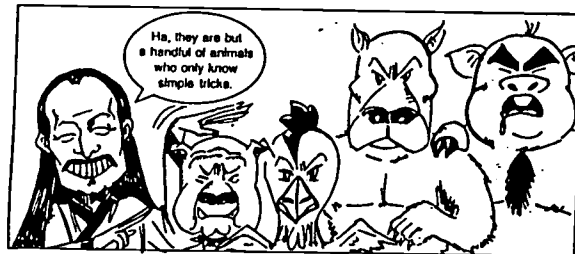
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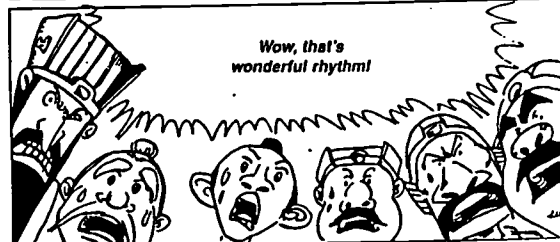
Kong Rong recommended Mi Heng to Cao Cao.



125



126



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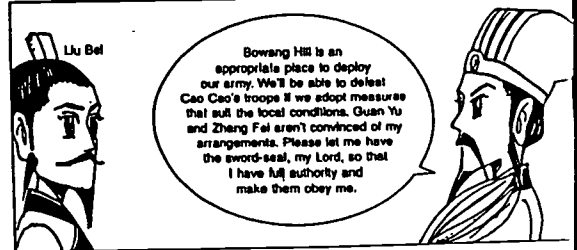
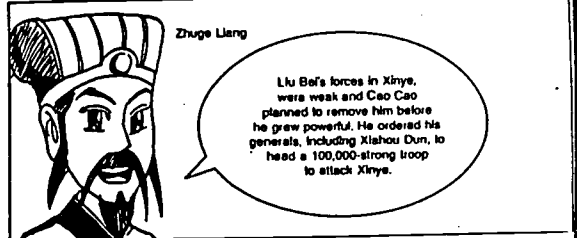
Adopt Measures That Suit The Conditions

因地制宜
yīn dì zhì yí

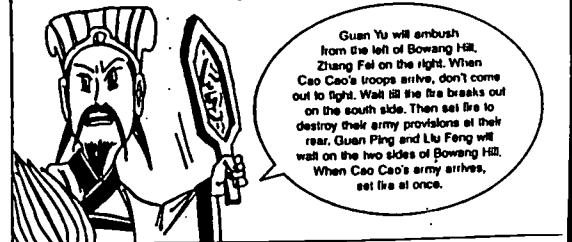
This stratagem calls for one to make efforts to conduct a detailed investigation and have a good understanding of the specific local conditions before deciding on an appropriate tactic to fight against the enemy. The stratagem emphasizes making good use of favourable geographic and other relevant conditions available, and then adopt proper military tactics, for example, by means of fire, water, ambush or other deceptive traps. All these are aimed at luring the enemy into an ambush, and thus eliminating the enemy completely and triumphantly.

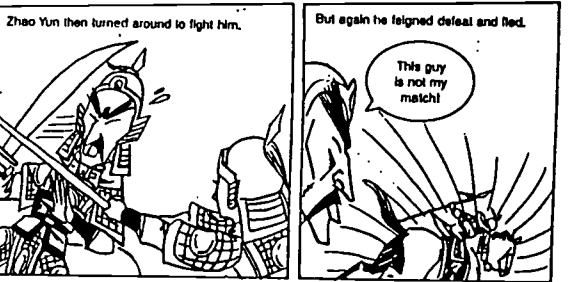
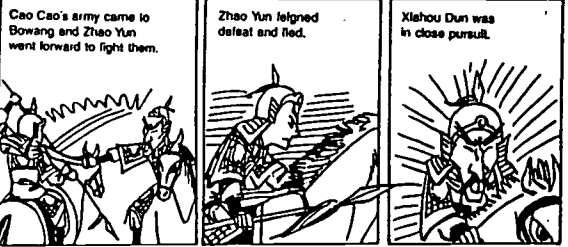
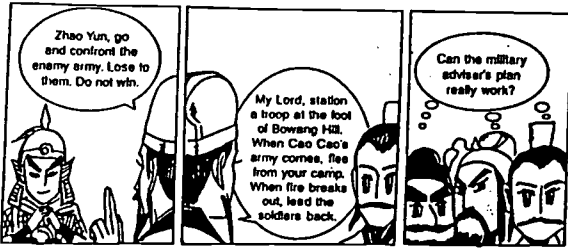


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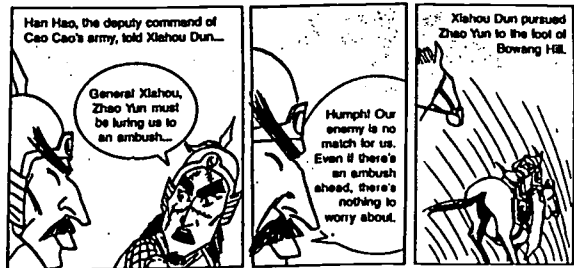


After obtaining the sword-seal, Zhuge Liang gathered his troops.





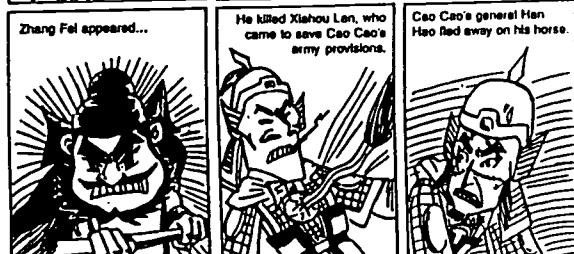
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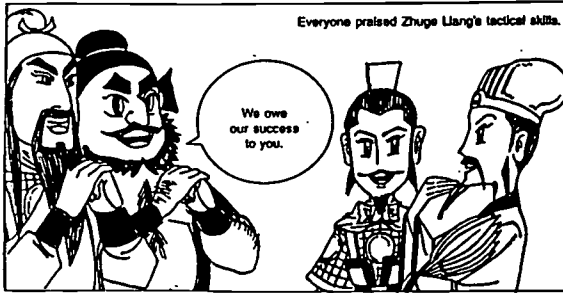
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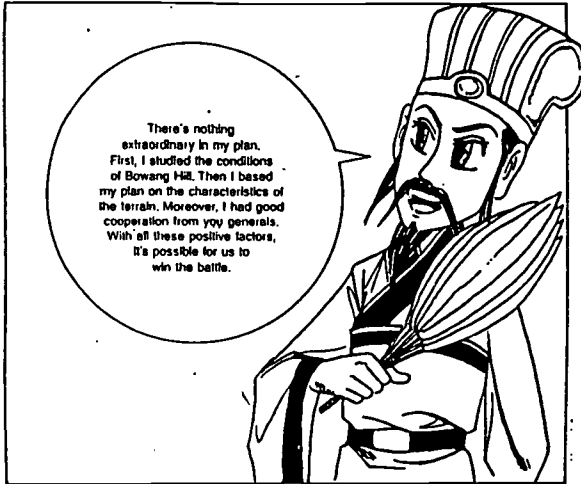


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Everyone praised Zhuge Liang's tactical skills.

We owe our success to you.

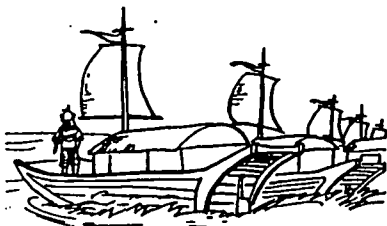


There's nothing extraordinary in my plan. First, I studied the conditions of Bowang Hill. Then I based my plan on the characteristics of the terrain. Moreover, I had good cooperation from you generals. With all these positive factors, it's possible for us to win the battle.

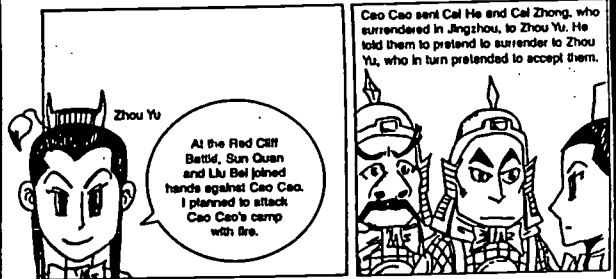
Torture Oneself So As To Win The Enemy's Trust

苦肉之计
kǔ ròu zhī jì

In order to win the enemy's trust, one may deliberately injure oneself by physically torturing oneself, such as severing one's own arm or hand, or humiliating oneself. After the enemy has accepted one's fake surrender, one can then sniff out military secrets inside the enemy camp, spread rumours around, undermine the morale of the opposing army, or persuade some people to change camp by serving as spies. Consequently, the enemy forces will be considerably weakened and even defeated.



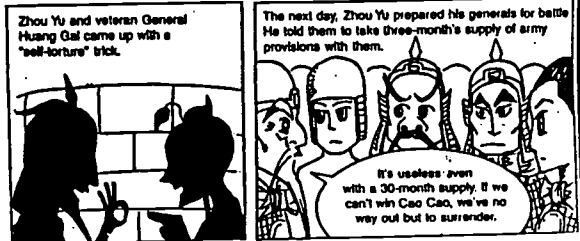
⑨



Zhou Yu

At the Red Cliff Battle, Sun Quan and Lu Bei joined hands against Cao Cao. I planned to attack Cao Cao's camp with fire.

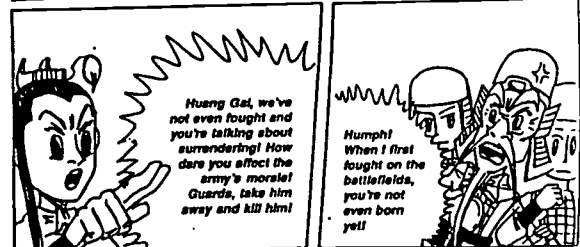
Cao Cao sent Cai He and Cai Zhong, who surrendered in Jingzhou, to Zhou Yu. He told them to pretend to surrender to Zhou Yu, who in turn pretended to accept them.



Zhou Yu and veteran General Huang Gai came up with a "self-torture" trick.

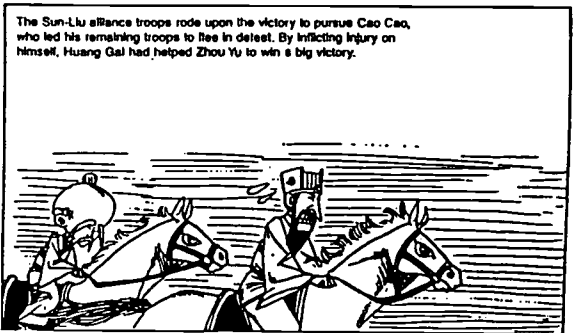
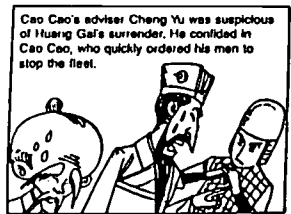
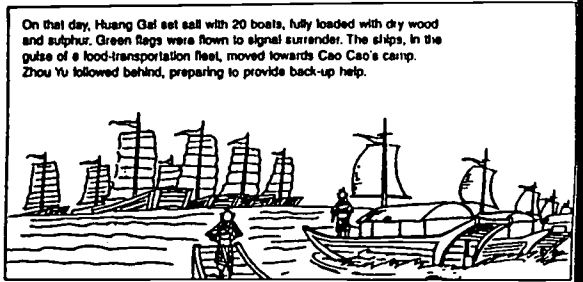
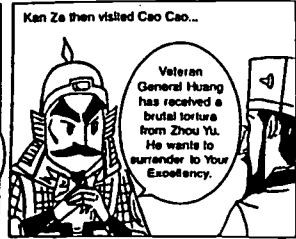
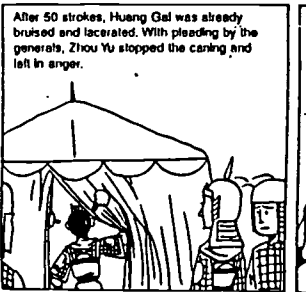
The next day, Zhou Yu prepared his generals for battle. He told them to take three-month's supply of army provisions with them.

It's useless: even with a 30-month supply, if we can't win Cao Cao, we've no way out but to surrender.



Huang Gai, we've not even fought and you're talking about surrendering! How dare you affect the army's morale! Guards, take him away and kill him!

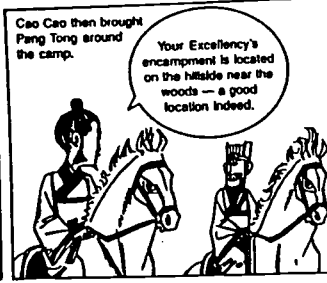
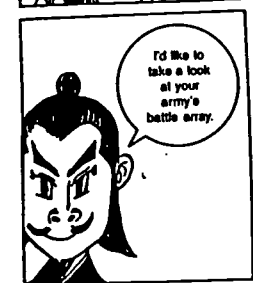
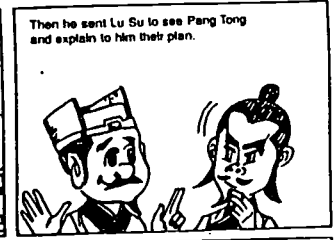
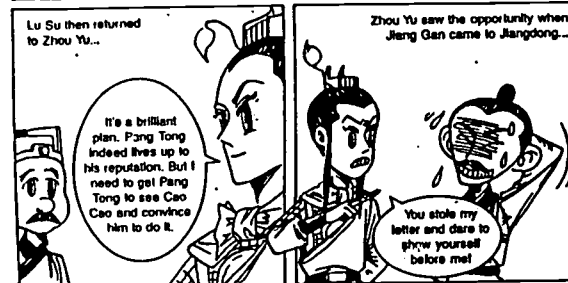
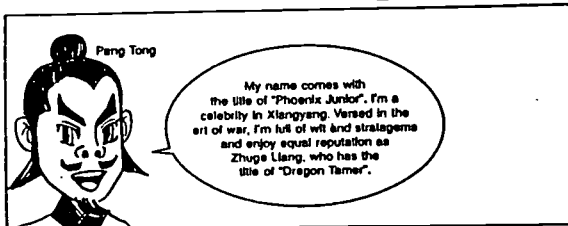
Humph! When I first fought on the battlefields, you're not even born yet!



Chain The Enemy's Fleet Of Boats With Locks

铁锁连舟
tiě suǒ lián zhōu

To destroy the enemy's fleet of fighting ships, one may chain the enemy's ships so that they will not be able to move apart under a fire attack. Consequently, when a ship catches fire, it will spread to the next, and the next, burning the whole fleet. The enemy will suffer heavy casualties in the end, resulting in their defeat and one's victory.





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HISTORY 282 / CHINESE HISTORY
COURSE SYLLABUS, FALL SEMESTER 2002
Tuesday, Thursday 9:30-10:45, 0C-113

R.W. Purdy

Office: B-258
Telephone: 216/397-4776
Facsimile: 216/397-4175
E-mail: rpurdy@jcu.edu

Office Hours:
Monday, 9:00-12:00
Wednesday, 9:00-12:00
or by prior appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

HISTORY 282: *CHINESE HISTORY*, is a survey of Chinese history from its prehistorical origins to the present day. Special attention will be given to the development of thought and ideas and social change within China and China's place in East Asia and the world. Credit for HS282 may be applied toward the East Asian Studies concentration. Interested students should refer to the *Undergraduate Bulletin* (pp. 80-81 2001-2003 edition) or see the instructor. The course also satisfies the Division II and International/R requirements of the Core Curriculum.

REQUIRED TEXTS: (Available in JCU student store)

- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, ed. *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*. New York: The Free Press, 1993, 2d ed.
- Lao She. *Rickshaw: The Novel Lo-t'o Hsiang Tzu*. Jean M. John, trans. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979.
- Luo Guanzhong. *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel*. Moss Roberts trans. Berkeley: University of California; Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1999. Abridged ed.
- Seybolt, Peter J. *Throwing the Emperor from His Horse: Portrait of a Village Leader in China, 1923-1995*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.
- Tsai Chih Chung. *Zhuangzi Speaks: The Music of Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992

CLASS REQUIREMENTS:

Midterm Examinations (3 at 12%)	36%
Map Quizzes (2 at 3%)	6%
Essays (4 at 12%)	48%
Class Participation	10%
[Extra Credit	total of two assignments, see below]

EXAMINATIONS: These will include short answer, multiple choice questions, map questions, and essay. The final exam will also include an essay on Seybolt

MAP QUIZZES: There will be two map quizzes to test the student’s knowledge of Chinese geography and its historical significance. The quizzes will be part of the second midterm and final examination.

ESSAYS: Four, 3-page essays are required. Three will be based on specific readings: *Zhuangzi Speaks*, Luo Guanzhong’s *The Three Kingdoms*, and Lao She’s *Rickshaw*. The fourth will be on objects from the Cleveland Museum of Art. These are not book reviews or reports, rather the student should describe Chinese culture based on the assigned works and complimented with information from lectures and other readings. ***Papers are due in class*** on the assigned date. ***No late papers will be accepted.***

DUE DATES:	Chinese Thought (<i>Zhuangzi Speaks</i>)	9•10
	Unity and Leadership (<i>Three Kingdoms</i>)	10•31
	China in Turmoil (<i>Rickshaw</i>)	11•19
	Cleveland Museum of Art Essay	12•12

EXTRA CREDIT: Students may earn extra credit by attending on- and off-campus lectures, films, exhibitions, et cetera related to China and East Asia. Students may submit a total of two extra credit assignments. Each assignment is equal to one-third score of an essay (i.e. C to C+, B- to B). Extra credit assignments must be approved by the instructor before hand. All extra credit assignments are due 12•10.

CLASS PARTICIPATION: This grade is based on overall attendance, class discussion, in-class assignments, and general classroom etiquette. Students are expected to come to class prepared to contribute to meaningful class discussion.

CLASS POLICIES:

ATTENDANCE: Since this is a college class for adults, the instructor does not feel the need to take daily class attendance. Nevertheless, since 10% of the grade is based on class participation chronic absenteeism and tardiness will count against a student. Students are responsible for all information, changes in the schedule, et cetera announced in class whether they are in attendance or not.

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR: Students are expected to contribute to the learning atmosphere of the class. They should arrive on time and remain in class until dismissed by the instructor. Mobile phones should be switched off and pagers set to “silent” alarm mode.

EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES AND STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES: The instructor is aware that work schedules, illness, et cetera may cause problems for some students. Those students who fall into this category should see the instructor as soon as possible. Students with documented disabilities are entitled to reasonable accommodations if needed. If you believe you need such accommodations please see the instructor or JCU's Coordinator for Students with Disabilities (Ms. Kate Roach, ext. 4967). Accommodations will not be granted retrospectively.

ACADEMIC HONESTY: The short answer is "plagiarize and die!" All work handed in to class is expected to be that of the student. Copying from other works, misrepresenting assignments, or cheating in any form will not be tolerated. Students of academic dishonesty may receive an "F" for the assignment or course. There are no extenuating circumstances for this.

READING, DISCUSSION, AND ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE:

Class meets every Tuesday and Thursday, 9:30-10:45 unless otherwise announced or indicated. Students should read the assignments prior to class. The instructor will inform the class of any changes in the reading, discussion, and assignment schedule.

NB: Reading assignments for Ebrey, *Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Ebrey, *China*) are listed by page number; assignments for Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (*Sourcebook*) are listed by article number. Discussion readings listed under "Lecture/Activity."

DAY	DATE	LECTURE/ACTIVITY	EBREY, CHINA	SOURCEBOOK
TUES	9·03	Class Orientation & Introduction		
THUR	9·05	Chinese Way of Life	pp. 10-22	
TUES	9·10	Shang and Zhou Dynasties	pp. 22-37	#'s 1, 2, 3,
THUR	9·12	Zhou Thought, part I	pp. 38-46	#'s 4, 6, 10, 15
TUES	9·17	Zhou Thought, part II	pp. 46-59	#'s 7, 8, 18
THUR	9·19	DISCUSSION: Tsai, <i>Zhuangzi Speaks</i> (read for class) ✓ FIRST ESSAY DUE		
TUES	9·24	The Qin Empire	pp. 60-63	#'s 9, 11
THUR	9·26	Han and the Triumph of Confucianism	pp. 63-85	#'s 13, 12, 14, 16, 17
TUES	10·01	Age of Division and	pp. 86-95	#'s 19, 20, 21

DAY	DATE	LECTURE/ACTIVITY	EBREY, CHINA	SOURCEBOOK
THUR	10·03	Buddhism in China	pp. 95-107	#'s 22, 31
TUES	10·08	Genius of China		
THUR	10·10	Water, Power, and Politics		#'s 27, 65, 67
TUES	10·15	✓ FIRST MIDTERM		
THUR	10·17	NO CLASS		
TUES	10·22	Sui and Tang: Cosmopolitan China	pp. 108-135	#'s 24, 25, 26, 30,
THUR	10·24	Chinese and Alien Rule: Song China and the Mongol Empire: Zenith of the Imperial State	pp. 135-189	#'s 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44
TUES	10·29	Ming and Qing: The Mature Chinese State	pp. 190-220	#'s 47, 55, 56, 57, 60, 64
THUR	10·31	DISCUSSION: Luo, <i>The Three Kingdoms</i> (read for class) ✓ SECOND ESSAY DUE		
TUES	11·05	✓ SECOND MIDTERM		
THUR	11·07	China and the West	pp. 234-244	#'s 68, 70
TUES	11·12	Reform: Too Little Too Late	pp. 244-261	#'s 73, 74
THUR	11·14	Revolution and Nationalism	pp. 262-282	#'s 76, 77, 78, 79, 83
TUES	11·19	DISCUSSION: Lao She, <i>Rickshaw</i> (read for class) ✓ THIRD ESSAY DUE		
THUR	11·21	War of Liberation and Resistance	pp. 282-293	# 84
TUES	11·26	NO CLASS: Friday Schedule		
THUR	11·28	NO CLASS: Thanksgiving		
TUES	12·03	Mao and the PRC	pp. 294-321	# 86, 89, 91, 93, 94

DAY	DATE	LECTURE/ACTIVITY	EBREY, CHINA	SOURCEBOOK
THUR	12 · 05	China after Mao	pp. 321-332	#'s 97, 96, 97, 99, 100
TUES	12 · 10	DISCUSSION: Seybolt, <i>Throwing the Emperor From His Horse</i> (read for class) ✓ LAST DAY FOR EXTRA CREDIT		
THUR	12 · 12	China in the 21st Century: Modern with a Chinese Hat? ✓ CMA ESSAY DUE		
THUR	12 · 19	✓ FINAL EXAM, 10:00-11:50		



Following Tripitaka: Hsuan Tsang in History and Literature

A Curriculum Guide

Following Tripitaka: Hsuan Tsang in History and Literature

A Curriculum Guide

Paul Ragan, Hammond School
Columbia, South Carolina

Introduction

Shortly after learning that I would be one of the lucky teachers and scholars who would visit China through Fulbright Summer Seminars Abroad in the 2002, a poem appeared in the April 8 issue of *The New Yorker* magazine. Entitled "Body and Soul," it was written by Charles Wright, who teaches creative writing at the University of Virginia and who received the Pulitzer Prize for his 1998 volume *Black Zodiac*. The poem contrasts two approaches to the spiritual quest—those of Hsuan Tsang, the Tang-dynasty monk who undertook a sixteen-year pilgrimage to India to acquire the Mahayana Buddhist scriptures, and Wang Wei, a celebrated poet of the same dynasty who remained at his estate for his entire career. I was intrigued particularly by the reference to Hsuan Tsang and began doing further research, in part to understand Wright's poem better, and partly because of a continuing interest I have had in Buddhist traditions.

What I learned intrigued me. Hsuan Tsang was one of the most influential figures in the history of Chinese Buddhism, an important monk, translator, and even adventurer, since his long journey was indeed taxing, even perilous—the stuff of which legend was made. Indeed it was, for his journey had taken hold of the popular imagination and had acquired prominence in various folk traditions, including plays, poems, songs, and narrative accounts. These achieved their greatest prominence in the composition of the epic novel *Hsi-yu Chi*, attributed to the Ming-dynasty author Wu Ch'eng-en. In the novel, Hsuan Tsang, popularly known as Tripitaka, undertakes his celebrated journey in the company of three supernatural disciples, of whom the Monkey King, Sun Wukong, achieves a prominence which has made him a folk hero, not only in China, but throughout much of the Far East. In the West, scholarly translations of the work are available in three and four volumes, but the story has also appeared in a series of abridgements and adaptations, most of which are accessible to a secondary-school audience.

The following guide provides strategies and suggests materials for a study of Tripitaka as historical figure, as character in *The Journey to the West*, and finally as allegorical agent in Wright's poem, which inspired my study initially. It is designed for implementation in classes in world literature or mythology, history, or comparative religion, and it is structured so that it may be incorporated in whole or in part, depending upon the level of the students, the nature of the course, and the available time and resources. Many of these resources I acquired during my travels in China during the Summer Seminar and will not be locally available. Guidebooks, illustrated histories, and editions of *The Journey to the West* should provide substitutes, however.

Each section of the curriculum guide offers objectives, strategies designed to vary the materials the students will use and their classroom activities, study questions, and suggested tools for evaluation. (Since evaluation instruments are highly personal and closely related both to the methods of classroom instruction and the academic level of the students, these suggestions are very general.) An annotated list of primary and secondary materials is included in each section. The published sources are not meant to be exhaustive, certainly, and some of them may be difficult to acquire outside research libraries, such as out-of-print editions. However, the wide availability of interlibrary-loan programs and the unique features of some of the materials dealing with the novel seem to call for their inclusion, despite problems of availability.

The entire unit is designed to occupy approximately four weeks in duration, though it could easily be truncated or expanded depending upon the discipline in which it is employed, the emphasis placed upon individual sections, and the nature of the activities used in presenting materials. The greatest variable is certainly how much acquaintance with the entire *Journey to the West* is required or which abridgement or adaptation is used. A successful unit could be built around the selective assignment of representative episodes of the expansive epic in translation.

Similar expansion could be devoted to the various religious traditions the original novel embodies, most prominently, of course, Buddhism and Taoism. The unit intends to acquaint instructors with a vast quantity of material in the hopes that each will select directions for further investigation depending upon individual interests and available materials.

My investigations into the life and work of Hsuan Tsang and the epic story his real travels inspired provided a unifying structure to my entire experience of China. I read as much as time allowed on the journey itself, and I was delighted to find references to it everywhere. A gift shop featuring the works of local craftsmen in a *hutong* in Beijing offered for sale a kite bearing the image of the ubiquitous Monkey King; a nearby kindergarten depicted his stealing the immortal peaches as a painting on the wall (uniquely Chinese among images from Disney movies, Warner Brothers cartoons, and Santa Claus); a nursery outside Chungdu offered a topiary of the same figure; a friend in the seminar presented me with *Journey to the West* playing cards, featuring the cast of a popular television series based upon the novel, broadcast at every stop on the trip, including Hong Kong; a new friend in Shanghai gave me a copy of Lin Yutang's *The Importance of Living*, which includes a powerful chapter on "The Monkey Epic"; in a tourist shop near Shanghai's Temple of the Jade Buddha, I purchased a small bronze image of the Monkey King wielding his magical staff on his cloud. My own journey was everywhere inspired and enlightened by offshoots of Tripitaka's, and I earnestly hope that this guide will inspire others to pursue journeys of their own.

Paul Ragan
December 2002

Section One: Hsuan Tsang in History

Hsuan Tsang (596-664), a Buddhist monk of the Tang Dynasty, remains a central figure in Chinese religious history because of his pilgrimage to India to obtain sutras of the Mahayana Buddhist tradition. His journey occupied sixteen years, from 629-645, during which he faced the obvious difficulties of travel over the Silk Road, the daunting task of mastering Sanskrit, the language of the texts, and the demands placed upon him by various local kings and religious authorities as his reputation as a debater and religious scholar spread in India. Following his return to Chang'an (modern Xi'an), the capital of the Tang Dynasty, Hsuan Tsang spent the remainder of his life in translating the sutras he had acquired. The famous Greater Wild Goose Pagoda in southern Xi'an originally housed Hsuan Tsang's texts and currently contains museums and gardens which celebrate his achievements and honor his memory.

Strategies

Hsuan Tsang may be introduced through an examination of the site in Xi'an which originally housed his collection of sutras brought from India, the Greater Wild Goose Pagoda in the Ci'en Monastery complex. Materials I use in presenting his life and work include photographs taken at the pagoda complex on my visit, along with two large rubbings from the interior walls of the building, one showing Hsuan Tsang on his pilgrimage and the other illustrating him at the work of translation of the texts after his return to China. The entrance to the monastery complex is dominated by a huge bronze statue of Hsuan Tsang on pilgrimage. A new museum complex behind the pagoda traces Hsuan Tsang's life and journey in gorgeous wooden reliefs. Glass cases exhibit examples of the Buddhist scriptures, some ancient, some modern. The Ci'en Monastery complex will be described in any reliable guidebook to Xi'an, and many will contain photographs which can be used to give students an idea of how Hsuan Tsang's memory is preserved here.

Presentation of the life of Hsuan Tsang will be more crucial in classes in history and comparative religion than in those dealing with mythology and literature. He was a central figure in the introduction of the Vijnanavadin School of Buddhism into China, from which it proliferated into Korea and Japan, and he remains a revered figure in these countries as well. For religion classes, some consideration of the different major schools of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism might be introduced, along with accounts of the celebrated debates between Hsuan Tsang and adherents to the Hinayana School in India. Contemporary accounts attest to the Chinese monk's ability to vanquish all comers in debate and often to his skill in converting others to his faith simply by expounding it.

In addition to acquainting students with the Ci'en Monastery and with competing schools of Buddhism, instructors may assign accounts of Hsuan Tsang's life. In literature classes, the entry in the *Encyclopedia of World Biography* or a similar reference work will be sufficient, since the Tripitaka of *The Journey to the West* bears little similarity to the actual historical figure and the journey described is fabulous rather than historical. However, interested students may be

directed to Arthur Waley's monograph "The Real Tripitaka," an account which summarizes the accomplishments of the monk as reported in Tang Dynasty sources, or to the original sources themselves, such as Samuel Beal's 1911 translation of *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, by his disciple Shaman Hwui Li. This version of the life runs to over two hundred pages and accepts both the fabulous and the historical aspects of the life and the pilgrimage as whole cloth. Groups could be assigned to investigate episodes which have been exaggerated or the fabulous elements which have been accepted as fact. Such an investigation of the outlines of Hsuan Tsang's life provides students the opportunity to interpret rather than merely report historical documents; for those classes which will focus on the fictional accounts of the pilgrimage, such an approach will demonstrate first hand how the folk elements of the journey transformed history into myth.

An important consideration for anyone doing research into Chinese history in English-language sources is to discuss transliteration of the Chinese characters, which results in many variant spellings of Chinese names. Dealing with this issue initially will forestall a good deal of frustration and confusion among the students conducting their research.

The portion of the study lends itself well either to group or to individual research assignments, though the results of this research should be made available to the class as a whole in order to build upon it in upcoming sections.

Study Topics

1. What are the major differences between Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism? How did these differences affect Hsuan Tsang's decision to travel to India? How did they influence his activities there? How did his scripture translations affect the course of Buddhism in China?
2. Describe the geographical, political, and religious obstacles to Hsuan Tsang's pilgrimage. Which of these obstacles acquire allegorical interpretations in contemporary accounts of the journey?
3. Examine the features of Hsuan Tsang's early life which equipped him for such a pilgrimage. Examine also how his later years were affected by his growing fame after his return to the Tang capital of Chang'an. How were his translations received?
4. Explore the larger idea of the pilgrimage. Why do people make them? How are they changed by them? Have students discuss pilgrimages they would be interested in undertaking and their reasons for their choices. What mementoes would they wish to bring back and why?
5. History classes might examine the difficulty of extracting the factual from the fabulous in Tang-era accounts of Hsuan Tsang's journey. What documentary evidence is extant? How does this evidence bear upon our understanding of his accomplishment?

Evaluation

Any number of evaluation instruments may be designed to measure the students' success in investigating Hsuan Tsang's life and work. First, the level of their participation in discussion of the topics suggested above will reveal their grasp of Tripitaka's life and their ability to place it within a cultural and religious context. The factual outlines of that life may be examined through reading quizzes on the historical documents or accounts assigned.

The larger religious, cultural, and historical principles involved could spawn numerous engaging writing assignments. These could explore the historical reliability of documentary evidence, doctrinal debates concerning esoteric Buddhism, students' reactions to the idea of pilgrimage or to renunciation of the world to enter a monastic (or scholarly existence), and issues such as how travel can inspire an interest in or understanding of a prominent historical figure.

For any of these areas, class presentations, debates, or even skits based upon literal or fabulous elements in the accounts of Tripitaka's life may serve as evaluation vehicle, while also providing variety in classroom activities.

Sources

- Li, Shaman Hwui. *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*. Trans. Samuel Beal. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1911. The earliest account of Hsuan Tsang's life, composed by one of his disciples. This hagiography enlarges Hsuan Tsang's legend by incorporating credulously all the fabulous elements of the monk's journey and studies in India.
- Mei, Y. P. "Hsuan Tsang." *Encyclopedia of World Biography*. Vol. 5. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973: 384-85. A brief account of the outlines of Hsuan Tsang's life and career, perhaps adequate for literature classes.
- Smith, Huston. *The World's Religions*. San Francisco: Harper, 1991. Contains readable accounts of the diverging schools of Buddhism and Taoism, important for placing Tripitaka's achievements in religious context and for laying the foundations for study of *The Journey to the West*.
- Waley, Arthur. "The Real Tripitaka." *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952. A detailed monograph based upon Shaman Hwui Li and other ancient sources, Waley records the events of the legendary life for a modern audience; probably the best longer study for secondary students.
- Xi'an: An Ancient Capital of Many Splendors*. NP: China Tourism Press, 1996. A handsome guidebook to the city with photographs of one of Hsuan Tsang's translations and the Greater Wild Goose Pagoda. I purchased the book in Xi'an, but any good travel guide is likely to offers similar information and photographs.

Section Two: Hsuan Tsang in Classic Fiction

The epic novel *The Journey to the West*, attributed to Wu Ch'eng-en, was first published in Nanking in 1592. The vast narrative spans 100 chapters and is based loosely upon Hsuan Tsang's famous pilgrimage to India which had occurred nearly nine hundred years earlier. In that time, the journey had acquired the trappings of legend through various retellings and augmentations in the folk tradition. The wonderful addition of Tripitaka's supernatural disciples, the Monkey King, Pigsy, and Sandy, provides much of the novel's interest for the modern reader. Anthony Yu has divided the narrative into five parts: the first seven chapters, which provide the story of the Monkey King, Sun Wu-kong, who becomes Tripitaka's first disciple; chapter 8, in which Buddha charges Kuan-yin with the task of choosing a pilgrim to seek the scriptures; chapters 9-12, which provide the family background of Hsuan Tsang and his selection to fetch the scriptures; chapters 13-97, which recount the journey itself, involving eighty adventures of varying length; and chapters 98-100, which describe the culmination of the journey in acquisition of the sutras, and the rewards earned by Tripitaka and disciples (Yu, Vol. 1. 15).

Two translations of the complete text are currently available in English: Yu's and that of W. J. F. Jenner. Clearly the vast scope of the novel makes it unpractical for assignment. The study topics therefore consider an abridgement of the text, *Monkey*, translated by Arthur Waley, which truncates the history of Hsuan Tsang, limits the adventures to three characteristic ones, and eliminates most all of the poetic illustrations and interpolations in the original text. Even more accessible to students is the adaptation of the story, also entitled *Monkey*, retold by David Kherdian. It roughly follows the story as abridged by Waley, though it incorporates different adventures in the central part. Its approachable style and appealing Japanese wood block illustrations by Hokusai and others make it the best choice for instructors wishing to assign a book-length version of the story.

Any reader immediately notices the transformation of the noble and scholarly Hsuan Tsang of history into the timid, easily frightened figure of Tripitaka in *The Journey to the West*. While Tripitaka remains virtuous, handsome, and a faithful adherent to the principles of avoiding killing, maintaining chastity and poverty, and unswerving commitment to the goal of attaining the scriptures, Tripitaka becomes virtually a straight man to Monkey's comic super-action hero in *The Journey to the West*. Clearly, this transformation serves both an allegorical interpretation of the novel, in which Monkey's ranging intellect and Pigsy's voracious appetites must be overcome in order to achieve Buddhahood, and a device for advancing the plot, in which Tripitaka must be constantly rescued from corrupt rulers, monsters, and occasionally his own timidity. Little of the historical figure escapes transformation apart from the general outlines of the journey, which now takes place in a fabulous landscape of intimidating mountains, rivers, and demons. The lion's share of the journey which the original Tripitaka spent studying and disputing with scholars in India plays no part in the novel. While an exciting adventure story, the perceptive student can nevertheless learn about the blending of Buddhism and Taoism in Ming-period China, as well as satire of Chinese bureaucracy, depiction of lives of the common people, and acquaintance with the vast hierarchy of deities in the court of the Jade Emperor.

Strategies

The amount of material to be assigned depends upon the resources available, but ideally students should be required to read the entirety of Kherdian's adaptation *Monkey*, along with individual sections of one of the more faithful translations to acquire something of the complexity and flavor of the original. Should time and resources permit, each student in the class can be assigned an individual adventure of the journey (some of which occupy several chapters) so that a sense of the scope of the full text may be acquired. Missing from both Waley and Kherdian's versions are the illustrative poems which frequently appear in the full text. While scholars consider these poems inferior to the masterpieces of the Tang and Sung period poets, they have a flavor and dynamism of their own, often describing battles between the disciples and monsters or setting the scene with evocative descriptions of landscapes and the changing seasons.

Students should review the fundamental tenets of Buddhism and Taoism, since both are frequently considered in *The Journey to the West*, and both Buddha and Lao Tzu appear frequently as deities in the Jade Emperor's court. Toward this end, I would suggest assigning chapter 19 of the original, in which Tripitaka quotes the entirety of the Heart Sutra, allusions to which appear throughout the novel, and chapters 44 to 47, in which Monkey, representing the Buddhist tradition, engages in a competition with Taoist Priests, culminating in an enjoinder to revere both faiths. (This episode appears also in Arthur Waley's abridgement.)

Literary devices such as the *deus ex machina* appear commonly, as do magic transformations, tense battles, witty dialogue (particularly between Monkey and Pigsy), and resolutions which restore order, eliminate corruption, or deliver people from the tyranny of petty monsters. Allegorically these may be interpreted as defenses of the enlightened against the travails of life, but they may also be read as pure entertainment. The Chinese concept of *guanxi*, the use of connections to obtain advancement or deliverance from official persecution, is illustrated when Monkey summons Kuan-yin or other deities to extricate Tripitaka from dire circumstances.

In my class, illustrations in the Jenner translation and in Kherdian's adaptation are supplemented by the deck of playing cards drawing pictures from the Chinese television production of the tale and by a three-volume Chinese comic-book version of the story which I acquired in Shanghai (see examples following). Such supplements engage the students' interest while demonstrating the popularity of the story in modern China and among Chinese peoples throughout the world.

A selection of secondary sources appears at the end of this section. They consider among other topics the sources of the text, how it may be interpreted by modern readers, and its centrality in classic Chinese fiction. If only one of these is assigned, I would recommend the valuable scholarly introduction by Anthony Yu to his four-volume translation of *The Journey to the West*.

The study topics for the most part address the Kherdian adaptation, since this is readily approachable, though some of the topics consider issues of religion for which students will need to read selections from the complete text.



Monkey King

孙悟空



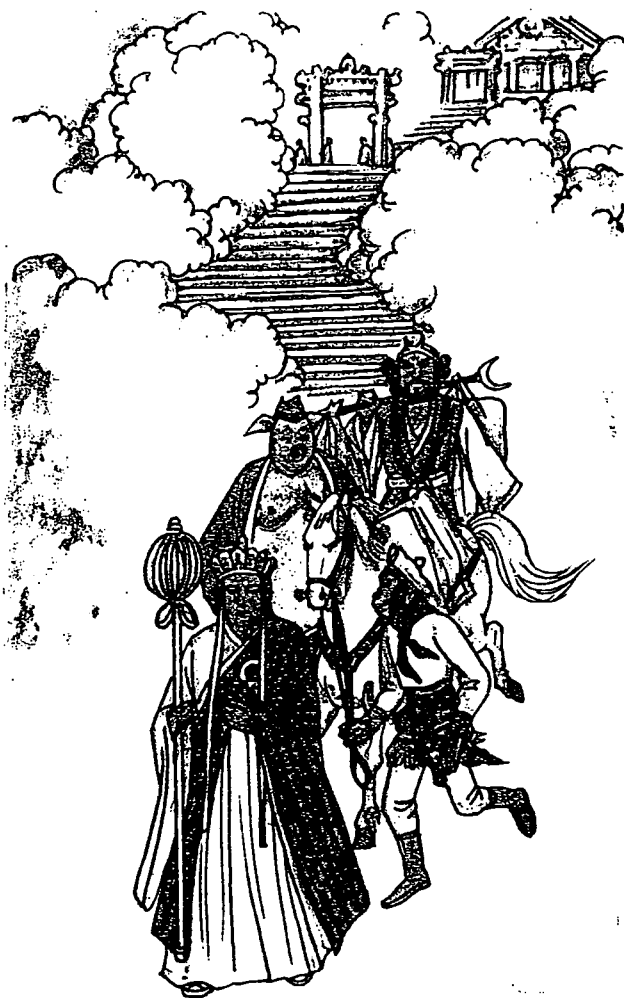
Monk Pig

猪八戒



Monk Sand

沙僧



16 如来闻言,当即命阿难、伽叶将有字的真经赐予唐僧。师徒四人这才拿到五千零四十八卷真经,欢欢喜喜向佛祖告辞下山。



17 这时,观音启奏佛祖,唐僧取经已历五千零四十日,还有八日,即合取经卷数。如来吩咐八大金刚,必须在八天内送唐僧东归传经并返回西天。



18 八大金刚走后,观音打开取经的灾难簿,发现唐僧共经历八十难,按佛门九九归真之说,还少一难,便唤过揭谛,嘱咐了一番。

Study Topics

1. To what religious impulse would one attribute Monkey's sense of restlessness when he achieves the goal of acquiring his throne and the peace of his monkey kingdom?
2. Explore the Taoist philosophy exemplified in the role of the patriarch from whom Monkey learns the secrets of transformation and immortality.
3. Contrast Monkey's defense of his subjects in vanquishing the Demon King with his rude demands of the Dragon King when he acquires his iron cudgel. What supernatural powers does it possess, and what do these powers reveal about Monkey?
4. Examine the bureaucracy present in the Cloud Palace of Golden Arches. How does the Jade Emperor deal with Monkey after the Dragon King's memorial complaint? What does Monkey reveal about himself when he learns of his status in the court?
5. Look at the satire in the Jade Emperor's condescending to grant Monkey the title Great Sage Equal of Heaven when he is unable to have him subdued in battle. How does the strategy backfire?
6. What allegorical elements are present in Monkey's theft of the Magic Peaches, his disruption of the queen's banquet, and his taking Lao Tzu's pills of immortality?
7. Explore the fantasy in the battles to subdue Monkey. What does it reveal about the hierarchy of heaven? Note also the careful attention to nature in the transformation episode with Ehr-Lang.
8. What allegorical elements influence the Buddha's wager with Monkey as a means of imprisoning him? Where does the Buddha stand in the power structure of the immortals?
9. Examine how Kuan-yin identifies and marks each of Tripitaka's future disciples and how each had offended heaven. How does she locate Hsuan Tsang?
10. How does Tripitaka lose his companions and how does the Spirit Venus of the Western Sky rescue him? What religious or allegorical elements are present? (Note also the pattern established in this episode which will inform the adventures in all versions of the story.)
11. Examine how each pilgrim, Monkey, Pigsy, Sandy, and the Dragon Horse, is recognized and how their personality traits are revealed. Note Monkey's rebellious, even murderous tendencies and the necessity of the band-tightening spell to keep him in control. Note also the intervention of Kuan-yin at crucial points of the story.
12. In what ways must Monkey rely upon his wits as well as his supernatural powers in

acquiring the magic fan? What forces are represented by the Bull Demon, his wife, and his mistress? What do they reveal about Chinese marriage customs and relations between men and women?

13. Examine what supernatural forces are summoned to aid Monkey in putting out the flames. How does he restore order before progressing on the journey? What role is played by the other disciples? By Tripitaka?
14. What religious significance attaches to Tripitaka's transcending his mortal body as he crosses the river in the bottomless boat?
15. Why is it necessary that Tripitaka endure a final ordeal after receiving the scriptures? Explore how numerology affects the journey at various points. What does the final ordeal reveal about both Tripitaka's strengths and his weaknesses?
16. Examine how the Tang emperor receives the pilgrims and how each is rewarded by the Buddha. What is revealed about the development of each? About bureaucratic procedures in Chinese culture?
17. If chapters from other editions are assigned, examine how each creates an obstacle, how Monkey attempts to rescue Tripitaka or some innocent victim, how his initial efforts fail, how typically he battles with Pigsy, and how finally he triumphs with the cooperation of some deity or supernatural application of his hairs or his cudgel. In each, religious, social, and cultural implications should be examined.
18. If some of the poems from complete translations are assigned, examine their use of nature description, physical action, and allegorical religious implications. Note their role in establishing tone and the passage of time.
19. Explore the ways the story of Tripitaka's pilgrimage managed to acquire so many fabulous and adventurous elements through folk tradition, cultural satire, and the religious competition between Buddhism and Taoism. Which religious elements emerge as triumphant?
20. Utilizing as many versions as possible, compare the advantages of various translations, retelling, and adaptations. What do these versions reveal about the importance of the story to classic Chinese culture? To popular culture in modern China and among the Chinese diaspora?

Evaluation

Students' interest in and mastery of the literary texts are obviously first measured by their reactions to them in class discussions, which may range widely to consider the evolution of the material from history to legend, the influences of assimilated religious traditions, the devices of plotting and characterization, the difficulties of translation and annotation of a complicated and allusive text, and finally what the text in its various permutations reveals about Chinese culture, particularly religious and literary history.

The wealth and diversity of resources in this portion of the study make it ideal for longer assignments, such as research papers. The various versions of *The Journey to the West* are also ideal for comparison/contrast essays dealing with literary techniques, uses of symbolism and allegory, opposing or assimilating religious traditions, etc.

Reading quizzes should be used frequently, especially if a book-length version is assigned, to insure that students are comprehending the overall structure of the volume, are following the developing characterizations and growing conflicts, and are thinking about how the fabulous dimensions of the plot are connected to the traditions of Chinese folklore, religion, and literary traditions.

The illustrations and various other folk and artistic representations of the story would lend themselves ideally to group presentations or individual projects with a cross-disciplinary or multi-media approach.

Finally, such an extensive unit of material should be evaluated with a unit exam or test which measures both students' command of factual material and their ability to explore deeper levels of meaning in essay format.

Sources

Hsia, C. T. "The Journey to the West." *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Interpretation*. New York: Columbia UP, 1968. An interesting and readable scholarly assessment which considers Wu Ch'eng-en's adaptation of possible sources, the development of the major characters and their influences (possible derivation of the Monkey King from the Hindu *Ramayana*, for instance) and analogues in the Western literary tradition. Incorporates lengthy quotations for the novel itself.

Jenner, W. J. F., trans. *Journey to the West*. Three volumes. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1982. The complete text of the novel with illustrations from a Ching-dynasty edition of the novel (1888). Only a couple of explanatory footnotes add to the reader's understanding, though the translation of both prose and poetry is quite readable.

- Kherdian, David. *Monkey: A Journey to the West*. Boston: Shambhala, 2000. A retelling of the novel which eliminates all but one of the central adventures, but nevertheless presents a lively account of the basic plot and characters in *The Journey to the West*.
- Liu I-ming. "How to Read the Original Intent of *The Journey to the West*." Trans. Anthony C. Yu. *How to Read the Chinese Novel*. Ed. David L. Rolston. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990. An interesting interpretation by a Taoist priest of the eighteenth century, useful if students are interested in how the Chinese themselves would place the novel in a historical and religious context. Not recommended for a general class, but useful as a research project.
- Waley, Arthur, trans. *Monkey*. Illus. Duncan Grant. London: Folio Society, 1968. An abridgement of *The Journey to the West* which leaves out all but three of the adventures and does not include the poems interspersed in the text. Of a readable length, this abridgement gives much of the flavor and style of the original.
- Wu, Fatima. "Journey to the West." *Great Literature of the Eastern World*. Ed. Ian P. McGreal. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. A four-page entry which provides a brief overview of the origins of the novel with suggestions for psychological and allegorical readings of the text.
- Yu, Anthony C., trans. *The Journey to the West*. Four volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. This edition of the entire epic is particularly useful for its detailed Introduction and useful annotations.

Study Questions

1. Provide a paraphrase of each stanza of the poem to understand its basic structure and the questions it raises. Examine the nature imagery and the connections it asserts between music and language.
2. Examine in detail the allusion to Hsuan Tsang, noting the aspects which are historical and those which are symbolic. Explore what Wright means by the capitalized terms *Truth*, *Reality*, and *Law*. How is each of these elements dealt with in the fictional accounts of the journey?
3. Explore the religious dimensions of Hsuan Tsang's life as presented in the poem. How are these dimensions contrasted with the experience of Wang Wei? The experience of the speaker?
4. What provides an antidote to suffering in the modern world, according to the poem? How does the speaker's suffering differ from that of the Chinese figures the poem alludes to?
5. Does the final stanza offer an answer to the speaker's dilemma? Is the tone affirmative, resigned, or questioning? What themes does it have in common with *The Journey to the West*? In what ways is its depiction of Hsuan Tsang unrelated to the figure of history or of the novel?

Evaluation

For purposes of testing, writing assignments, or reading quizzes, the consideration of "Body and Soul" may be incorporated into the larger unit concerning *The Journey to the West* or treated separately. Its brevity is ideal for short writing assignments, but its elusive (and allusive) meanings could certainly be explored in longer explications or analyses. Students' comprehension of the poem should generally serve to gauge their understanding of how a prominent historical figure enters into the imagination of a creative artist.

Sources

Wright, Charles. "Body and Soul." *The New Yorker*. 8 April, 2002: 70-71. Rpt. in *A Short History of the Shadow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002. Complete text of the poem which alludes to the journey of Hsuan Tsang.

Hart, Henry. "Charles Wright." *American Writers: A Collection of Literary Biographies*. Supp. V. New York: Scribners. 331-46. A critical assessment of Wright's career.

The Ancient Shu Culture, Evidence of Civilization?

Objective: Students will be able to assess the active archeological site of the Shu culture in Sichuan, China in order to determine if it has uncovered sufficient evidence for classification as a civilization. Students will make their assessment by analyzing artifacts from the site using V. Gordon Childe's characteristics of civilization.

Assessment: Students will determine if the artifact remains of the Shu culture support the existence of a civilization. Students will support their decision using artifacts from the Shu archeological site. Students will support their positions using Childe's characteristics of a civilization and artifacts from the site.

Materials needed:

1. Power point on Shu Culture artifacts.
2. Computer projection system OR laminated copies of the photographs contained in the Shu Culture power point.
3. Copies of the "Shu Culture" civilization chart.
4. This lesson assumes a basic understanding of the Childe's characteristics of civilization. The teacher may need to spend additional time introducing and/or reviewing these characteristics before students attempt to apply them to the Shu culture.

Introduction

1. Introduce the lesson by projecting the first slide of the power point, "*The Shu Culture.*" Do not give any background of the photograph to the students. Ask students what they think is happening in the picture. Have students discuss their thoughts with the whole class. Encourage students to elaborate on their responses (i.e. how old are the people? What are the objects? Why are they in the ground? Are they putting the objects in the ground or taking them out? Where was this photograph taken?)
2. Provide students with the background notes on the photograph. Emphasize the length of time that these artifacts have been buried.

Bu Sha, a farmer in Sichuan Province, China discovered the first relics found in Sanxingdui in 1929. He and his son uncovered hundreds of jade objects, initiating interest in the region for archeological study. In 1986, brick makers excavating clay in Sanxingdui, stumbled across a treasure trove of artifacts in two large pits. Their discovery has gained the attention and curiosity of academics from around the world. The items found in these pits have since been dated to the thirteenth century, BCE. Up to that point, it was almost universally believed that the only Bronze Age civilization was that of the Shang dynasty, from c. 1700 BCE from Anyang in the Yellow River Valley far to the north of Sanxingdui.

3. Review Childe's characteristics of civilization with students. What larger question are you now considering given the information I have shown you thus far? *Were the people of the ancient Shu culture a part of a civilization?*

Developmental

1. This lesson can be delivered as either whole group or small group instruction. You will need to prepare group sets of photographs prior to implementing the lesson if you would like students to work in small groups. If you choose group work, consider sorting the artifacts so that not all groups have the same artifacts. Small group instruction with varied artifact sources will make for a more interesting end discussion and possible debate.
2. Regardless of your choice of whole or small groups, the directions will be the same. Tell students that they are going to consider the unearthed artifacts from the Shu Culture today to determine if they believe there is sufficient evidence for the Shu culture to be categorized as a civilization.
3. Show the slides in the power point one at a time, reading the notes for the images. Be careful to draw attention to the variety of goods available to the people of the Shu culture, not all of which would have been indigenous to the area. As students hear or see evidence supporting the existence of civilization they are to place check and write a description of that support in the appropriate columns on their charts. If students are working in small groups, they will need copies of the artifact notes from the power point.

Assessment

1. Have students address the question found on the last slide of the power point. Students should then share and debate their answers. It is important to stress that not all ancient civilizations have strong evidence for all of Childe's characteristics. Remind students that this is a modern debate and that while all historians and archeologists agree that the Shu people were an organized culture, they disagree on whether or not there is sufficient evidence of a uniform civilization. In 1986, at an academic convention held in Guanghan, Professor Shu Bangui described Sanxingdui as "an ancient culture, ancient city and an ancient kingdom." Point out to students that no texts have been recovered from the site. Conclude the lesson by having students assess the importance of classification as a civilization for ancient cultures like the Shu.

Additional resources:

<http://www.china.com.cn/e-sanxingdui/jingtai/4.htm>

In addition to providing an overview to the archeological work being conducted in Sanxingdui, this web site offers images of the artifacts exhibited in the Sanxingdui Museum.

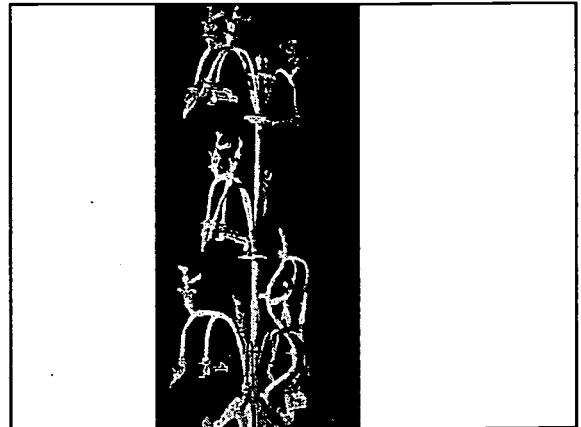
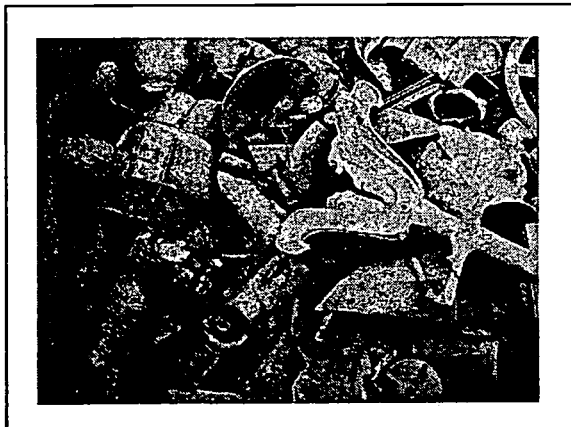
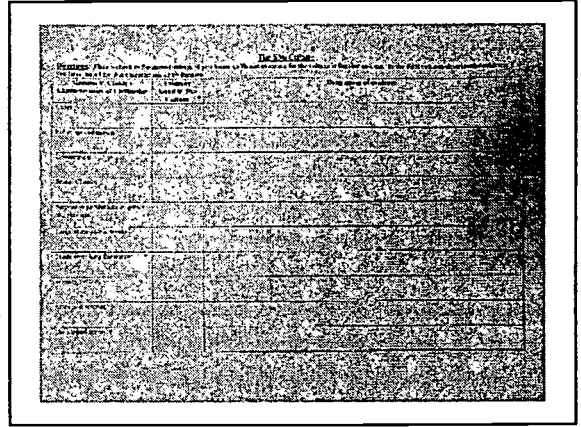
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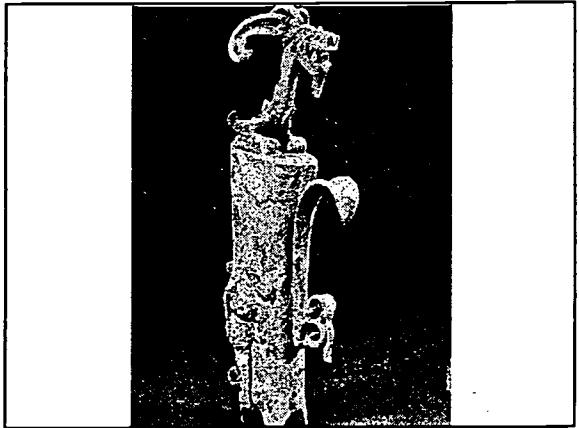
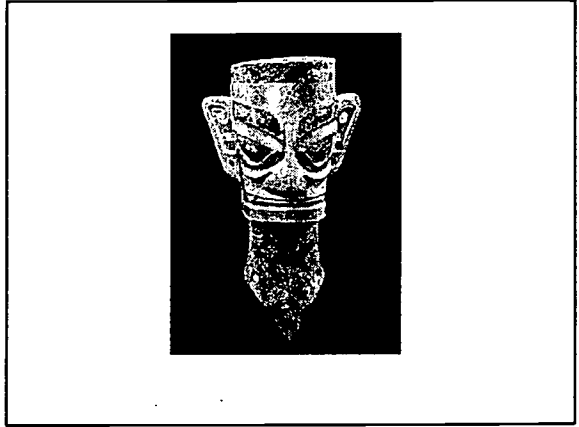
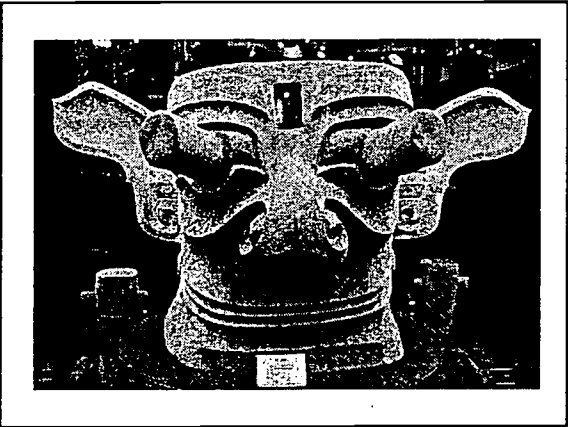
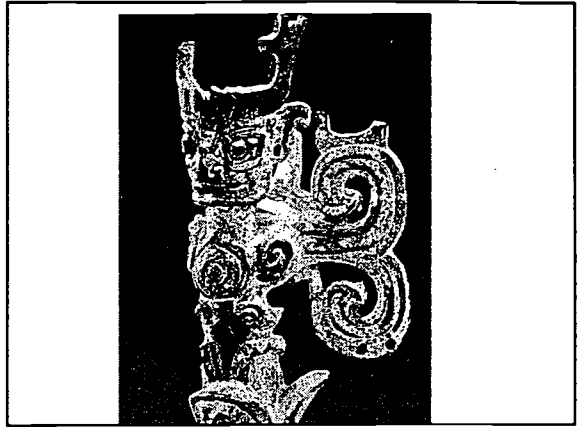
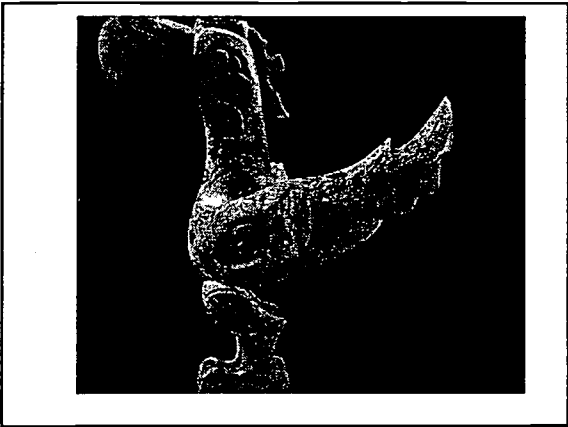
This site offers a unique glimpse into the jade artifacts from Sanxingdui that are held in private collections. It also offers a brief chronology and historical introduction to the region.

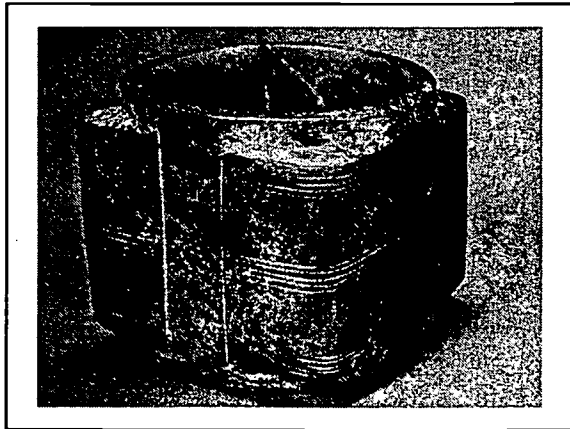
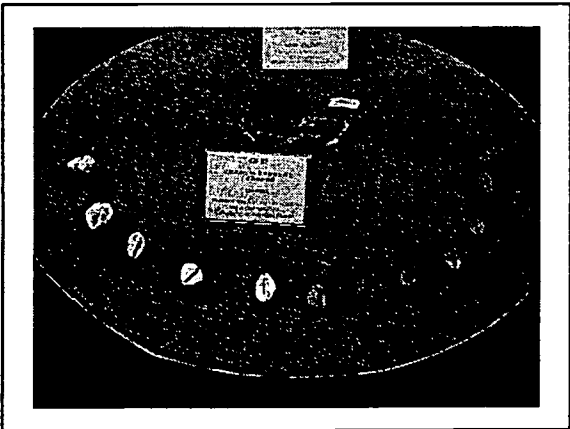
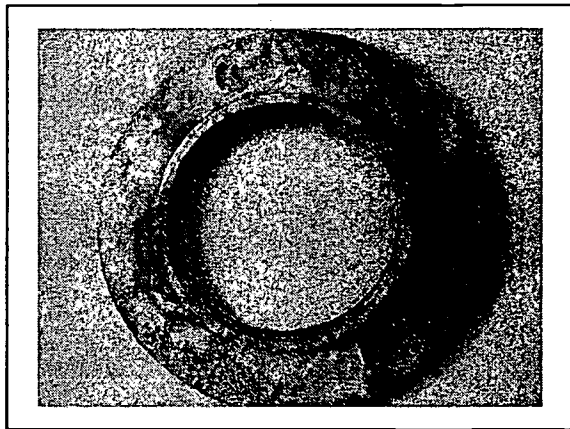
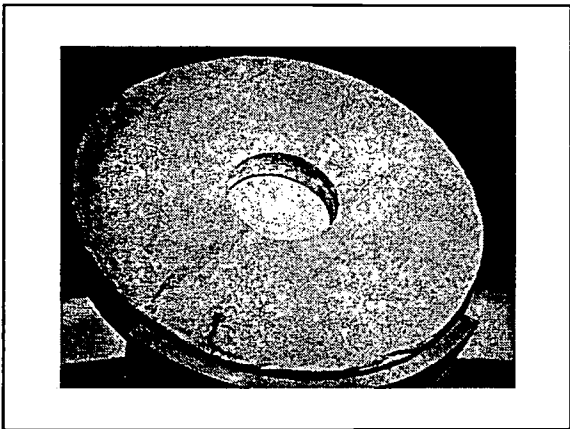
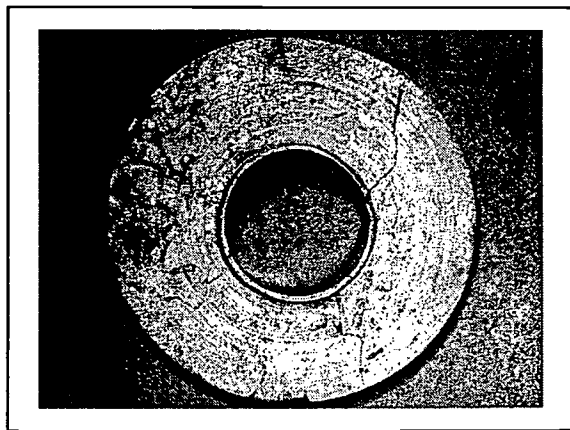
The Shu Culture

Directions: Place a check in the second column if you locate sufficient evidence for the criteria in the first column. In the third column, describe the evidence you have found for that characteristic of civilization.

Gordon V. Childe's Characteristics of Civilization	Evidence found in Shu Culture	Description of evidence
Cities		
Labor specialization		
Government		
Social Classes		
Surplus in production of goods and services		
Large scale public works		
Trade over long distances		
Writing system		
Math and science		
Developed art style		

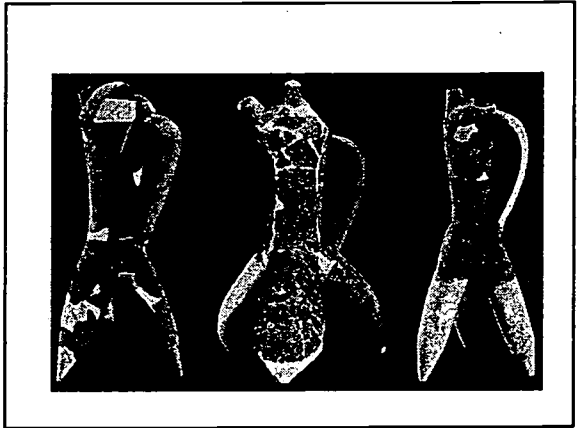
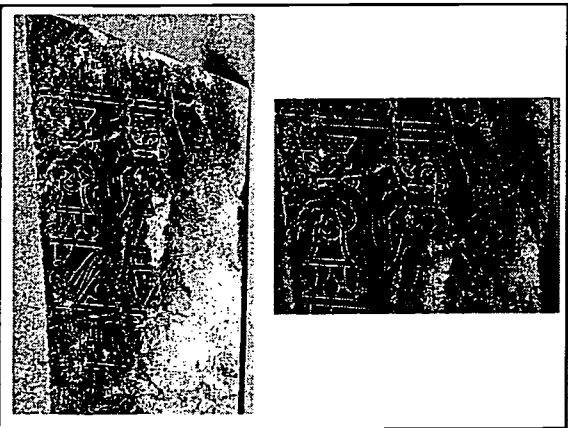
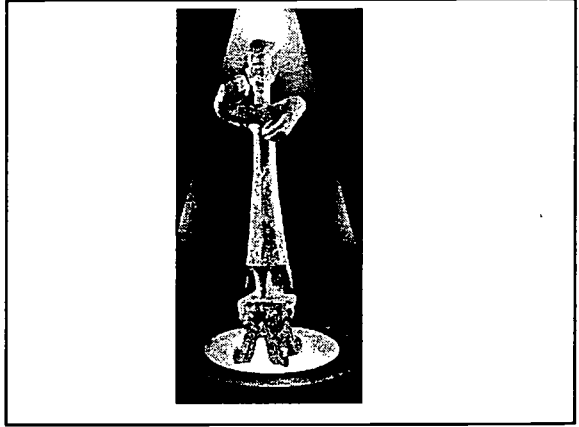
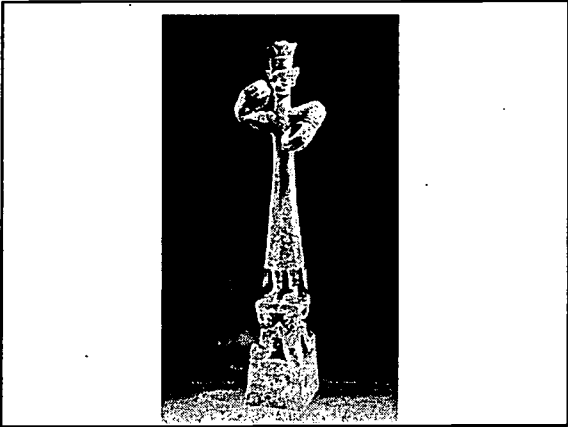
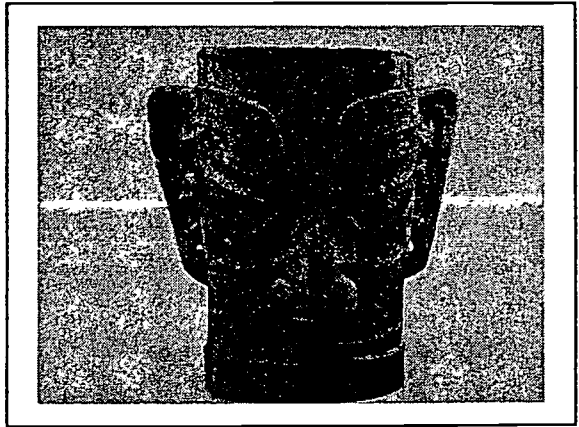
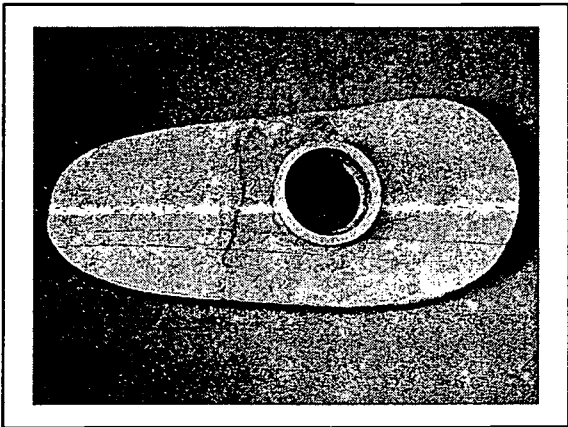




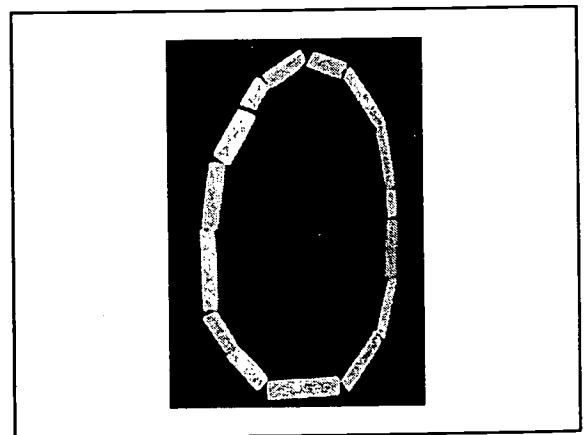
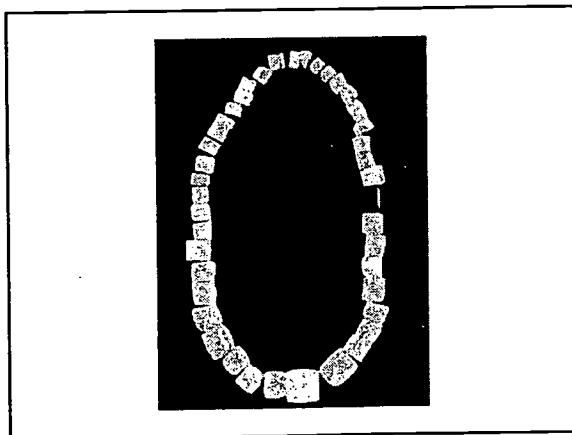
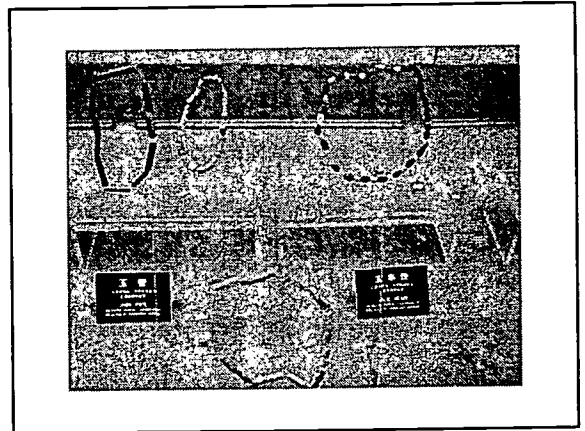
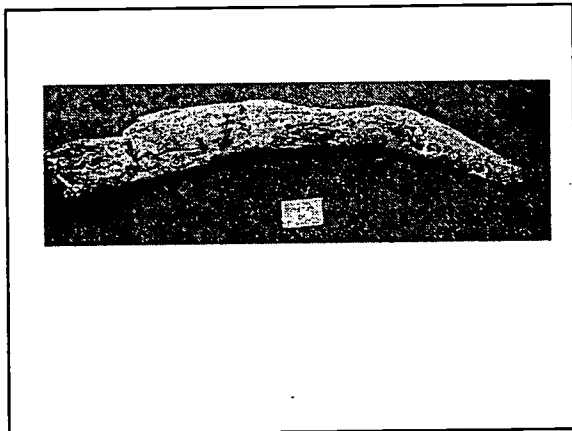
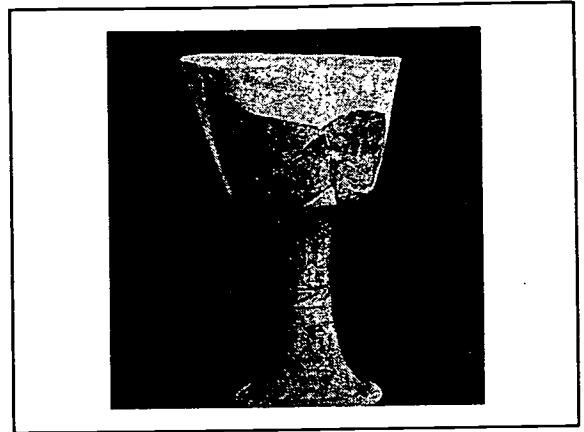
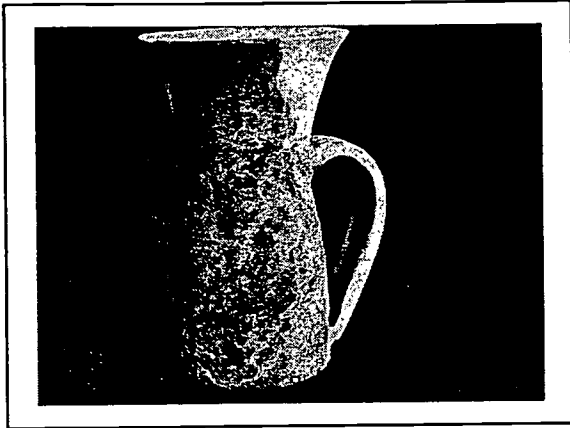


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301



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303

Would you consider the Shu culture to be a civilization?

Support your answer with evidence from Childe's characteristics of a civilization and the artifacts found in Sichuan Province, China.



August 1986, archeologists unearth artifacts from a sacrificial pit. The pit was discovered by brick makers who were searching for clay in the Sanxingdui region of Sichuan Province, China.



http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/china_pol01.jpg



Excavation of the first sacrificial pit discovered at Sanxingdui.

The Sisu Culture

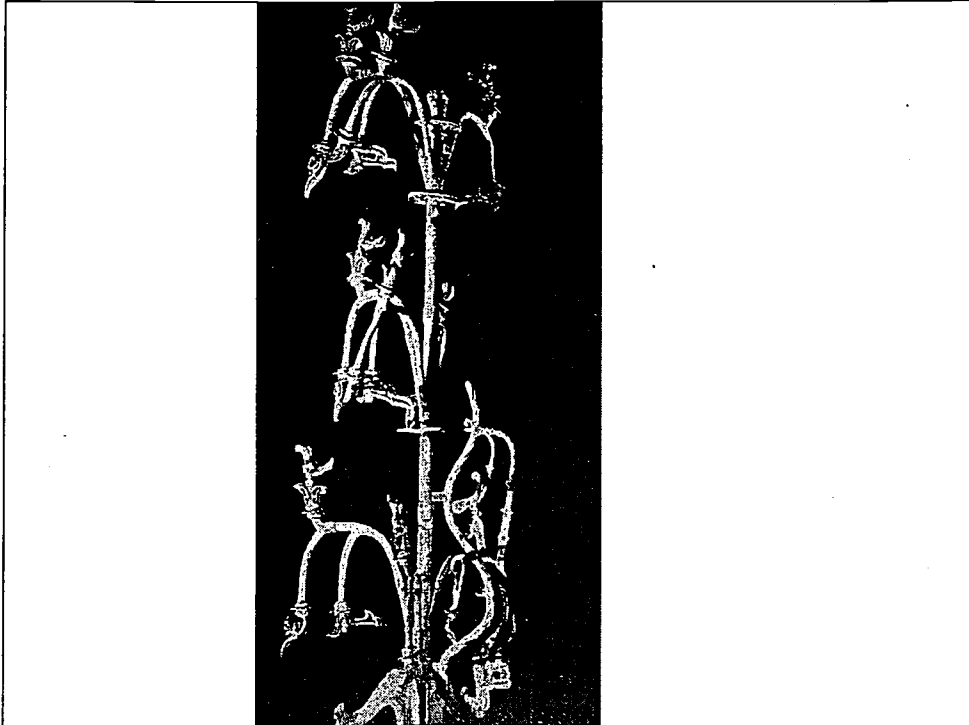
Directions: Place a check in the second column if you locate sufficient evidence for the criteria in the first column. In the third column, describe the evidence you have found for this characteristic of civilization.

Gordon V. Childe's Characteristics of Civilization	Evidence found in Sisu Culture	Description of evidence
Cities		
Labor specialization		
Government		
Social Classes		
Surplus in production of goods and services		
Large scale public works		
Trade over long distances		
Writing system		
Math and sciences		
Developed art and		

Review chart and directions with students.

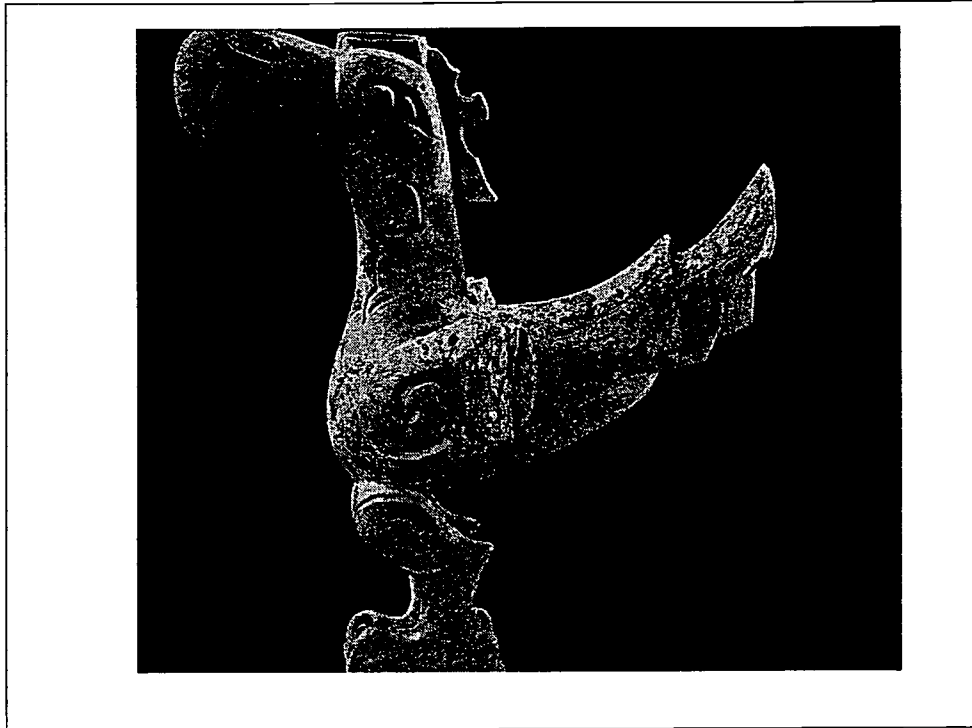


A view of the first sacrificial pit before excavation. Archeologists would later discover several bronze, stone, gold, and jade objects inside this pit.

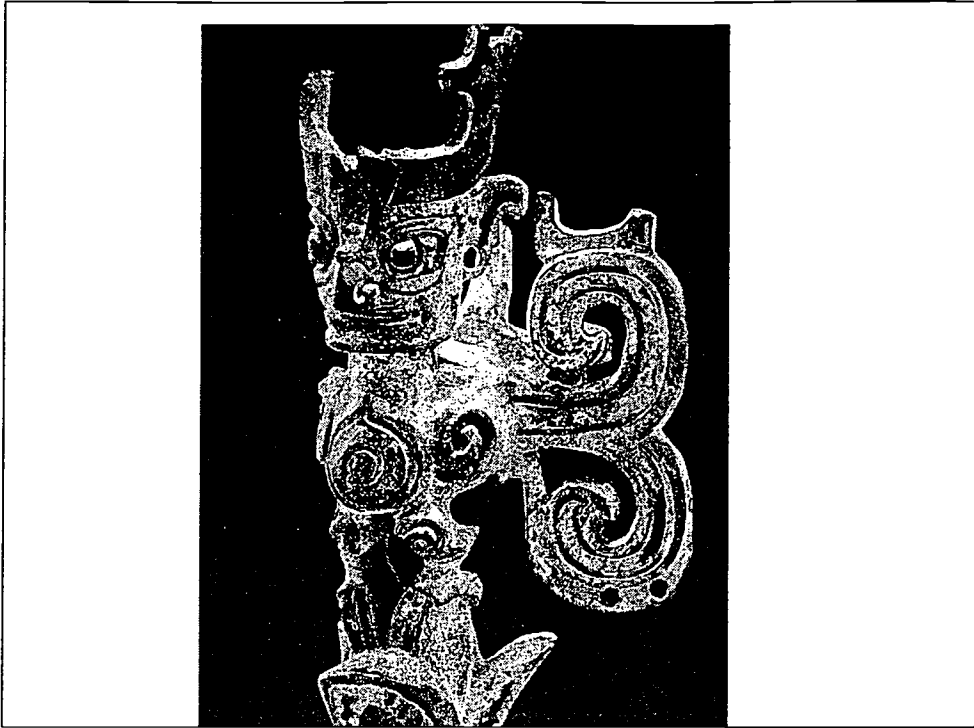


“*The Divine Tree* is composed of a base supporting a large tree. The base consists of three kneeling guards and the huge tree features foliage (leaves) filled with flowers, fruit, animals, and bells. This tree symbolizes the divine (heavenly) road to heaven.”

Sanxingdui and the Ancient Shu Culture, China Travel and Tourism Press, Sanxingdui China 2002.



A closer view of one of the birds on the *Divine Tree*. Hundreds of bronze artifacts in the shape of birds were discovered at Sanxingdui. Archeologists believe that these birds were worshipped for good harvests.



Close up of the kneeling guards on the *Divine Tree*.



“A bronze object in the shape of an animal head with protruding eyes. It is 65 cm high and 138 cm across. It has a rectangular face, two large horn-like ears erecting from the sides, two cylindrical eyeballs, a hawk nose, and a wide mouth... It was the heavenly god and ancestral god worshipped by the people of the Shu Kingdom.”

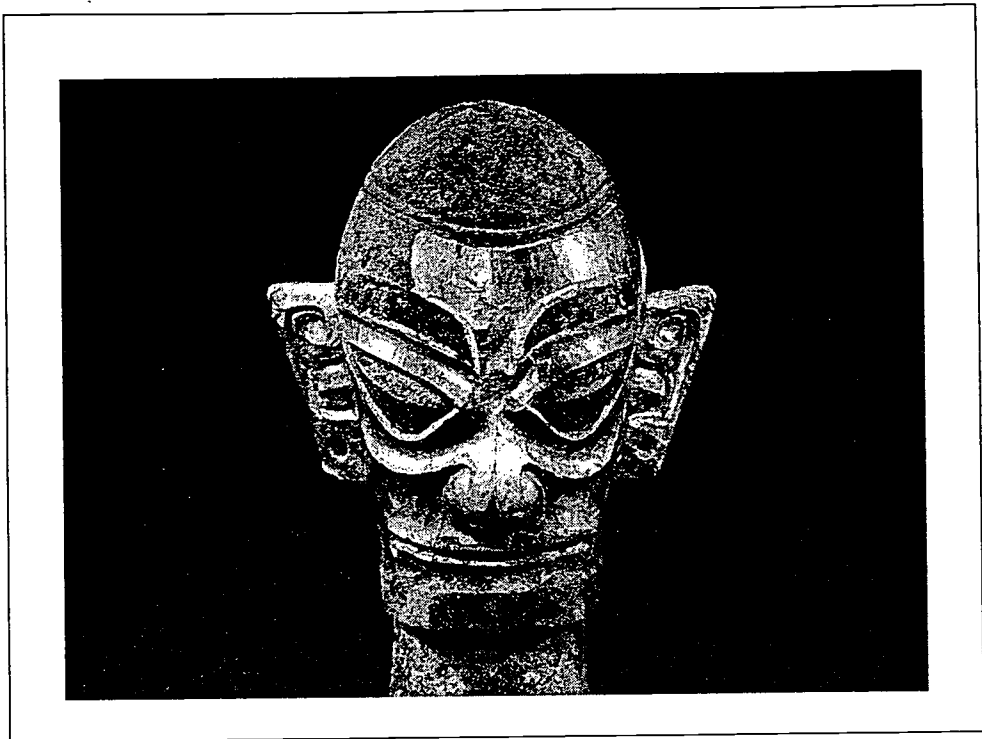
Cylindrical: tube, round

Sanxingdui and the Ancient Shu Culture, China Travel and Tourism Press, Sanxingdui China 2002.



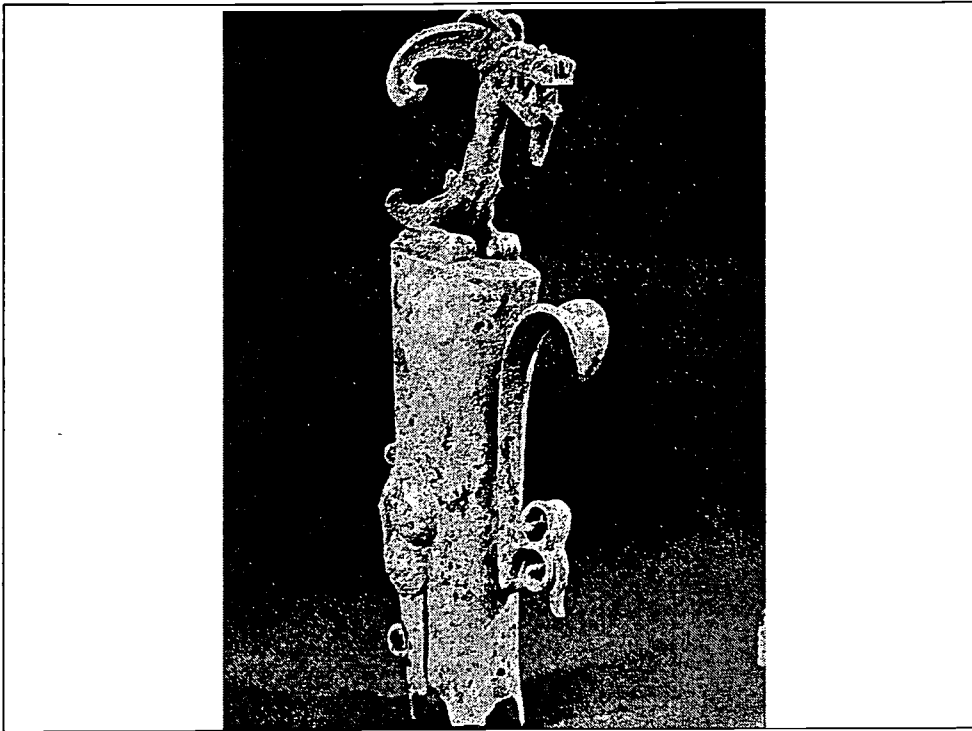
“A bronze human head with a gold mask. The shape and size of the head are similar of a real human head. It features a round top, almond shaped eyes, a garlic bulb-like nose, a short nose bridge, a big mouth with closed lips, a broad forehead, and long ears. There is a hole in each of the two earlobes. The eyebrows are in the shape of the inverted Chinese character 丿.”

Sanxingdui and the Ancient Shu Culture, China Travel and Tourism Press, Sanxingdui China 2002.



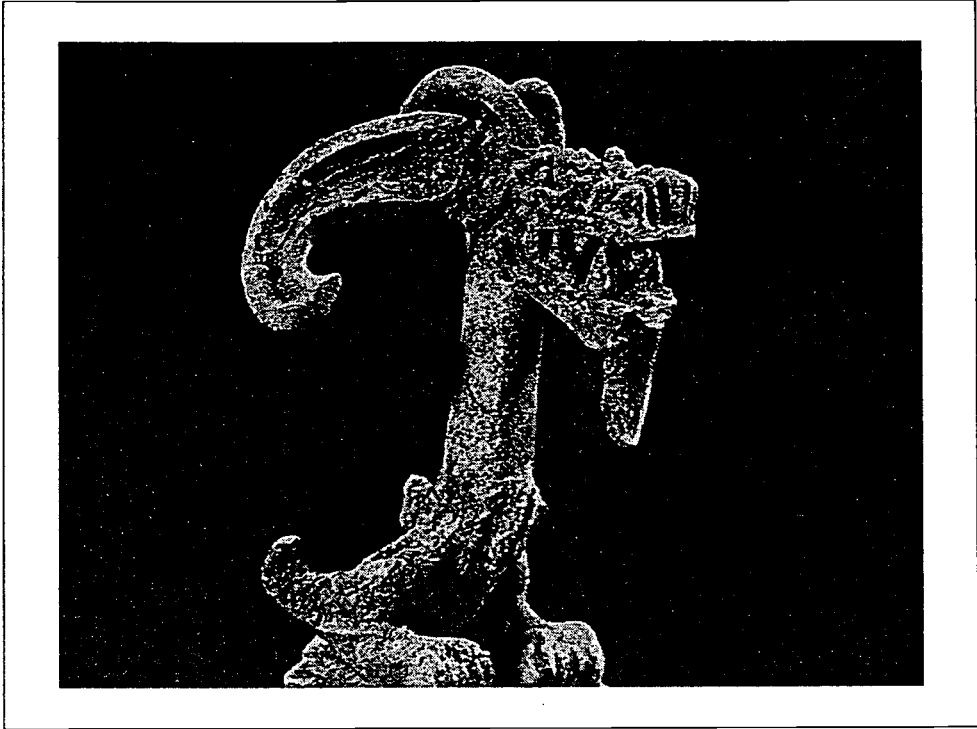
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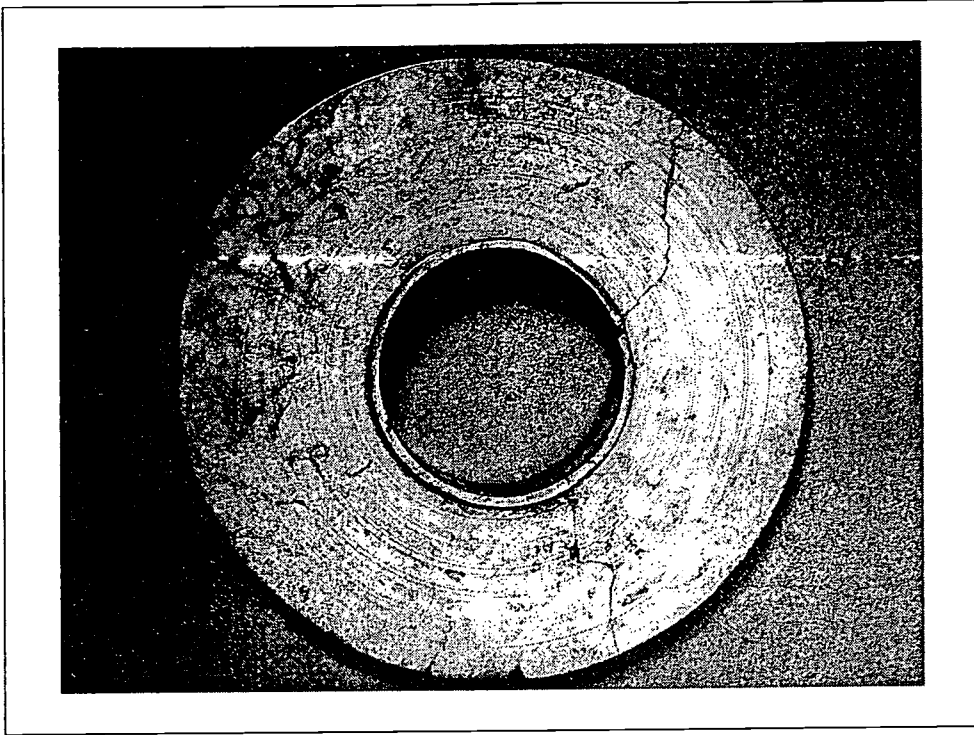
“A pillar-shaped object with a dragon design, 41 cm high. It has the body of a cat, curved horns, big ears, a large mouth, sharp teeth, whiskers on the lower jaw, and a tail hanging from the bronze pillar. It is a combination of human being and the animal, known as a supernatural being.”

Sanxingdui and the Ancient Shu Culture, China Travel and Tourism Press, Sanxingdui China 2002.



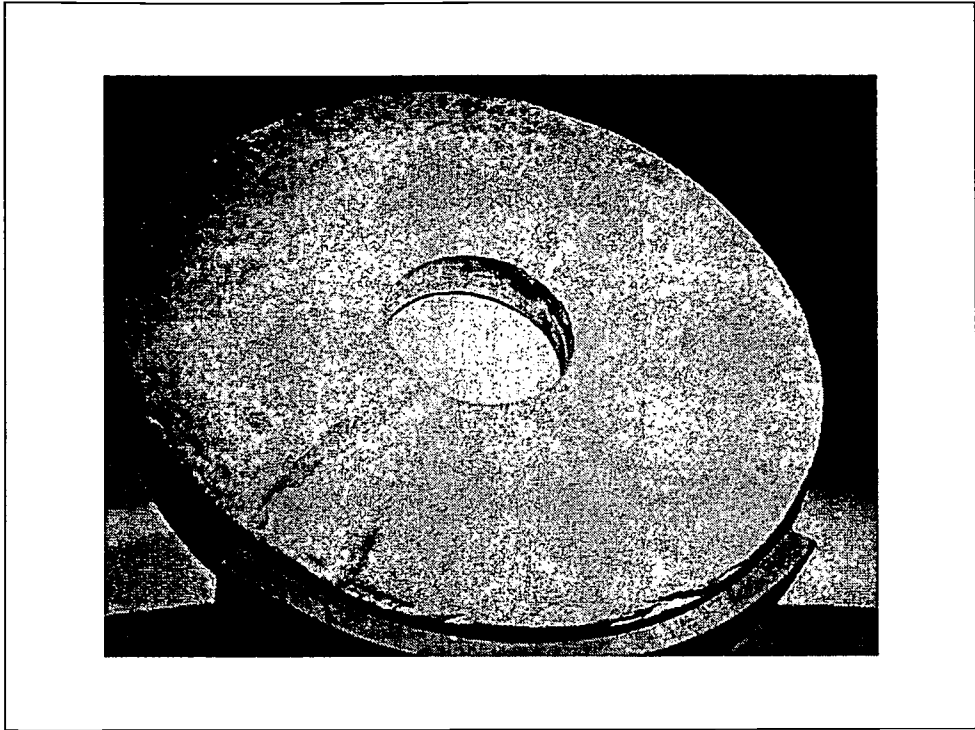
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“*Bi*, a round flat piece of jade with a hole in its center. It was used for religious ceremonial purposes in ancient China, 13.7 cm in diameter.”

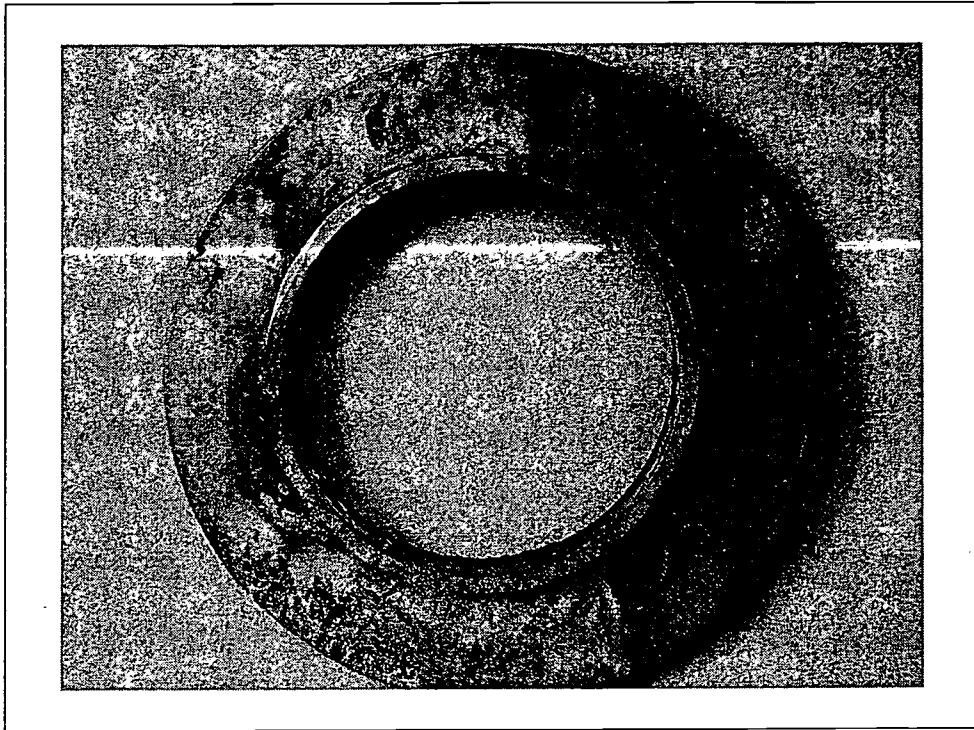
Sanxingdui and the Ancient Shu Culture, China Travel and Tourism Press, Sanxingdui China 2002.



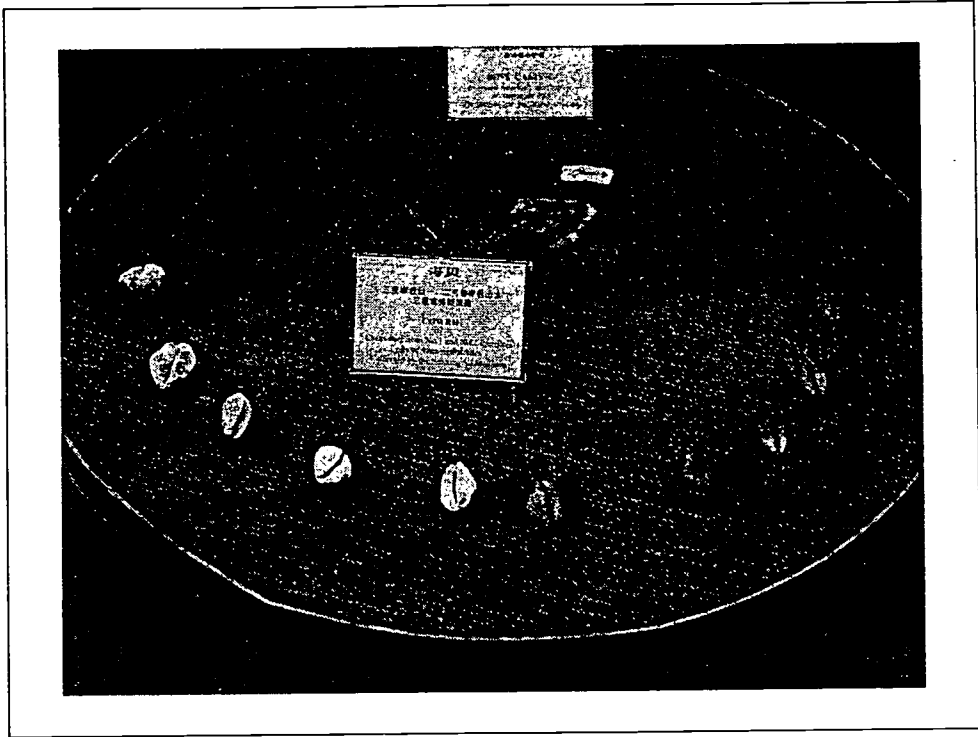
Large Bi.

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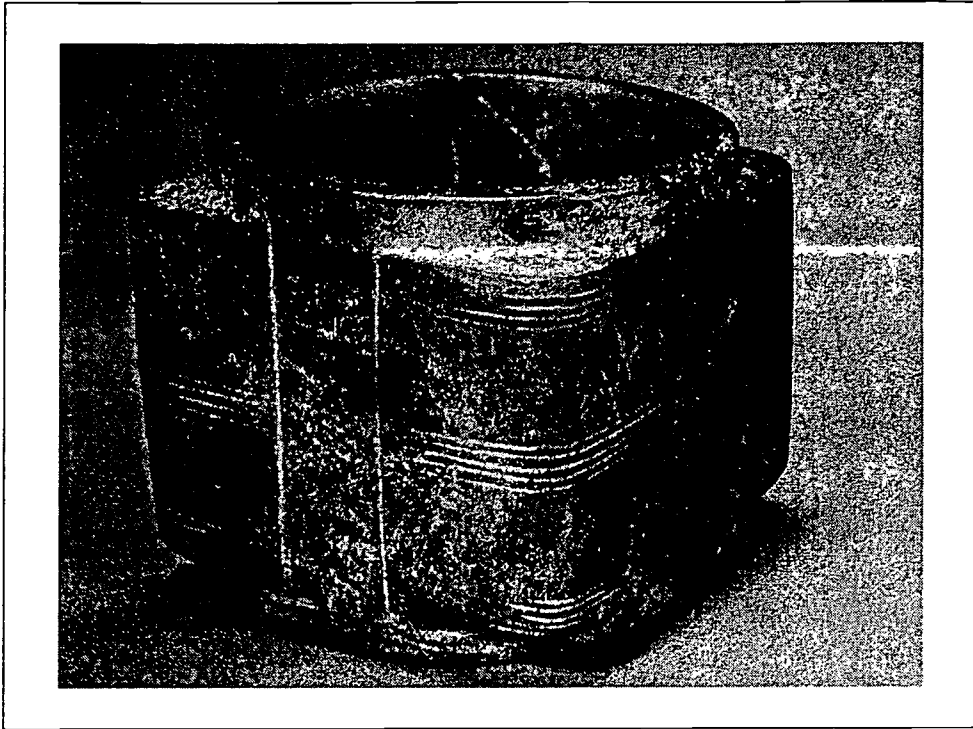
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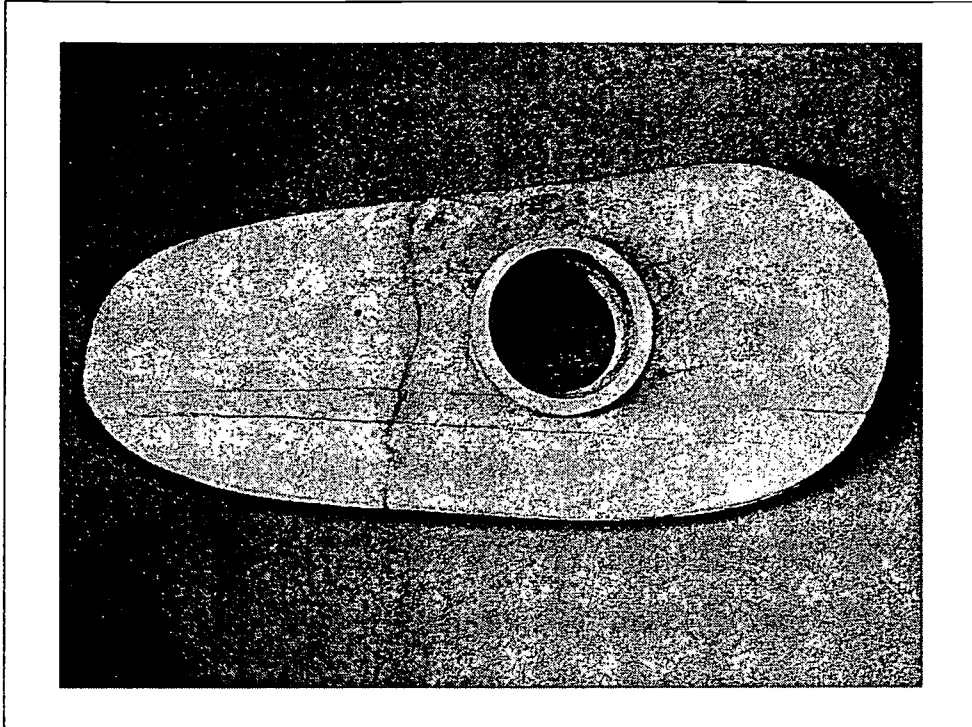
A Yuan. It is a round flat piece of jade with a big hole in the center, 10.5 cm in diameter.



Cowrie shells excavated from the pits of Sanxindui. Cowrie shells have been used in many parts of the world as a medium for exchange in trade.



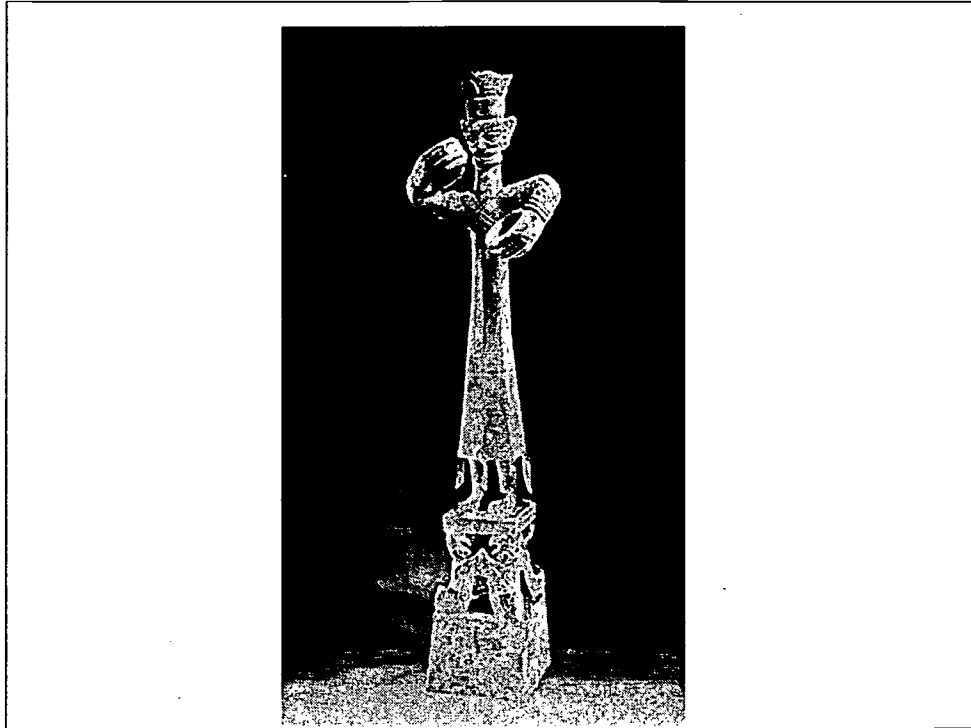
This square jade object is called a *Zong*. The shape of a square is thought to symbolize earth, while the round shape, heaven. This *zong* is 7.2 cm high, and has five parallel lines on each of the four sides.



This is a jade hoe with a center hole for the handle. It measures 20.5 cm in length.



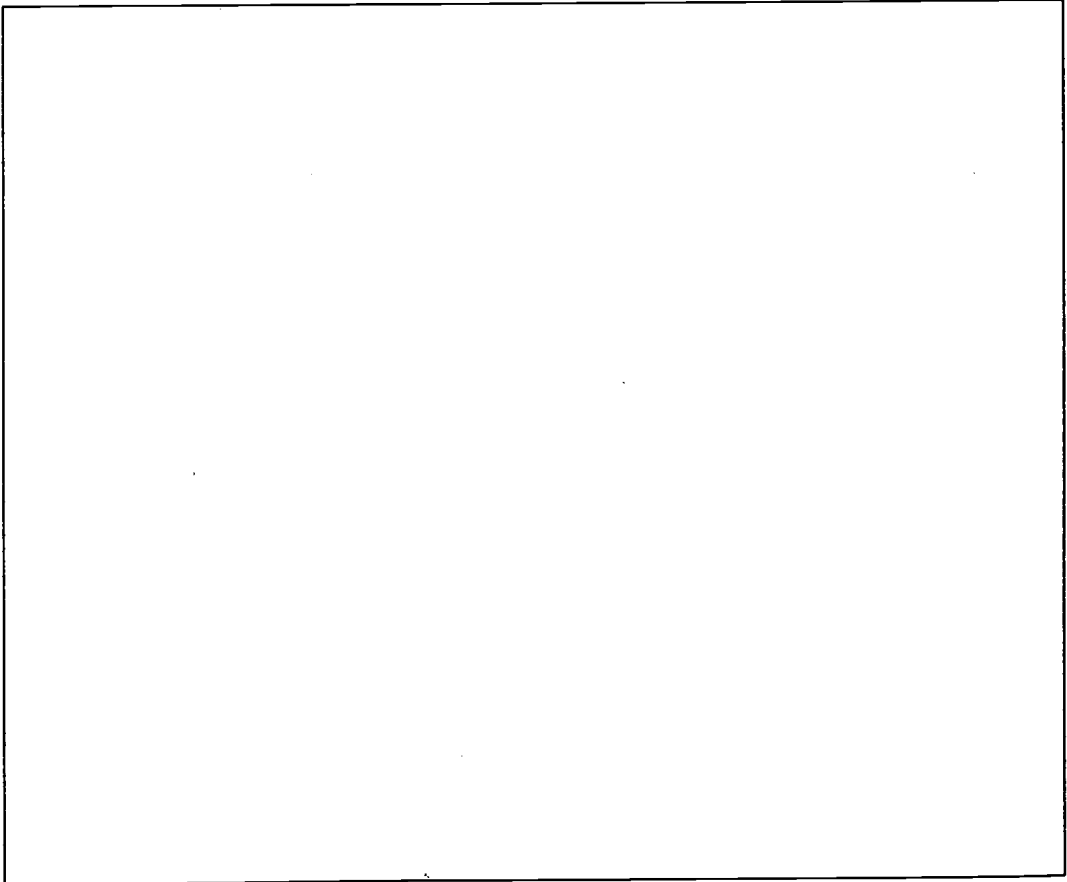
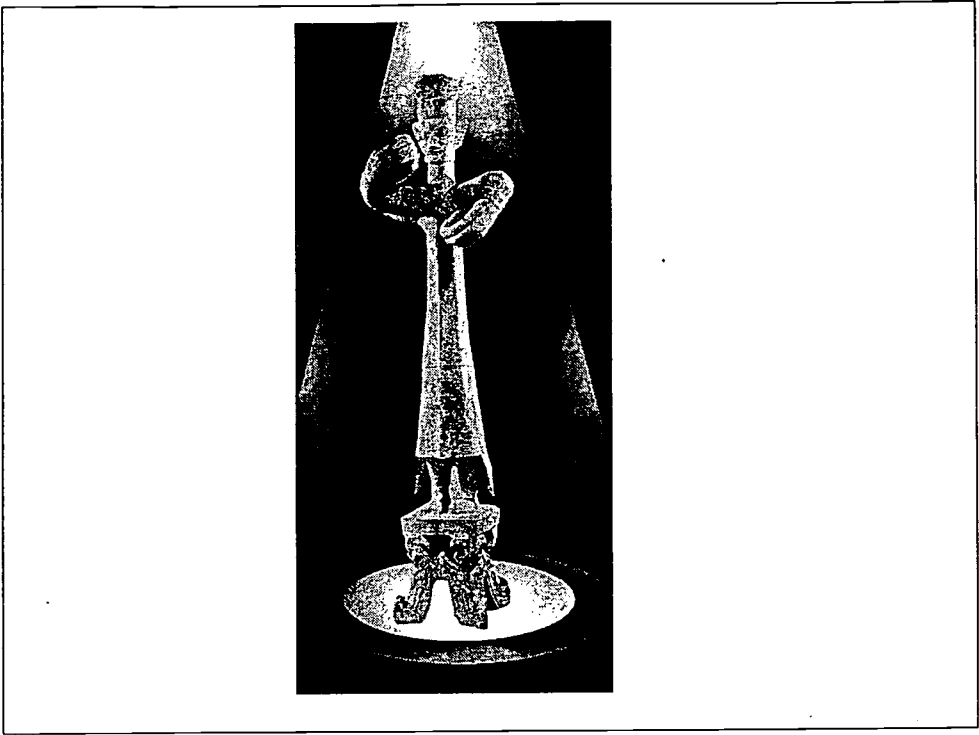
A human face made of bronze. Many objects similar to this one were excavated from the two sacrificial pits. They all share the same smiling, dignified expression. Most are flat on top.

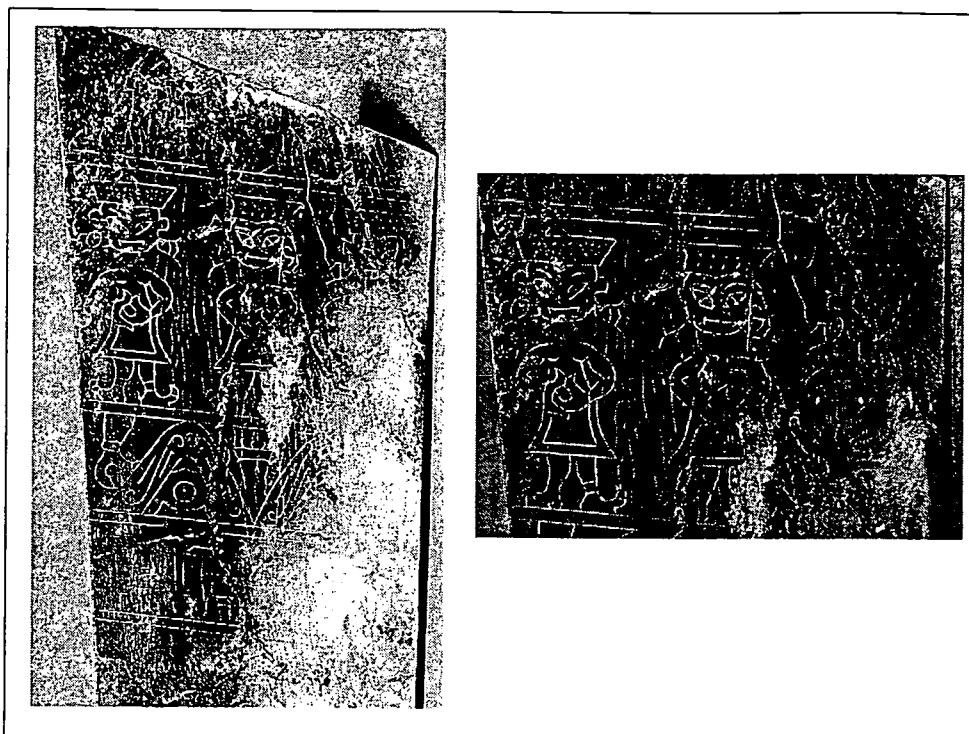


A bronze figure in a standing position, 2.6 meters high. This is the largest object found at Sanxingdui. It is standing on an alter with animals serving as supports. The figure has broad eyebrows and almond shaped eyes. The figure is wearing a long coat embroidered with clouds, birds, and other animals. Archeologists disagree on what this statue may have been originally holding in its hands. Ivory tusks have been suggested. It is believed to be a sorcerer.

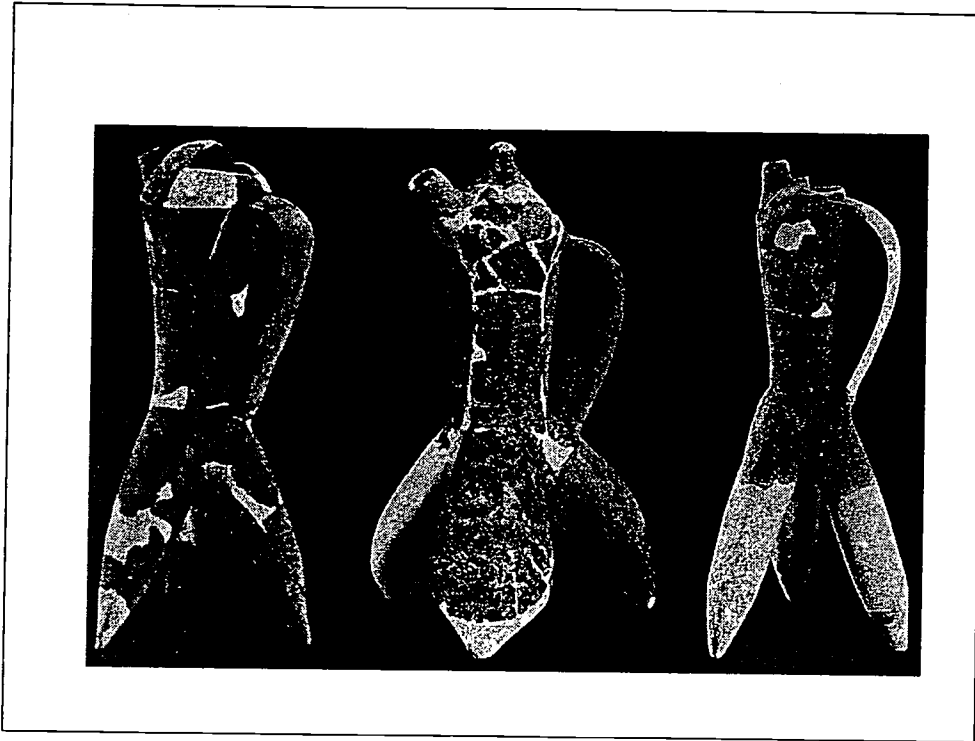
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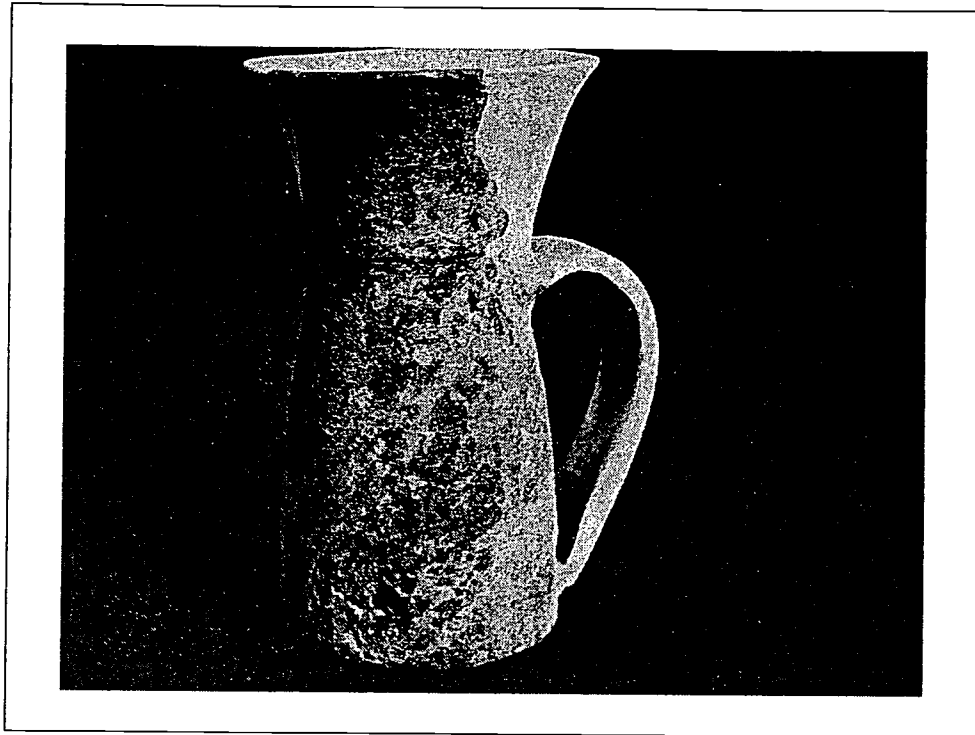




This object is called a *Zhang*. It is a jade tablet that was used at ceremonies to offer sacrifices to the gods of heaven and earth. There are several groups of human figures with flat-topped caps.



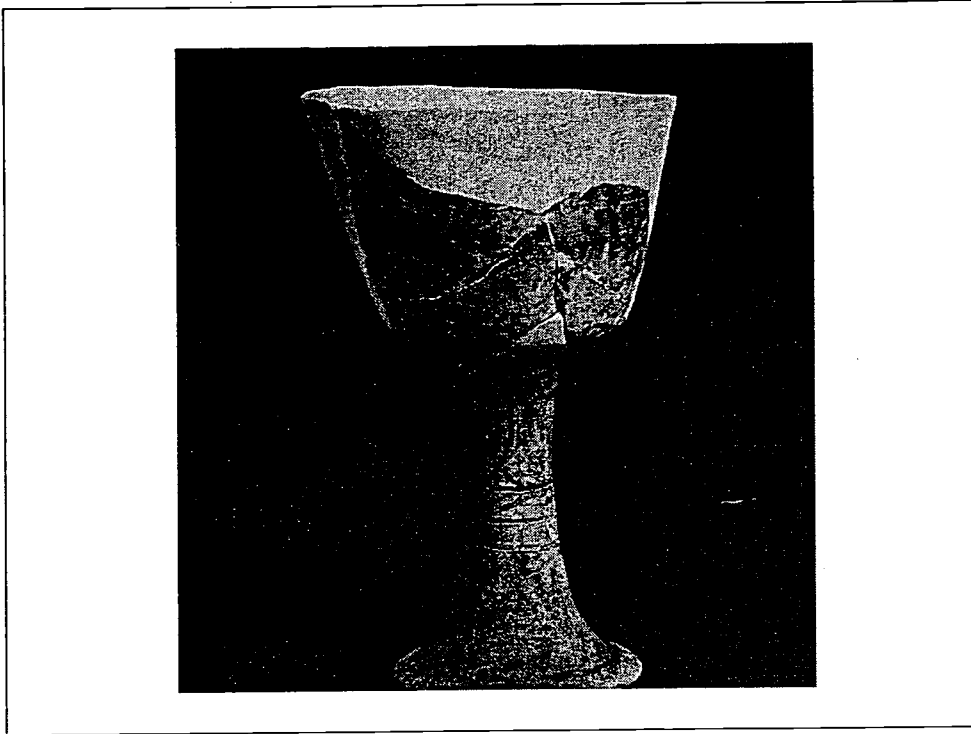
Various kinds of *He*. These three legged vessels with were used for wine in ancient Chinese civilizations.



Some of the vessels found at Sanxingdui had flat bottoms, long necks or bottle shaped cups. Their shapes suggest the influence of a foreign culture.

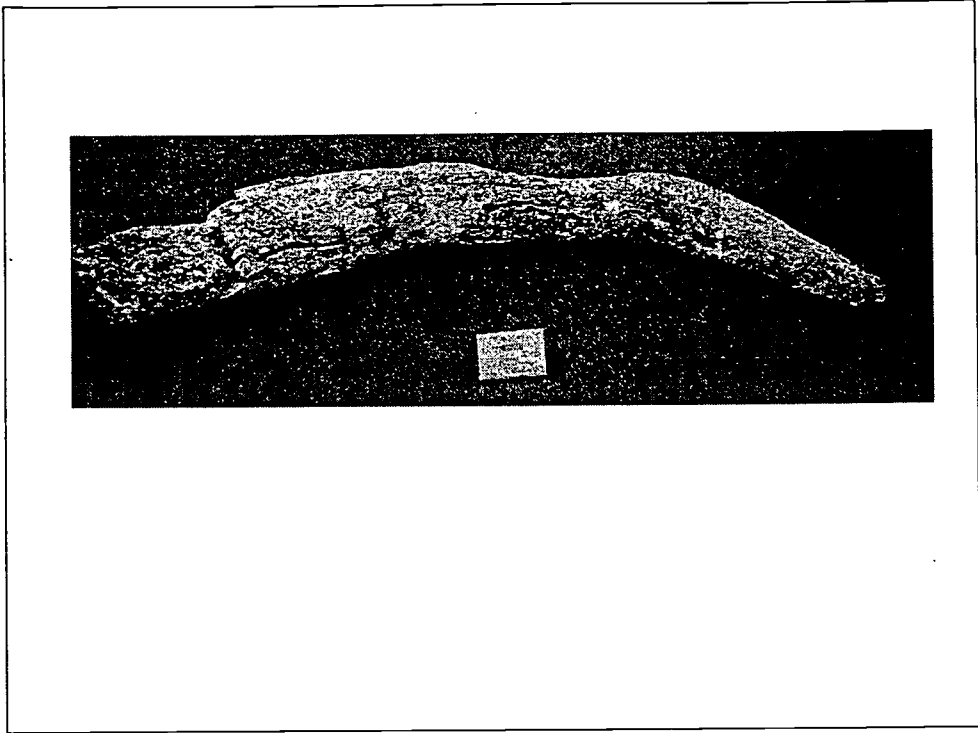
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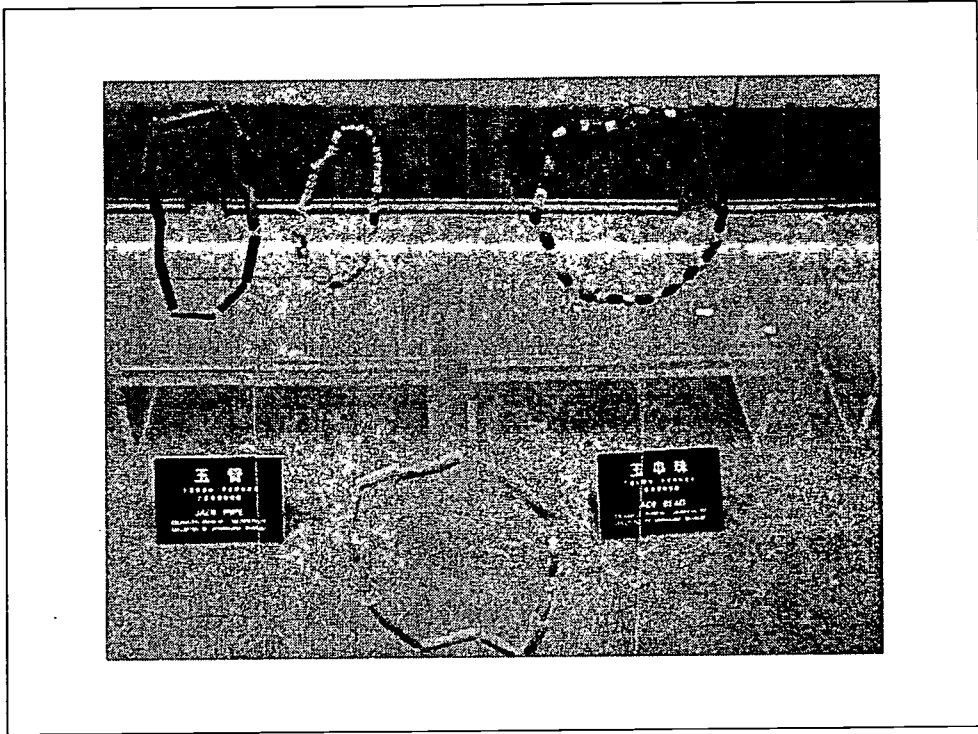


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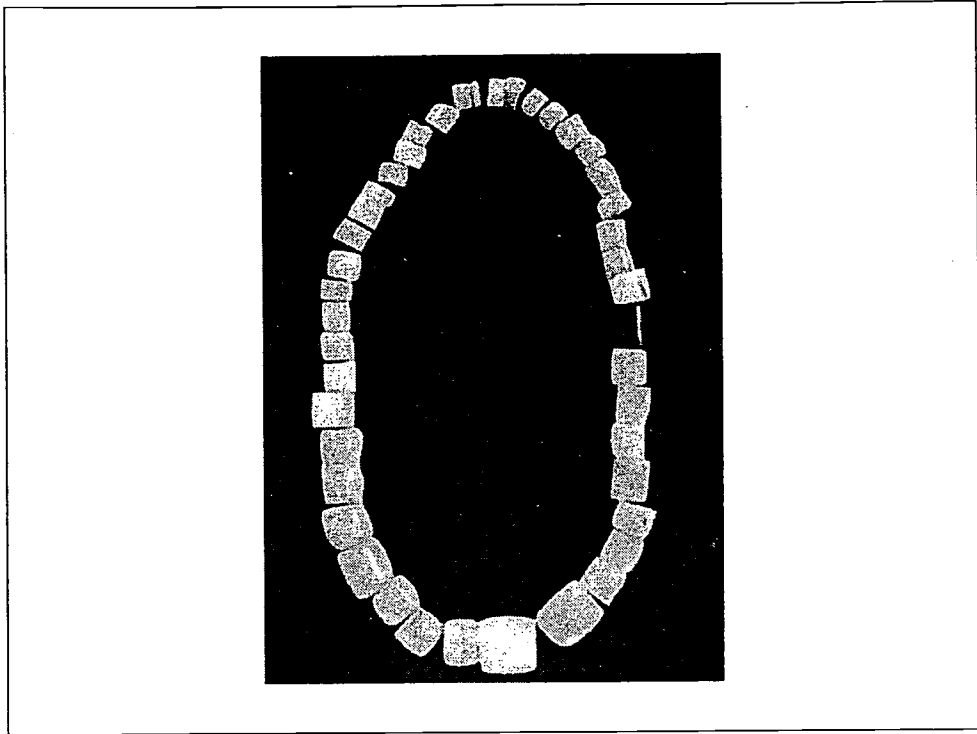


Ivory tusk



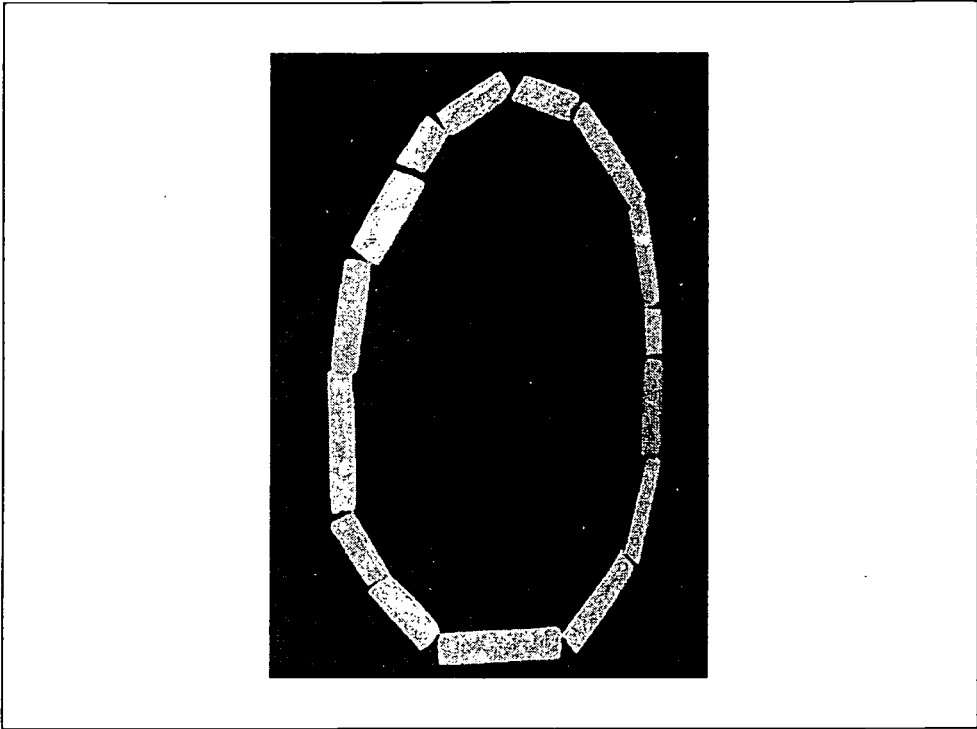
Necklaces made from jade piping. Each bead has a center hole that is remarkably even and allows for their assembly into a piece of jewelry.

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Would you consider the Shu culture to be a civilization?

Support your answer with evidence from Childe's characteristics of a civilization and the artifacts found in Sichuan Province, China.

Aspects of Miao Costume and Clothing

Judith Lynn Sebesta
Department of History
The University of South Dakota

To many Americans, China seems a monocultural (Han) country that is rapidly industrializing and becoming more open to western cultures. This curriculum project offers a correction on this view by looking at one Chinese minority nationality, the Miao. By examining the production and adornment of Miao clothing, the project also focuses on the role women have in contributing to their families' economy and maintenance of Miao culture.

The curriculum project includes: a brief overview of Miao culture; illustrations of items of Miao clothing collected during the seminar, with descriptions; discussion on the production of cloth and the adornment of clothing; a bibliography, and questions for class discussion and research. The bibliography includes many websites that provide more in-depth information on the Miao culture, and additional photographs of Miao clothing, activities, and celebrations.

The curriculum project is posted at

<http://www.usd.edu/~jsebesta/MiaoTextiles.html>

Miao Textiles and Costume

This lesson resource, created as part of the 2002 Fullbright-Hayes China Seminar "Traditions and Transformations," focuses on one of the minority peoples of China, the Miao and the role that textiles and clothing plays in their culture.

In many cultures, textiles are a major art form, yet frequently are still neglected in discussions of a culture's art. I say "still" because even though women's studies have helped revolutionize how cultures are studied and investigated, textiles are still neglected. In most cultures, women are the major producers of textiles and women's work has traditionally been undervalued by scholars. I agree with Ronald A. Schwartz, who argues that "clothing and adornment are universal features of human behavior, and an examination of what they reveal, and attempt to conceal, contributes to our knowledge about the fabric of cultures and to our understanding of the threads of human nature." ["Uncovering the Secret Vice: Toward an Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment," in *The Fabrics of Culture*, ed. J. Cordwell and R. Schwarz (The Hague, 1979):1]

Besides, the fabrics and clothing are beautiful!

Who are the Miao?

The Production of Cloth

General Aspects of Miao Costume

Photos of the Collected Textiles

Questions for Discussion

Bibliography

edited December 2002

The Miao people, one of the minority peoples of China, live in the provinces of Guizhou, Guangxi, Hubei, Hunan, Sichuan, and Yunnan in the area of southern China. Linguistically and culturally they are related to the Hmong peoples that live in other southeast Asian countries.

According to the 1990 census, there were more than seven million Miao living in China in small communities, generally in the mountainous areas. While the Miao language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan group of languages, it includes three dialects, seven sub-dialects, and 18 regional patterns. Miao groups distinguish themselves both by language variations and by the style of their clothing.

Though the earliest mention of the Miao in Chinese records dates to the 12th century BCE., according to tradition the Miao lived along in the valleys of the Yellow River and the Yangzi River as far back as 5,000 years ago. Defeated by the legendary Yellow Emperor, the Miao migrated south. With each subsequent defeat, they moved yet further south, until they came to the areas they now inhabit. Their slash-and-burn method of agriculture also contributed to their dispersal, for, once the fertility of the soil had become depleted (usually in five years), they were again and again forced to move to new forest lands and clear them. However, in the past 50 years or so, the Miao have, by and large, ceased this periodic relocation. Generally, the size of their settlements varies from province to province, ranging from about 35 to 130 families; there are a few settlements of about 1000 families.

Housing also varies from region to region. Houses may be made of wood and raised up off the ground, or made of earth or stone. Usually the houses are windowless and often shelter their animals.

The Miao support themselves through agriculture. Their staple crop is rice, supplemented by corn, yams, millet, sorghum, fruits, vegetables, wheat, buckwheat, peanut, sunflower, rape seed, sesame, hot peppers. They also grow the fibers they use in their clothing, cotton and hemp. Other crops include tobacco and indigo (which they use as a dye). Men traditionally used animals for plowing. Women traditionally did the weeding, but now also do the plowing. Women perform many other farming chores as well as housework, cooking, livestock and poultry raising, laundry, spinning,

weaving, sewing, and clothing adornment. When not engaged in farming, men will sometimes go hunting.

A village may have a grove of trees that is used in religious ceremonies. While some Miao have adopted aspects of Daoism, Buddhism, or Christianity, many follow traditional religion and believe that there are potent, divine forces centered in sacred groves, caves, rocks, wells, bridges, or other natural phenomena. They also believe in protective spirits that are often thought of having the shapes of dragons. Generally, the Miao believe that everything in their world is connected to or contains supernatural powers that can influence human life. (1)

When a Miao person dies, his or her soul divides into three parts. One resides in the house as an ancestor spirit. A second part needs the help of the living in order to arrive safely in the other world with its ancestors. A third part resides at the grave. Those who have died badly may haunt the house or family or livestock and bring illness and bad luck. Shamans assist the mourners to carry out the proper funeral rituals so that the three parts of the soul successfully go to their proper places. Miao make recourse to shamans, who can make contact with the spirits, in order to find out what spirit is causing the illness and how to stop it from doing so. (2)

Traditionally the Miao have used barter in order to make exchanges and purchases. When a daughter or son marries, the parents give the newly-weds livestock, household tools, jewelry, and cloth. The house and land and any remaining wealth that the parents hold will eventually go to the youngest son. If a couple has no son, the daughter(s) will inherit and be responsible for the parents in their old age. (3)

(1) C. Le Blanc, "Miao" in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life*. Vol. 3. Timothy Gall, ed. Gale Research: Detroit, New York, Toronto, London, 1998: 509-510.

(2) C. Le Blanc, C. "Miao," 509-510.

(3) C. Le Blanc, C. "Miao," 510-511.

See also

" The Miao Nationality"

<http://www.c-c-c.org/chineseculture/minority/miao.html>

"A Brief Introduction of the Miao"

<http://lennon.pub.csufresno.edu/~vc032/Miao.html>

The connection between the Miao and the Hmong:

<http://www.peopleteams.com/miao/MiaoHmong.htm>

In general, the Miao use a variety of fibers. Hemp and ramie were commonly used in the past, as they were made from plants gathered in the wild or easily cultivated. Hemp seeds are sown in March and the plant is harvested in August. Miao women cut the stalks and remove the leaves and remove the fibers from the stems. As these are short, they need to splice the fibers to make long threads. They boil the yarn with ash to make it white. Ramie plants are cut several times a year and the fibers released from the stem. These fibers are also spliced to make a yarn. Cotton grows in the southern areas of Guizhou province, but Miao in other areas will purchase spun cotton. Wool is worn in the mountainous areas of northwest Guizhou where protection against the cold is valued. While the Miao used to raise silkworms, more commonly silk thread from other provinces is used. (1)

Miao women weave their own cloth, either using a back-strap type loom where the weaver provides tension through the positioning of her body, or a frame loom with treadles. Weavers use variety of weaves in addition to plain weave. They may use supplementary wefts to create complex patterns. They also will weave the narrow ribbons and bands to adorn their garments.

Usually women dye the cloth rather than the yarn. The most common dye stuff is indigo. They soak the leaves of this plant in water to ferment the leaves for anywhere from a few days to several weeks. The fermented leaves are then sieved out and lime is added to oxygenate the water. Then the leaves are replaced and their pigment precipitates out into the water as a paste. The paste is then mixed with ashes and water. The women dip the cloth as many times as needed, depending upon how deep a color they wish to have. (2)

Other dye colors are now obtained from commercial dyes. Miao women tend to go to commercial dyers for such colors, rather than use them at home.

Patterns are also made by resist dyeing. In wax or rice paste resist dyeing, the woman draws the design on the cloth with heated wax (beeswax or paraffin wax) or rice paste, which are impervious to dyes. If the cloth is dyed indigo, for example, the part covered by the wax or rice paste will remain white. In stitch-resist dyeing, the woman uses running stitches to

gather the material into tight folds that make it difficult for the dye stuff to penetrate.

(1) Gina Corrigan. *Miao Textiles from China* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 2001), p. 12.

(2) Corrigan, *Miao Textiles* p. 13-14.

General Aspects of Miao Clothing and Costume

(links to clothing web pages are at the bottom of this page)

Miao people have distinctly different everyday dress and festive dress. Age, marital status, and gender also affect what is worn in both categories. The country or region that the Miao individual belongs to also affects what garments are worn, the embroidered (applied, etc.) decoration, and motifs and colors used to decorate clothing. Some people have counted anywhere from 23 to 80 or more different area variations. Generally, however, the basic color of festive or everyday dress is black. While early scholars of Miao costume described the variations according to color or article of dress (Red Miao, Floral Miao, Long-Skirt Miao), these appellations are no longer used, and are disliked by the Miao themselves.

Traditionally, Miao men wear a short jacket and trousers, or a long robe that opens on the side. However, in many areas Miao men have assimilated the dress of Han men or even western style clothing (Han are the majority population in China) because they have gone away to school or served in the army or migrated for one or more periods to another province in search of work.

Miao women are more likely to be less familiar, and so less influenced, with life and ways of other cultures or other regions. However, as television is becoming more common (a village may collectively own a set or two) and girls are receiving more extensive education and even migrating to other areas of China in search of work, they are increasingly wearing western clothes and are less inclined to learn and practice the time-consuming traditional ways of making and ornamenting cloth. (1)

The basic traditional women's costume is comprised of a blouse or short coat; long trousers, or one or more skirts, or a long robe; leggings or gaiters (if trousers are not worn); broad waistbands; embroidered shoes; and various items of silver jewelry, including hair pieces. Variations include skirts that are called "hundred pleat skirts," the treatment of collars and how the blouse or short coat opens, hats or how the woman wraps a long scarf around her head or wears her hair; shawls; "waist-aprons." An important item for women is the baby carrier, generally a T-shaped cloth that ties around the baby's bottom and is secured at the mother's waist.

Fabrics used for each item may vary, as well. Miao use linen, cotton, hemp, ramie, wool, flax, batik and silk, and women usually spin the fiber and weave the cloth. Belts and aprons may be adorned with tassels, fringes, bells, seed pods and/or beads.

Regional variations on how the cloth is decorated include using ribbons; metal edgings; dyed silk felt; hand-made silk braids; various embroidery stitches; wax resist, stitch resist, and paste resist dyeing; and using dyes painted on the cloth. Other variations include use of supplementary warp or weft patterns; damask or other woven patterns; pattern darning; appliqued strips; sand mocking. Embroidery threads include silk, metallic, wool, and cotton. Folded pieces of gold paper and/or silk paper may be sewn on. Some regions use one color predominantly as the base color for the garments. (2)

Miao admire shiny, indigo-dyed cloth which is made both by professional dyers (usually men) and women for their families. The shine is produced by putting the cloth on a roller and then placing a stone on top of the cloth. The dyer either rocks the stone to produce a shine. Another way is to dip the indigo-dyed cloth into a solution produced from tubers and roots of forest plants. Once dried, the dyer paints egg-white on the cloth, which, when dried in the sun, produces a very shiny glaze. (2)

One of the most intricate clothing items is the "hundred pleat skirt" which actually may have five hundred pleats. According to Miao tradition an old woman made the first skirt in imitation of the "folds" under mushroom caps which she observed while collecting them one day. In one method of making such a skirt, Miao women make a length of cloth measuring about 20 meters (about 787 inches); they may do this by sewing several pieces of cloth together. Next, they spread the long cloth upon a curved cushion stuffed with rice straw and tie it down with cords. They sprinkle the cloth with a starchy infusion made of the roots of a species of hyacinth. Using a small wooden or metal stick, the women fold the cloth into small pleats, and let it dry in the sun. Some women may also sew the pleats down. A woman who pleats very finely is much admired by her peers. (2)

Creating a single item of clothing takes an immense amount of time. Time is required to grow the plant fiber source, obtain the fiber, spin it into thread, weave the cloth, dye the fiber or cloth (and make the dye itself),

embroider or otherwise adorn the item, and sew the item. (One should also calculate the time required to learn each of these steps.) Gail Rossi comments that it may take two years just to complete the embroidery on a 15 meter length of cloth for a garment. (3)

As an example of regional costume variation, I give two descriptions of women's below:

Guizhou province: Zhenning, Ziyun, and Anshun counties. The blouse has narrow sleeves and opens on the right side; the blouse's color is mainly black, but it may be lavishly adorned with appliqued panels so that the base color is practically hidden. Women wear a short vest, generally plain in color. The vest has arm holes, but in length may not fall even to the length. They wear a long, narrow skirt, horizontally stri

Photos of the Collected Textiles

"Varieties of Costume of Miao Ethnic Group"

<http://www.chinavista.com/experience/miaozu/miaozu.html>

Miao Embroideries from Shidong Guizhou Province, China

<http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/subjects/chinese/Miao/index.html>

"Chinese Minority Textiles: Miao and Others"

<http://www.marlamallett.com/miao.htm>

"Embroidery Gallery: Miao" <http://www.fivecoloursearth.com/miao.htm>

"Miao People in Guizhou, China (photo gallery)"

<http://www.sakurako-art.com/Travel-5.html>

Miao clothing, embroideries, jewelry <http://www.guihk.com/index.htm>

"Snapshots: Textile Artists of Southwestern China and Their Costumes"

<http://www.marlamallett.com/miao-photos.htm>

"UNESCO Calls for Protecting Ethnic Costumes"

<http://hmongunivers.angelcities.com/news07042000.html>

"Miao Nationality (costume)"

<http://www.paulnoll.com/China/Minorities/min-Miao.html>

"Varieties of Costume of Miao Ethnic Group"
[http://china.9c9c.com/Culture/Traditional Costume/topic 1386.html](http://china.9c9c.com/Culture/Traditional%20Costume/topic%201386.html)

"Guizhou Miao Girls in Festival Costume"
<http://www.goldenbridge.net/Guizhou-MiaoGirlsInFestivalcostum>

(1) Gina Corrigan, *Miao Textiles from China* (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 2001) p. 19.

(2) Corrigan, *Miao Textiles*, pp. 15-17

(3) Gail Rossi, "A flourishing art--China: Guizhou women continue to embroider their legends," *Threads*, issue 9, Feb/March 1987, p. 30.

Photos and Sources of the Collected Textiles

In Xi'an (Shaanxi province), I located in an old market section a shop that sold portions of Miao textiles: borders and panels from jackets; portions of belts; sleeve decorations; sections from aprons, baby carriers, etc. Some of the items were very worn, but all, as far as I could tell, had originally been made for Miao use, not for the tourist trade. Some distance from Xi'an, there was another shop selling Miao textiles for the tourist trade and displaying a mannequin dressed in traditional style.

Later, while based in Shanghai (Shanghai province), I visited Zhouzhuang Village, a fishing village whose traditional architecture has been maintained. Now an important tourist attraction, many of the village houses have been turned into restaurants and shops. Here, too, was a shop selling Miao textiles with a mannequin illustrating traditional dress.

Xi'an shop with Miao and other minority peoples' fabrics

Xi'an fabrics 1 and 2

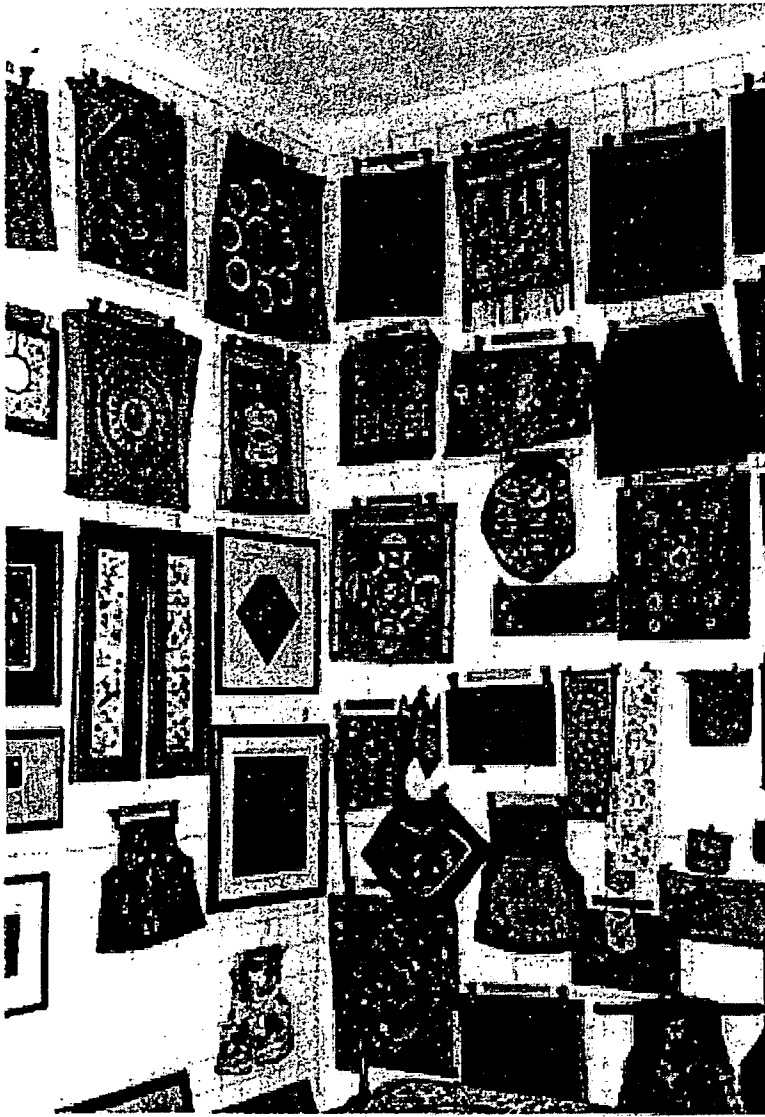
Xian fabric 3

Xi'an fabric 4

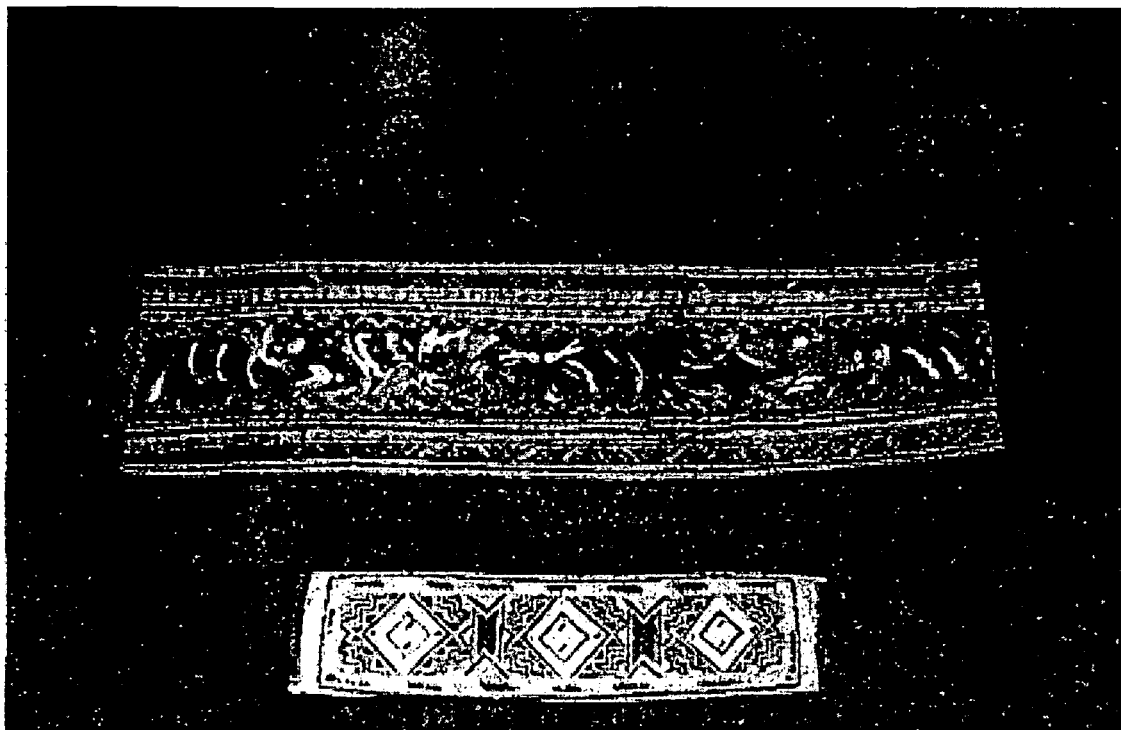
Shaanxi province shop

Fabric 5 from this shop

Zhouzhang Village shop



The shop in Xi'an was comprised of two good-sized rooms, one on the ground floor, one above. Panels of embroidery, applique, etc. from a number of minority peoples were organized on tables or displayed on the walls. The shop-owner was able to identify the minority origin of each one. While most (I was unable to examine them all!) were worn, they were in good condition.



The top panel is likely to have come from a sleeve. There are three pink and white striped cats. The two on the left face each other and play with a pink-and-white, blue-spotted butterfly. Between the middle cat and the right-hand cat is the head and neck of a phoenix.

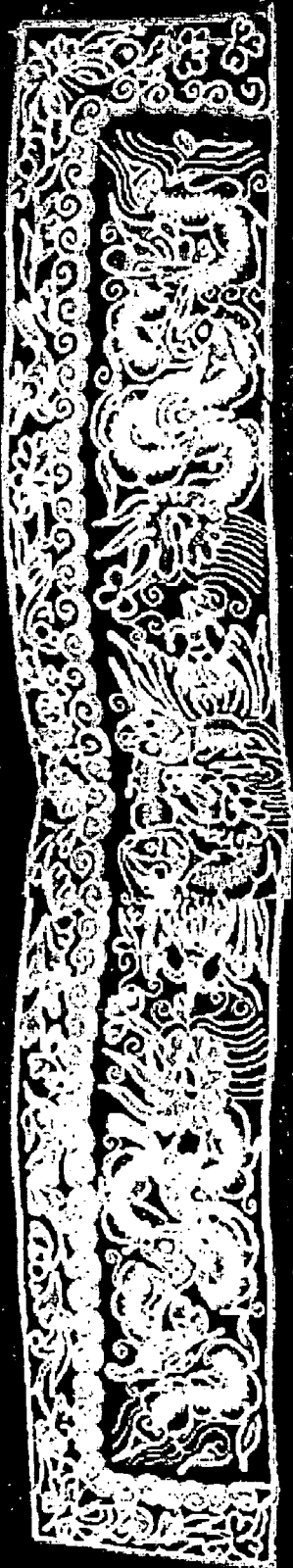
The figures are done in flat-embroidery with fine silk thread in a style found in Leishan and Taijiang county, Quiandongnan prefecture. Flat embroidery is much practiced because it produces a delicate, smooth effect. Embroiders favor threads of bright colors. Mao girls begin to learn embroidery at age 6 or 7, incorporating designs from their natural surroundings. Those living near water will often incorporate fish and shrimp into their designs, while girls of mountain villages will depict flowers, butterflies, and birds.

Description: 10 3/4" X 2 5/8". Gold and red rickrack applied onto blue and black striped shiny

cotton that is stiffened underneath with thin metal strips. There are two separate layers of this stiffened material plus another layer of the blue and black material that is not stiffened.. Each Maroon silk edging on left and right sides.

[The bottom panel belongs to the Dong nationality that lives in Guanxi, Hunan, and Guizhou provinces. It is made of various layers of cloth that are cut through and turned back to reveal the under layers. The raw edges are turned under and stitched. This technique creates a 3-D effect.]

Description: 6 3/4" X 2 12". Twenty-nine layers of cotton cloth are used to make this 3D piece. The black backing is shiny and may be indigo-dyed.



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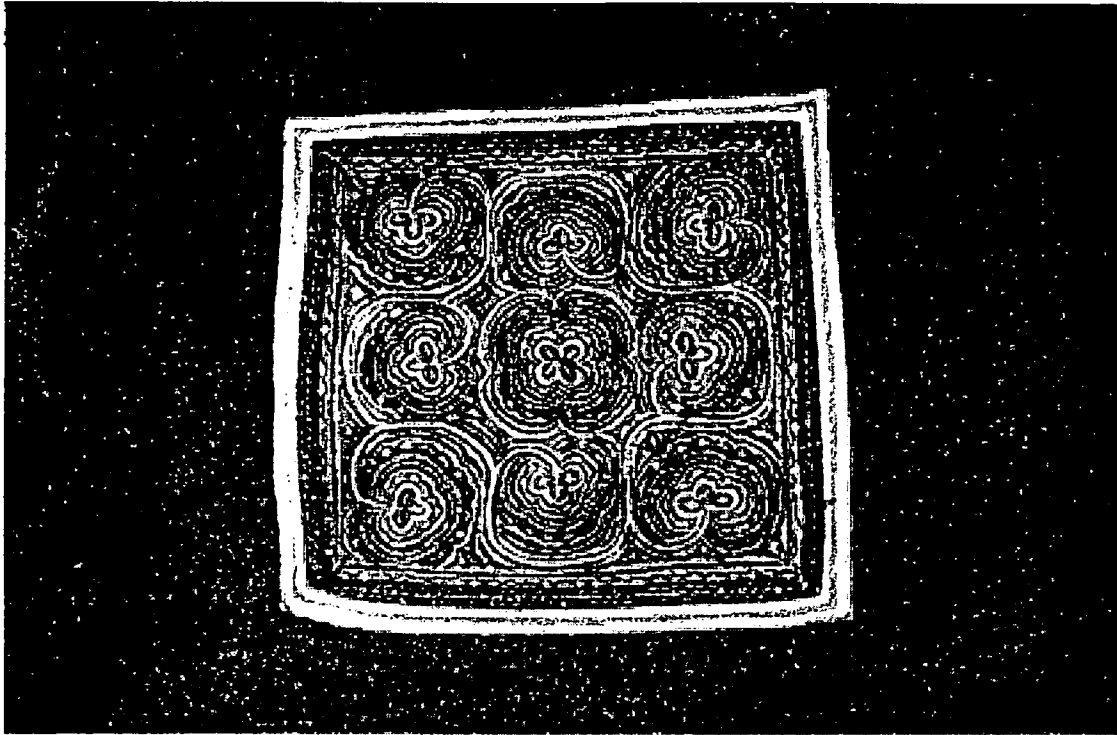


This long sleeve panel illustrates a special technique of decoration that uses narrow, handmade braids of silk. To make the braid, which is only 3/16 inch wide, the maker attaches silk threads to a bar and weights them to keep them taut. Then she crosses the threads over one another, using 8, 10, or 12 threads (usually). To decorate the panel with a braid, the maker will use a paper pattern. She may couch the braid, i.e. lay it on the pattern and use a separate thread to sew over the braid at intervals. Sometimes she will pleat the braid first, as in this example; pleating enables her to create a 3-D effect that is highly regarded.

Zoomorphic designs, as here, are most common. The large figures on either end are huge dragons facing the smaller, central dragon. Small fish with gold or purple heads and pink bodies leap before the three dragons' bodies. The border design uses flowers and butterflies (in the corners).

The braid decoration is practiced in the counties of the Quinshui River basin, including Taijiang county.

Description: 18 1/4" X 3 1/4". The main motif is approximately 2 1/4" X 16". The motifs are made with pleated cord and plain cord that are couched.



The creator of this panel used a paper pattern. Such patterns are drawn by women skilled in traditional designs, who mark out the patterns with an awl, knife, or scissors. The creator likely bought this pattern at a market and tacked it onto the cloth backing. She then satin-stitched over the paper pattern with silk thread. Some of the silk thread is a single color, some is variegated. Where the satin stitch has become worn, bits of the paper pattern are revealed.

The silk floss is very fine. To strengthen it, the creator may have chewed locust beans to make a paste through which she then drew the thread. The paste adds luster to the silk thread.

Description: 5 3/8" X 5". Red cotton cloth backing. Rice paper pattern (?) covered by silk thread in satin stitch.



The mannequin displays a number of Miao costume pieces: silver jewelry, embroidered blouse and jacket, pleated under skirt, and a top skirt. Not visible under the skirts are the leggings. Embroidered shoes would also be worn. The style of the mannequin's dress is Taijiang. On non festive days unmarried girls and married women wear a strip of black cloth wound round the head, as does the embroidered (left). On festive days, they will wear, as does the mannequin, a silver hat, as elaborate as family finances can afford.

The amount of silver in the ornaments is low; as a result even a large piece of jewelry is fairly light and non-tarnishing. Miao women wear earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and rings. For festive occasions they will wear head circlets and chest and back ornaments. Such ornaments may be chased with intricate design and also be made up of elaborate pendants, often

arranged in tiers. As on the mannequin, silver plates with silver bugle beads (or bells) may adorn a jacket. Designs used on the silver plates, bracelets, etc., include the dragon and phoenix, often circling each other or the sun; flowers; birds; butterflies and other insects; plants; and various animals.



This large square was made for tourist trade by the embroider shown in the Shaanxi shop. Bright colors have become more favored since the 1970's. The decoration is done in very small, counted cross-stitch arranged both in a complicated geometric pattern and a color pattern. Such counted cross-stitch is used in mid-south Gizhou province by the Huaxi women.

Women actually stitch on the reverse side of the fabric, and the pattern appears on the obverse side (as seen above). Designs are mainly floral, as in the central motif. The bordering motifs are stylized flowers.

Description: Cross-stitch cotton canvas, 20/inch. Size: canvas 15 1/2" X 15 1/2". Border around central motif: 11 15/16" X 12 1/16". Central motif: 4 15/16" X 5 3/8".



As is obvious from this mannequin and that in the Shaanxi shop, silver ornaments are important to the Miao people, especially those living in eastern Guizhou province. As the silver ornaments symbolized "light," wearing them protected one against evil demons.

The ornaments also display the wealth of the family and increase its prestige on festive occasions. The Miao think, moreover, that the silver ornaments increase the beauty of their wearer. As silver ornaments are very portable and easily sold, if necessary, they serve as a financial reserve for the family.

While the amount of silver ornaments will vary according to the means of a family, there are some fifty kinds of silver ornaments, including silver hats; silver horns and combs for the hair; ear pendants, rings; forehead ornaments. A woman fully "ornamented" may be wearing some 13 to 20

pounds of silver. While there are no distinctive local styles of silver ornamentation, women of the eastern Guizhou province wear silver hats, one of which is worn by this mannequin.

In discussing the possible answer(s) to the following questions, students should not neglect to consider textile production and its functions in Miao culture.

1. How can a traditionally migratory culture maintain (or signal) its identity as it encounters other peoples?
2. How can a minority culture with maintain its identity in a country? (China has a population of more than 1.2 billion [1,261,832,482], which includes some 70 million people distributed among 55 ethnic minorities.)
3. Women are expected to do much agricultural work and household work to help support the family. Yet they spend much time and effort in creating clothing that may use yards and yards of fabric and is lavishly adorned. In what way(s) is their clothing activity (including the making of fabric) an essential component of family support? {Hint: you might try to estimate the hours expended in creating a particular clothing item. Don't forget to include the hours expended in growing the fiber or dye plant.}
4. Why might panels and parts of Miao clothing be sold in shops to Chinese and to tourists?
5. In many cultures, even ones that are rather westernized, women are more likely than men to wear traditional dress. Can you think of some reasons why women might adhere to traditional dress and men tend to abandon traditional dress?

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**CHINA AND INDUSTRIALIZATION:
A CURRICULAR UNIT**

Submitted

By

Curtis L. Thompson

Thiel College

January 10, 2003

**As Part of the Requirements of the
Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar to China Program**

CHINA AND INDUSTRIALIZATION: A CURRICULUM UNIT

The Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad to China was an opportunity of a lifetime that will enrich the teaching that I do for the rest of my life. I learned much about Chinese culture, history, economics, politics, society, art, and religion and this knowledge will give me a more informed perspective on China as I continue to learn more about the fascinating “Middle Kingdom.” Each time I have spoken to service groups about my trip I have been reminded of what an incredible opportunity it was.

My invaluable five-week summer seminar abroad to China is contributing to the revision of the “China and Industrialization” unit of the course “Science and Our Global Heritage.” There is a real sense, however, in which most of the work on my project on China lies ahead. The unit will be taught this coming spring semester as part of the second semester of the *Science and Our Global Heritage* course about which more will be said shortly. Engaging power point presentations will be created for each of the lectures scheduled for the semester. On the summer seminar I was fortunate enough to be able to take hundreds of slides and digital photos of sites, people, and events that we experienced. These will be available for incorporating into the power point presentations. In addition, we are rewriting the textbook of the course this semester. The completed manuscript needs to be to Prentice Hall publishers by June 1, 2003. The writing and rewriting of that text will be done by a team of us. Because of the Fulbright experience, I will have much to contribute on the “China and Industrialization” unit and therefore will assume great responsibility for that unit. But again, that work lies ahead of me. When the textbook is published next summer, I will send a copy of it to the National Committee on United State-China Relations offices. What I offer in this report is a foretaste of things to come. I hope it will give a sense of the benefit that is coming from my participation in the summer seminar abroad.

I. The Broader Context:

Science and Our Global Heritage I & II

The curriculum unit “China and Industrialization” finds its broader context in the course *Science and Our Global Heritage I & II* that has been developed at Thiel College in western Pennsylvania. This is an interdisciplinary, laboratory-centered, multicultural course that examines ways in which the rich natural and cultural heritage of the globe can be sustained. This course, which is complementary to the *History of the Western Humanities I and II* at Thiel College, is to be taken preferably during the sophomore year. It was developed over a three-year period as a result of a generous Leadership Opportunity in Science and Humanities Education grant sponsored jointly by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. The course brings together the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences in a study of environmental issues and other cultures under the theme of sustainability. The global issues that the course deals with are biodiversity, food, natural resources, and industrialization. The particular geographical locales that receive focus are Brazil, India, Nigeria, and China. The course consists of plenary lectures, small-group discussions, laboratory experiences, field trips, and films. In addition to the lecture section, all students are enrolled in a discussion section and a lab section.

The general objectives of the *Science and Our Global Heritage* course are such that upon completion of this course students should reveal an improved ability to: (1) operate out of a heightened global awareness that reveals the connections between local and global forces, as well as an understanding of issues of race, gender, and class; (2) show an understanding and appreciation for global diversity, both biological and cultural; (3) express the interrelated character of knowledge and fields of study; (4) articulate a basic understanding of the concerns

related to sustaining our global heritage; and (5) identify the basic methods of science and their utility and limitations for dealing with the problems of modern societies.

More specific objectives are such that, upon completion of this course, students should demonstrate: (1) an improved knowledge of world geography; (2) an improved understanding of the cultures of the world; (3) an improved understanding of the biological and physical sciences as they relate to issues of sustainability; (4) an improved understanding of basic issues of sustainability and development; and (5) an improved understanding of how behavior and policies of MDCs affect the welfare of LDCs.

The course is multidisciplinary in character. Those on the teaching team come from the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. Faculty who teach the course are Dr. Michael Bacon, Physics Department; Dr. Michael Balas, Biology Department; Dr. Paul Baglyos, Global Heritage, Dr. J. Henry Barton, Environmental Science Department; Dr. Joyce Cuff, Biology Department; Dr. Kathryn Frantz, Chemistry Department; Dr. Emerson Heald, Global Heritage; Prof. Joan Heald, Global Heritage; Dr. Patrick Hecking, Physics Department; Dr. Allan Hunchuk, Sociology Department; Dr. Fatimata Palé, Biology Department; Dr. Andrea Pavlick, Chemistry Department; Mrs. Katherine Stanley, Global Heritage; and Dr. Curt Thompson, Religion Department.

Some special features of the course include framing narratives, which are novels from the geographical locales that are being studied. The hope is for these novels to put a human face on the culture that is being studied and to provide students with images that can be used throughout the unit. *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa is the framing narrative for the “Brazil and Biodiversity” unit, *Nectar in a Sieve* by Kamela Markandaya for the “India and Food” unit, *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe for the “Nigeria and Natural Resources” unit, and *Monkey*:

A Journey to the West by WuCh'En-En as retold by David Kherdian for the "China and Industrialization" unit. Films are also an important part of the course. Every Monday evening a film is shown. Students must see two films per unit. They also choose a particular "Think globally, act locally" project, such as the blood drive or OXFAM, in which to participate. There are also major field trips, such as the trip to the Cleveland Zoo and Rainforest and the trip to the Cleveland Museum of Art.

A word should be offered on requirements and evaluation procedures for the course. A laboratory report is submitted for each laboratory exercise. During most labs students take a lab quiz on the assigned pages in the Lab Manual. Students are expected to attend all lecture sessions, which are held three times a week. Students read assigned daily material from the course's textbook before coming to lecture. Two unit exams and a final exam are given per semester, with these tests covering all the material of lectures, text, framing narratives, framing films, and lab material. There are also two cultural reflection essays given during each semester. The cultural reflection essay is written in response to one of three questions the students receive to prepare for the writing exercise.

Discussion sections provide an opportunity for active participation by the students. Students are expected to come to these discussion sessions prepared with questions from the previous week's lab and lecture materials. Students are sometimes responsible for brief assignments given by their discussion section instructor. Quizzes are generally given at the discussion sessions. They test the students' understanding of material covered in recent lectures and lab sessions together with the reading assignments for those sessions. Students are graded on the quality of their participation in the discussion sessions. The discussion sessions also provide an occasion for presenting substantive themes in more informal ways. In addition to the

“Think Globally/Act Locally” Project, there is an integrative paper. This is a 1000 word essay, the purpose of which is to integrate all elements of the course. The essay is based on a question or topic assigned by the discussion group leader. Essays are to reference appropriate class material.

II. The Specific Context:

The Second Semester of *Science & Our Global Heritage*

The second semester of the “Global Heritage” course begins with the unit on “Nigeria and Natural Resources.” This unit includes lectures on “Sustainability in Retrospect,” “Why Nigeria & Natural Resources?” “Nigeria & West Africa: Geographic Considerations,” “West Africa: Social & Cultural Factors of Development,” “The Structure of Matter,” “West Africa: Kingdom & Empires,” “Religion in West Africa: From Esu to Islam,” “The Forces of Nature,” “The Arts of Nigeria,” “Women’s Issues in Africa,” “Chemistry & Natural Resources,” “Colonialism, Christianity, & Jihad,” African Music: Protest & Prophecy,” “Nigeria & Natural Resources: Summary, Problems, & Solutions.”

This “Nigeria and Natural Resources” unit also includes science labs on such topics as “Rocks & Minerals,” “Radioactivity,” “Polymers and the Petroleum Industry,” “Human Population Growth,” and the viewing of the framing movie *Mr. Johnson*. During this unit the following films are shown: *Tableau Ferraille (Scrap Heap)*, *Everyone’s Child*, *The Kitchen Toto*, and *Keita: The Heritage of the Griot*.

The “China and Industrialization” unit includes four movies plus the framing movie. The framing movie is *The Story of Qui Ju* (Columbia, 1993, Rated PG: 100 minutes, in Mandarin with English Subtitles). In this remarkable film about a woman obsessed with exacting an apology from the chief of her small village, director Zhang Yimou (*Red Sorghum*, *Raise the Red*

Lantern) tells a deceptively simple story with incredible art. The viewer follows Qui Ju (Gong Li) on a misguided journey through the legal system in search of satisfaction. All she gets, however, is a harsh lesson in “be careful what you ask for.” The first film series movie is *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Hong Kong, 2000, Rated PG-13: 120 minutes, in Mandarin with English Subtitles). This is a hypnotically fascinating hybrid produced by crossing martial-arts adventure with fairy-tale romance. It quickly became the most successful foreign film ever released in the United States. Chow Yun-Fat, an international superstar whose English-language films include *Anna and the King*, portrays a Chinese warrior who retires from a life of violence and relinquishes custody of his fabled sword, the magnificent Green Destiny. Hong Kong action star and established actress Michelle Yeoh plays the longtime friend and admirer whose father is entrusted with the sword. A thrill-seeking aristocrat (Zhang Ziyi), working with an evil mentor whom Chow once swore to kill, steals the sword—and the chase is on.

Beijing Bicycle (China, 2001, Rated PG-13: 113 minutes, in Mandarin with English Subtitles) is the second film. A young man from rural China struggles to make good in Zbeijin in this drama, which suggests an updated and relocated variation on the neo-realist classic *Ladri di Biciclette*. Gui (Cui Lin) is a teenager who arrives in the big city looking for work; he and a handful of other youngsters are hired as bicycle messengers, with their employer giving them new mountain bikes under the condition that they’re paid ten yuan for each message they deliver, and the bicycles are theirs once they’ve made fifty-eight trips. Gui discovers the job is not an easy one, as he deals with the complexity of the huge city, confusion over who gets what message, and the condescending attitude Beijing residents often display toward the new arrivals.

Mr. Vampire (Hong Kong, 1985, Rated PG-13: 99 minutes, in Cantonese with English Subtitles) is the third film. It is a Chinese horror film with a worldwide cult following. It

launched four sequels as well as a whole horror-comedy subgenre that exemplified Honk Kong cinema in the 1980s and 1990s. It is a Global Heritage favorite. The fourth film is *A Great Wall* (USA, 1986, Rated PG: 102 minutes, in English and Mandarin). Director Peter Wang stars as Leo Fang, a San Francisco computer engineer who decides to move his family to China in search of his “roots.” For the first time in his life, Fang discovers what it is to be Chinese and not merely a hyphenated American, but his wife and children are not so easily assimilated into their new surroundings.

The cultural reflection essay for the second unit will focus on the framing narrative, which is *Monkey: A Journey to the West*. In this classic Chinese tale of pilgrimage and adventure by Wu Ch’eng-en, arguably the most popular classic of Asian literature, the reader encounters the lead character Monkey and his exploits with many strange characters as he journeys to India with a Buddhist pilgrim in search of sacred scriptures. The sixteenth-century story tells of travels to India but it is at the same time a story of the religious quest. As an allegorical morality tale, it will introduce students to a Chinese classic while also giving them much to reflect on for their cultural reflection essay. Of course, the students will be reading a one-volume (abridged) version of the ancient Chinese allegory, the original of which runs four volumes in full translation.

III. A More Detailed Outline of the Curriculum Unit

There is value in simply listing the scheduled events of the *Science and Our Global Heritage* course as they are to transpire during the “China and Industrialization” unit. I include the events of the short closing unit on “Natural Resources and Industrialization in Global Context” as well, because that unit also considers issues that are raised in the unit on “China and Industrialization.”

Unit 2: China and Industrialization

Week 7: Why is This Important?

Basic Goals & Questions: This week provides a brief introduction to this section of the course. Ask yourself why the subjects the course covers are important. How important are they? What do you want to get out of the course? What should you know by the time the course is done?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: No extra-credit film tonight

2/17 Mon: **Movie:** *The Mandate of Heaven*

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Framing Movie:** *The Story of Qui Ju*

2/19 Wed: **Why is China Important?**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 5; The Chinese Language**

2/21 Fri: **Why is Industrialization Important?**

Week 8: Basic Concepts

Basic Goals & Questions: This week provides some basic concepts and issues that will be relevant throughout the course, and which are essential in understanding other elements and making decisions. For each lecture, ask yourself what are the 3 or 4 key ideas. How do these relate to the primary topic of China and industrialization? Do they have importance for thinking about issues of sustainability? How might these topics relate to one another as the course develops?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*

2/24 Mon: **Work, Energy, & Machines**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Simple machines, Lab Quiz 5**

2/26 Wed: **Emerging China: Geographic Considerations**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 6; Education in China**

2/28 Fri: **China, Culture, & Society: City & Village Life**

3/1 – 3/9 Spring Break

Week 9: Historical Dimensions

Basic Goals & Questions: “Those who are ignorant of history are doomed to repeat it.” Understanding of history affects how we understand the present. What elements of history have shaped the present in the country of China that we are studying? How has history shaped our understanding of science? How does this history relate to the issue of sustainability?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Beijing Bicycle*

3/10 Mon: **Electricity & the Rise of Industrialization**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Electricity, Lab Quiz 6**

3/12 Wed: **History: From Xia to Qing**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 7; Economics of China**

3/14 Fri: **Founders of Religion: Confucius, Lao Tzu, Buddha**

Week 10: Building Blocks

Basic Goals & Questions: Basic concepts & historical developments do not become fully significant until the different elements are brought together to start making wholes. In what way does the material of this week rely on the material from previous weeks? In what ways does it present new information? How does this material serve, in turn, as building blocks for understanding sustainability?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Mr. Vampire*

3/17 Mon: **Understanding Pollution & Industrial Processes**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Acid rain, Lab Quiz 7**

3/19 Wed: **The Arts in China**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 8; Children & Women's Issues in China**

3/21 Fri: **Ethnic diversity**

Week 11: Crises: Causes & Effects and Facing the Problems

Basic Goals & Questions: Science and technology dramatically affect every culture in the world, and the interaction of technology & culture can work for both good and evil. What are the crises that this week's lectures address? In what ways are they related to the influence of Western countries? In what ways are they related to our knowledge of technology? Attempt to summarize, integrate, and suggest some possible solutions. What are the problems? How serious are they for the country discussed in the unit? How serious are they for us? What solutions are there? Try to bring in the entire unit's material in answering these questions.

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *A Great Wall*

3/24 Mon: **Global Warming and Ozone Depletion**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Greenhouse effect, Lab Quiz 8 (& Review)**

3/26 Wed: **Cultural Reflection Essay 2**

3/27 Thu: ***Moving the Mountain* (Tiananmen Square & Chinese Protest Movements)**

3/28 Fri: **Exam 2**

Unit 3: Natural Resources and Industrialization in Global Context

Week 12: The Problem from the Global Perspective

Basic Goals & Questions: Having completed the first two units, we now look at these problems from a global perspective and connect them to ourselves. Why? Because the sorts of problems we have analyzed are not simply problems for others, they are problems for ourselves. What are the problems? How are they global problems? How are they our problems?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *The Road Warrior*

3/31 Mon: **Physical Limits on Natural Resources**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Modeling the Depletion of Natural Resources, Lab Quiz 9**

4/2 Wed: **Economic Limits on Natural Resources**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 9; Endorsing Eco-Economism**

4/4 Fri: **The Culture of Consumption**

Week 13: Sources of Value

Basic Goals & Questions: Action requires values to guide it. To be a global citizen requires thinking critically about what's important. What values should our global society have? What values should we have? How do we go about determining what our values are? How do we go about expressing them?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Erin Brockovich*

4/7 Mon: **The Rise of Environmental Awareness in Society & the Arts**
Lab (Tue or Wed): **Stratagem, part I, Lab Quiz 10**

4/9 Wed: **Religion, Ethics, and Justice: Sharing the World's Resources**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Quiz 10; Music that Moves Us to Care**

4/11 Fri: **The Possibility of a Sustainable Society**

Week 14: Solutions

Basic Goals & Questions: Once values are agreed upon, we must then determine how to make them a reality. How do we achieve a sustainable society? Is it possible? Does sustainability require sacrifice, or can we go on as before?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Things to Come*

4/14 Mon: **Alternative Energies: Are They Enough?**

Lab (Tue or Wed): **Museum Trip**

4/16 Wed: **Video: Race to Save the Planet: It Takes Political Decisions**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Review**

4/18-21

Easter Break

Week 15: Review

Basic Goals & Questions: Now that we have journeyed through the course, what conclusions can we arrive at concerning the sustainability of the globe? How are we better citizens, knowing what we now do about the global situation? How will we make a contribution to the Earth in our lives? What can we do to tell the story of a world in peril and yet filled with promise?

MONDAY NIGHT EXTRA-CREDIT FILM: *Things to Come*

Lab (Tue or Wed) **Stratagem, part II**

4/23 Wed: **Problems & Choices**

Discussion (Tue, Wed, or Thu): **Integrative Essay Due, Review**

4/25 Fri: **Review & Celebration**

IV. Concluding Comments

I want to take this opportunity to thank both the U.S. Department of Education for sponsoring the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad Program and the National Committee on United States-China Relation for orchestrating the 2002 summer seminar in China. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China who hosted our group so ably also deserve commendations. The whole trip was one gigantic delight for me. Spectacular events included visiting the Forbidden City, the Great Wall, the Temple of Heaven, the Lama Temple, the Terra Cotta Warriors, the Shan'Xi History Museum, the Huashan Mountain excursion, the Leshan Buddha, Nanjing Road and the Bund in Shanghai, the Shanghai Museum, and the excursion to the island of Lantau to see the Tin Tan Buddha and the Po Lin Zen Monastery.

I had hoped to gain more knowledge about all aspects of Chinese life and culture. That goal was surely accomplished on the seminar. I have a much better sense of the society, politics, economics, education, history, culture (including art, religion, and philosophical viewpoints), to say nothing of actual living and breathing human beings of China. Furthermore, I learned enough so that now I have a base of knowledge that will facilitate probing in depth in various areas. The knowledge and experience I gained will be a potent resource for executing the many tasks related to delivering the unit this semester on "China and Industrialization" and for engaging in other creative endeavors in the future.

**BREAKING DOWN
THE WALL:**

**SUGGESTIONS FOR
TEACHERS
STARTING ON CHINA**

Matthew Wernsdorfer.

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Introduction

There are an infinite number of reasons for studying China, and the demand for such a focus increases as China becomes more and more a part of the world stage. Unfortunately, the differences between China and the West that make it interesting can also make it intimidating. Very few Americans, even teachers, feel that they know enough to take on such a proud and complicated people.

This collection is meant to be a tool for teachers who recognize the need to take on China for their students' sake but do not feel that they know where to start. Contained here are some readings for teachers and students and some suggestions for activities that break the ice. The writing is intended for middle/high school level readers. Attempts have been made to limit harder vocabulary to that which is central to the theme. The activities have been designed with an assumption of minimal resources. For most, some minimal web research will be necessary, but that is about all.

The hope in writing this is that the teachers have the freedom to choose where they should start. It is not intended to be used all at once, but to provide a variety of jumping off points into the study of China.

The author of these items is not a specialist in anything Chinese, but a teacher in an urban high school. This has been written as part of a fabulous scholarship program called Fulbright-Hays and in conjunction with the National Committee of US-China Relations. Any flaws in the writing are purely the fault of the author.

Literature



Given two thousand years of a country's history, you can imagine that there is a lot of literature to cover. Add to this the value that their culture places on education and writing, and you have way too much to cover, even in summary. The best way to enter into Chinese literature might be to begin with some interesting writings from different genre.

The most obvious of ancient texts are the *Analecets* from Confucius. This is supposed to be recordings of conversations with Confucius. He spoke on the human world rather than on divinity and tried to use concrete examples to illustrate his points. For example,

The Master said, "When you meet someone wise, think about becoming his equal. When you see someone inferior, reflect on yourself."

In large part because of his students, Confucius' teachings resonate throughout the world. Long after he was alive, people thought of Confucius' writings as sacred and his thought is central to China even today.

Two examples of stories written after oral traditions are *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Journey to the West*. The first is an account of battles during a period in Chinese history with no Emperor and the second is a fantastic set of stories the chronicle a monkey with magical powers on a journey to India. The later is both a story of the arrival of Buddhism in China and a tale so popular as to inspire opera and modern cartoons.

For an example of twentieth century Chinese writing there is the author Lu Xun. His work is often political and reflects his frustration with the mindless structure of Chinese imperial culture. Much of his work is short stories and they are usually laced with dark humor. Try reading *Diary of a Madman* or *The True Story of Ah Q*.



Another form of writing that has spanned all of Chinese history is poetry. Some of the most famous are from the Tang Dynasty: Li Bai and Du Fu. Their poetry is still read and appreciated today.

Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: Literature

Objectives: The student will be able to 1) describe the main character of Journey to the West; 2) link older literature to new medium in communication

Activities:

- 1) Teacher shows picture of Monkey King from Journey to the West to the class. Students brainstorm/write a list of animal images in Western culture.
- 2) Teacher asks students to link animals to stories that they have heard then discusses what the purposes of those stories are? Do they teach a lesson? Do they advertise a product? Do they tell a joke?
- 3) Students are asked to reexamine image from Journey to West and make educated guesses on what the story being illustrated is and why such a story would be told.

Materials: image from Journey to West

Vocabulary: didactic

Notes:

- 1) Teacher should find an image that is most appropriate to students. There are so many websites dedicated to this story that there is no point in giving a list here. One suggestion would be to find a picture that includes some of the Monkey King's companions (e.g. the Pig).
- 2) The Journey to the West has so many different facets that it can be used to introduce many of the components of Chinese culture: religion, history, opera, literature, and even modern advertising (the Monkey King is used to sell items to kids in China today).

Language



We should all understand what is meant by language, and there are things that all languages have in common. For Americans studying Chinese, there are two concepts that will be new: *tone* in pronunciation and *ideographic* writing.

Writing in general is taken very seriously in Chinese history. Great care is taken in practising handwriting since it was the sign of an educated gentleman. The written system has historically been very difficult to learn and only those families wealthy enough to pay for schooling had children who were

exposed to the art of writing.

The written system was difficult because it is ideographic, which means that the symbols represent ideas (unlike English whose symbols represent sounds). Thus there is a new written symbol for EVERY new word and the language has thousands of words to remember (in English there are only 26 letters to learn).

There is beauty and tradition in older Chinese writing, but the ideographic system has led to many challenges. Since there are so many characters to learn, not too many people have time to learn them all, and illiteracy was a huge problem. Another issue is a modern one: computers. How do you make a keyboard with thousands of characters?

Spoken Chinese has two issues for speakers of English. First, readers of Chinese cannot figure out the pronunciation of a word if they have not been taught it yet because it is not phonetic (you can't "sound it out"). Second, it uses tones. This is different from emphasis, and doesn't really exist in basic English learning. Think of it as sounds going up or down in the way that we pronounce questions or demands or simple statements.

To get a basic idea of how tones sound, read the following out loud:

Jeremy has climbed on a garbage can to peep through the back window of a pet shop, closed on Sunday morning.

"What do you see?" asks his friend Aaron.

"Dogs," answers Jeremy.

"Dogs?" repeats Aaron, his voice rising in query.

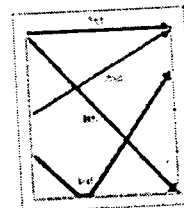
"Not dogs!" He is unable to believe his ears.

"That's all I see," protests Jeremy.

"Dogs," sighs Aaron, who was hoping to catch a glimpse of the boa constrictor his older party saw last Thursday.

The four different ways that we read the word "dogs" in this exchange are close to the tones in Chinese. Thus, the two sounds "m" and "a" together in English sound like "ma" and mean only one thing (slang for mom). In Chinese, this sound can mean four different things, mother, hemp, horse, or scold, depending on the tone.

One last basic note on language in Chinese is that there are many different types of spoken Chinese. People in southern China have a different spoken language from those in the North, for example. To allow everyone to communicate, the government teaches everyone the same version, called Mandarin. Another thing that helps is that even though there are different spoken words for things, the written version is the same all over China.



Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: Language

Objectives: Students will be able to: 1) identify language concepts of tone

Activities:

- 1) Teacher writes the phrase “What time is it?” for the class to see it.
- 2) In pairs students think of three ways to read that phrase so that it has different meanings (i.e. they will have to change the tone- “What time is it?” can be a simple inquiry, a request to hurry up, and a statement of frustration). Teacher can have students demonstrate.
- 3) Teacher leads class discussion of what the difference is and introduces the word *tone*. The teacher then explains that in Chinese spoken language the tone of a syllable can change the meaning of a word.
- 4) The teacher writes on the board the following syllable: ”ma” four times. The students are asked to read each with the following tones: high and flat, descending, down and up, then ascending. Correctly pronounced these four mean completely different words.
- 5) Evaluation: Teacher asks students how this would impact Chinese words in singing.

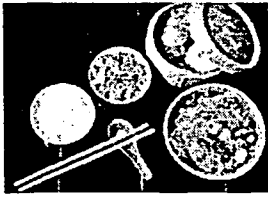
Materials:

Vocabulary: tone

Notes:

- 1) This concept of tone may be intimidating for those not familiar with Chinese. With a little research these four tones are easily understood (if not spoken and heard).

Food



Most of us love Chinese food. What we may not think of is how much we can learn about their culture from the food.

First is in history. China has the largest population in the world. This is in part because of their ability to organize themselves under an emperor, but also because of the food! Rice and wheat have enough calories to support lots of people and this helped China rise as one of the dominant powers in Asia and the world.

Second, we see the variety of cultures that have blended to make China. Rice is eaten more in southern China (and where most Chinese-Americans immigrated from) and noodles more popular in northern China, but there are lots of other staples. The many ethnic groups in China all have different styles of cooking. The Muslim population uses lots of lamb and peppers. People in different province have their own styles, like Sichuan which is spicier than most.

One of the most interesting parts about Chinese food is the stuff that we do not usually have here in the US. There are meats like snake, frog, locusts, eel, and shark that sound strange to us, but there are fruits that you may not have even heard of like lychee, starfruit and dragonfruit. For those of you for whom this sounds strange, remember that hot dogs would not sound so good if you weren't from here.



The "how" of eating in China is fairly well known. Chopsticks are something that most Americans have heard of, even if we can't all use them! They are two thin sticks, usually made of wood, that are held together in one hand. Food is pinched between the two sticks and brought to the mouth. This means that food is almost always prepared in smaller bits, or that things can be separated easily, like fish meat. With practice, you will be surprised at what you can pick up with two little sticks.

When meals are served, there are many dishes in the center of the table. Each person would have a plate, a bowl, chopsticks, and a spoon. The people eating would pick up pieces from the dishes in the center and place them on their own plate or bowl. For some specialty dishes, each person gets a separate serving, but for the most part everyone shares from the center of the table.

Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: Food

Objectives: Students will be able to 1) compare basic eating practices of eastern and western culture.

Activities:

- 1) In the middle of each table of students, preferably more than two students to a table, sits a bowl with ten M&Ms. Each student is given a pair of chopsticks. Students are given a start time, from which they should race to see who can pick up the most M&M's in a set period of time using only the chopsticks.
- 2) At the end of the time (maybe two minutes), teacher debriefs the experience. What did they have to do? How did they hold the sticks? What would make this easier ("spoons" is not an acceptable answer)?
- 3) Teacher discusses the implications for how Asians eat food and how that food is prepared. Guide questions might include: How big can the pieces be? Could you eat an 8oz. steak with chopsticks? Would it help to pick up the bowl? How does one eat rice with the chopsticks?

Materials: M&Ms, chopsticks, bowls

Vocabulary: chopsticks

Notes:

- 1) One way to bridge this for the kids would be (at step #3) to ask students what they already know from experiences at Chinese restaurants.

History



The hard part of Chinese history is that there is so much of it. China has considered itself a country for longer than most others in the world- more than two thousand years! There is so much information that perhaps the most important thing is to decide how to organize their history.

The Chinese are most likely to present their history in terms of government. For most of their history they have had emperors and they divide the time into dynasties. Dynasties are strings of rulers that claim a familial relation with one another. Major dynasties of Chinese history are as follows:

- | | | | |
|---------|----------------|--------|-------------|
| • Shang | | • Song | 960-1279 AD |
| • Zhou | 1066-256 BC | • Yuan | 1206-1368 |
| • Qin | 221-206 BC | • Ming | 1368-1644 |
| • Han | 206 BC -220 AD | • Qing | 1616-1911 |
| • Tang | 618-907 AD | | |

There are many more rulers of China that don't fall under any of these dynasties, but these are the most formative in Chinese history. The Chinese Empire that most of us look for in Chinese history begins with the Qin dynasty. It was he that unified various kingdoms, standardized lots of the functions of government, and centralized the structure of the government. Each one of these periods of time has artists, politicians, events, and inventions all worthy of study. As you read this, the Chinese are exploring the remains of a wealthy and technologically advanced culture, called the Shu, that was only discovered within the past twenty years.



Of course, Chinese history does not end with the emperors. At the fall of the Qing Dynasty in the beginning of the twentieth century, China declared itself a Republic. Shortly after that, a civil war erupted that lasted until after World War II. Since then, China has been ruled by the Communist Party.

One interesting fact on the Chinese view of history: although they are aware and proud of their culture's long life, most ancient Chinese people thought it bad luck to reuse anything from previous dynasties. Therefore, many of their historical artifacts were destroyed by the Chinese themselves!

Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: History

Objectives: The students will be able to 1) analyze the impact of new discoveries on history; 2) identify perspective in the telling of history

Activities:

- 1) Teacher briefly discusses the phases of human evolution. Class discussion of what proof scientists have of stages of evolution.
- 2) Teacher describes/hands out reading on Peking Man site. Give specific details on first evidence of fire-making. Share with students the evidence of use of fire.
- 3) Class discussion: are the students convinced that hominids made fire at the Peking Man site?
- 4) Student brainstorming: why would the Chinese government want to be able to claim that China has the first evidence of fire making? Why would other countries want to prove them wrong? How could the Chinese government affect such research?

Materials: reading on Peking Man site

Vocabulary: evolution

Notes:

- 1) Another topic that would be extremely exciting would be the new excavations of the Shu culture in southwestern China. As these lessons are written, very little information has been disseminated on the findings. Students could make conjectures on archaeological evidence that are still being debated by the scholars!

Religion

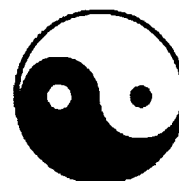


The Chinese approach to the unexplained is confusing to many Westerners. They do not necessarily think of themselves as a member of a church that precludes their belief in other ways of thinking. A believer in Buddhism can go to a Taoist temple, or pray to a family deity. They may not even call themselves "Buddhist".

Despite this blending, there are still clear and ancient belief systems that influence the Chinese. Buddhism originated in India, but rooted in China so deeply that they spread it around the world. Taoism and the teachings of Lao Tse are just as important to the Chinese. You could even argue that the Emperors created another form of religion around themselves. To make it even more confusing, there are countless local and family beliefs that people follow.

The word "Buddha" means enlightened, and the man believed to have been the most important Buddha was born in India. He gave up his worldly possessions in the search of truth, and finally achieved enlightenment. He chose to stay on Earth for a time, and used this time to teach others. The truths that he taught are often summarized in Four Truths: 1) Life is pain; 2) This pain can be avoided; 3) The pain can be avoided by following the Eightfold Path. The picture on this page is of the Le Shan Buddha, the largest stone Buddha in the world. One finger is 27 feet long.

Taoism is supposed to follow the teachings of Lao Tse, a contemporary of Confucius. Tao means "the way". There is a belief in balance and acceptance of the natural order of things. To try to create something is to fight the way of the universe. For example, you cannot think of someone as rich unless you think someone else is poor. One of the most interesting aspects of their religious sites are the elaborate and detailed sculptures of deities and heroes in their faith.



A final note on religion in China should mention Confucius and his teachings. He would never have claimed to know about gods or the supernatural, but his ideas were taken so seriously that it was treated like a religion.

Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: Religion

Objectives: The students will be able to 1) identify a parable; 2) make inferences to morals from a parable

Activities:

- 1) Teacher asks students to name their favorite Dr. Seuss book. Make sure that each student in the class has at least a rudimentary understanding of the book.
- 2) The teacher then asks each student to write down their best guess for why such a story is written (introduce the word *didactic*). The class then reviews their answers.
- 3) Teacher distributes a Buddhist parable. Students can read as individuals or as a class.
- 4) After reading the story, students write down their best guess as to why the parable was written. What lessons are being taught? Is there a similar idea in Western culture? Why do people all over the world use stories to make such points?

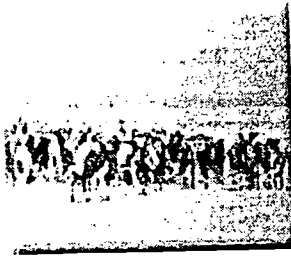
Materials: Buddhist parable

Vocabulary: didactic, parable

Notes:

- 1) Parables are available in many world literature texts. If there isn't one available, there are lots of websites. One good one is <http://www.ic.sunysb.edu/Clubs/buddhism/story/>.
- 2) The swirl of religious trends in China makes it hard sometimes to spin out the various identities. One great way to introduce this would be tracing the movement of Buddhism from India to China.

China and the West



China has been a powerful country for longer than any in the Western world, so we must go back before any existing country to begin this page.

The most obvious evidence of relations between China and areas to its west is the famous Silk Road. This was a trade route over which passed spices, money, gold, horses, people, and of course silk. Merchants all along the route took advantage of the connection with far off lands to buy and sell items that were not available in their own areas. This route spread Chinese-made items around the Western world.

Chinese explorers went all over the world, the most famous of which was Zheng He. His boats traveled the southern coast of Asia and the eastern coast of Africa. His expedition was so well-supplied that the ships carried pots of dirt in which to grow food.

The Chinese were so far advanced in terms of technology and government that outside influences were thought to be destructive. Eventually Chinese emperors shut China off from as many Western influences as possible. This not only deprived the outside world of Chinese advantages, it shut China off from the technological advances in the West. When European imperialism brought them back into contact with the Chinese, Western steam engines, cannons, and factories made Chinese attempts to resist futile. One famous episode was when England forced China to surrender Hong Kong and allow the English to sell opium in huge quantities on the Chinese mainland.

Chinese military and industrial weakness put it under the yoke of many foreign powers. Eventually everyday Chinese people began to resent the failure of their Emperors to resist the foreigners. They tried to resist in many ways (look up the Boxer rebellion) and eventually toppled the imperial system itself.



During the civil war, Western countries' fear of communism led them to support the enemy of the Communist party, the Nationalists. Unfortunately for the West, the Communists won and this clash has been at the heart of Chinese-Western relations for sixty years. Now China has an interesting place in the world. Many countries have complaints about its human rights activities. Nonetheless, the lure of so many consumers pushes Western businesses to do whatever they can to keep relations open.

Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: China and the West

Objectives: Students will be able to 1) identify perspectives on trade relations

Activities:

- 1) Teacher asks students to examine their possessions to find something made in China. Teacher writes "One reason items made in China cost less is because Chinese workers are paid less than American workers".
- 2) Students split into pairs. One takes the side of a US citizen and one takes the side of a Chinese citizen. Each student is given five minutes to write how the sentence on the board would help their country and how it might hurt it.
- 3) Teacher reviews this by filling out one T-chart for each country.
- 4) Class discussion of whether an ambassador of each country would be happy with such a situation. What changes would each country want to make?

Materials:

Vocabulary: trade, wages

Notes:

- 1) One variation on this might be to role-play a negotiation between ambassadors or businessmen.
- 2) Teachers could follow this up by examining international challenges to worker's rights.

Government



Talking about the Chinese government can be a touchy subject. The Communist Party in power today wields immense power over a country that is itself one of the most powerful in the world. Many acknowledge the strides that China has made under the Communists at the same time they charge the Communists with civil rights violations. Curiously, the Communist Party has been making it more possible for its people to raise these objections.

The Communist Party came to power in a bloody and long civil war, against Nationalists that had been supported by the United States. One man rose to take control of the Communist Party, Mao Tse Tung, and he stayed there until his death in the early seventies (you can visit his body in Beijing). The Communists have been successful in uniting China under one government and in reestablishing China as a major player in international politics.

Under the Communists there is a centralized hierarchy that includes every citizen. At the top there is the Central Government, then the Provincial Government, then the County, then the Township, and the smallest level is the Village Government. Some exciting changes have been happening at this lowest level, since villagers have been recently allowed to elect their own officials (they had been chosen by the Party). Another major change has been the growth of economic freedom. These have given power to businessmen who may not be a part of the Communist Party, and have allowed more contact with non-Chinese.

No conversation about government in China should leave out the ancient imperial system. Established by the Qin Emperor, it gave all governmental power to one individual and would eventually treat the ruler as sacred. The ruler would choose ministers to oversee the parts of his empire, called provinces. The ruler could remove any of these officials whenever he saw fit, and had power of life and death over all of his subjects. This basic structure stood until the fall of the Ming Dynasty in the early 1900's (almost 2,000 years!). The centralized nature of the government allowed the Chinese government to perform many amazing feats, like the construction of the Great Wall, and made China the envy of all of its neighbors.



Lesson Plan and Notes for Teachers

Topic: Government

Objectives: Students will be able to 1) analyze the impact on citizens of having one leader

Activities:

- 1) Teacher breaks the class into groups of four and gives each group a task that will take ten minutes (e.g. building a bridge out of newspaper and masking tape). For half of the groups, the teacher identifies a group leader who is responsible for getting the job finished.
- 2) When the time is up, students write the answers to the following questions: Did your group finish their task? Are you satisfied with the end product? How well did your group work together? What might have helped your group do a better job?
- 3) Class discussion of results. Are there any patterns to how the groups with leaders did compared to those without? Did group leaders emerge anyway in those not assigned? Should all groups have a leader? How did the leaders treat the rest of their group?
- 4) Teacher introduces the basics of the imperial system and ask students to complete a T-chart on pro/con of imperial governments. Teacher can ask as a follow-up question: Is there a connection between imperial governments and the creation of the Great Wall of China or the terracotta soldiers?

Materials: (newspaper, tape)

Vocabulary: imperial

Notes:

- 1) Do not be intimidated by the open-ended nature of the discussion above. Almost anything the students focus on can be related to government. How they were treated leads to citizen rights, how they worked would be governmental structure, etc.

CURRICULUM PROJECT FOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE

To the extent that classroom study in Social Studies classrooms should address the Maryland State Content Standards, the following is offered as the goals and indicators covered in the curriculum project submitted to the National Committee for US China Relations:

3.2 Students demonstrate understanding of how civilizations emerged in Mesopotamia, Africa, China, and the Indus River Valley.

In the context of world history through the Middle Ages, and in contemporary world geography, at the end of **grade 8**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and are able to:

3.2.8.1 analyze the criteria anthropologists and archeologists use to define **civilizations**, such as social hierarchy, government, writing systems, and long distance trade

3.4 Students demonstrate understanding of how large-scale empires emerged and declined in the Mediterranean basin, China, and India (1300 BCE - 300 CE)

In the context of world history through the Middle Ages, and in contemporary world geography, at the end of **grade 8**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and are able to:

3.4.8.4 analyze how China became unified under the early imperial dynasties and the significance of trans-Eurasian "silk roads," *including the development of iron technology* (MLO 2.13)

3.4.8.5 analyze the major causes of the decline of the Han Empire

3.5 Students demonstrate understanding of the development and major beliefs of monotheistic and polytheistic religions (300-700 CE)

In the context of world history through the Middle Ages, and in contemporary world geography, at the end of **grade 8**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and are able to:

3.5.8.3 describe the major traditions, customs, and beliefs of Confucianism and Taoism and their emergence in the context of the early imperial dynasties in China

3.5.8.4 describe the major traditions, customs, and beliefs of Hinduism and Buddhism and their expansion throughout Asia

3.8 Students demonstrate understanding of the development of dominant regional empires

In the context of world history through the Middle Ages, and in contemporary world geography, at the end of **grade 8**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and are able to:

3.8.8.1 describe China's political, economic, and cultural expansion in the Tang period and the impact on Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia

3.10 Students demonstrate understanding of the aims of responses to, and the effects of, exploration and the expansion among peoples of Africa, Europe, and the Americas (1400 -1750)

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of **grade 12**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.10.12.2 analyze the impact of European exploration and expansion on the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and the Americas
(US 2.1.1, WH 1.1.3, WH 2.2.1, WH 2.2.2)

3.10.13.2 analyze the variety of responses to European colonization
(WH 3.2.3, 2.2.2)

3.15 Students demonstrate understanding of the patterns of nationalism, revolution, and reforms (1750-1870)

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of **grade 12**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.15.12.3 describe how China's Qing dynasty responded to economic and political crises (WH 1.1.2)

3.16 Students demonstrate understanding global imperialism and patterns of resistance (1800 - 1914).

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of **grade 12**, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.16.12.1 explain the causes and consequences of European and American imperial expansion (WH 2.2.1, 2.2.2)

3.16.12.3 describe political and cultural transformations in Asia in the era of the "new imperialism," including Indian society under British rule, French and British colonization in Southeast Asia, and the Chinese Revolution of 1911 (WH 2.2.1, 2.2.2)

3.18 Students demonstrate understanding of patterns of global change in the period between World I and World II.

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of grade 12, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.18.12.2 describe the growth of nationalist and independence movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America

3.20 Students demonstrate understanding of how post-World War II reconstruction occurred, new international power relations took shape, and colonial empires collapsed.

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of grade 12, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.20.12.2 analyze the causes and consequences of the Chinese Revolution (WH 1.1.1)

3.20.12.4 explain how African, Asian, and Caribbean peoples achieved independence from European colonial rule (WH 2.2.2, WH 2.3.2)

3.21 Students demonstrate understanding of the forces for continuity, change, and increasing interaction across the contemporary world after 1989.

In the context of world history from the Renaissance to modern times, by the end of grade 12, students know and are able to do everything required at earlier grades and:

3.21.12.3 assess the extent to which liberal **democracy**, global economic **interdependence**, and human rights movements have reshaped political, economic, and social life in China, Eastern Europe, Central America, and South Africa (WH 1.1.1, WH 2.3.2, WH 3.1.2, WH 4.1.1, G 2.1.1, G 2.1.1)

CHINA PROJECT REPORT

FULBRIGHT – HAYS SEMINARS ABROAD

OBJECTIVES:

To familiarize students with research methods.

Incorporate information, gained by instructor, into the classroom.

Comply with state standards in world history.

Expand the student's knowledge of China's vast history and impact with other cultures.

PROJECT:

My world history class completed a two-week unit on China. We started with a basic overview of China's history by using a time line. Students drew for topics and began research. The textbook was used as a basis and they enhanced their reports with research from the library and the internet. Only 1/3 of our students have access to a computer and internet outside of school so classroom time was used for research. Students were given handouts on how to complete a cover page, outline and a bibliography. Books purchased in China on Confucius, Mencius, Taosim, Great Wall and Entombed Warriors were used by students. Photos and digital camera pictures were scanned into the computer and printed for poster use. Each student then presented their project and poster to the class. Homework assignments and test questions were created by the student over their research topic. The posters then were hung in the halls for the rest of the student body to view and the patrons of the district to view when they came to visit the school and during basket ball games.

The students that I have in my world history class vary greatly in their ability levels. For some, this project was easily accomplished and for others it was a monumental undertaking. All students were able to complete the assignment with varying degrees of help. The means of presentation of the material to their fellow students ranged from use of the black board, overhead and computer overhead screen.

This semester I am teaching world geography and will use the information gained to help the students compare the United States, China and Japan in the areas of culture, economics, education, industry and lifestyle. My students are always excited to see the artifacts and photos that I bring back and it gives me the opportunity to correct mistaken ideas and information and give them a new outlook on other cultures.

RESOURCES:

BOOKS:

Textbook: History of the World, by Houghton Mifflin
The Subterranean Army of Emperor Qin Shi Huang
The Great Wall of China
The Forbidden City
Sayings of Confucius and Mencius – Shandong Friendship Press

CHINA REPORTS

DATE DUE _____
1ST OF HOUR

SELECT TOPIC:

Mencius	Shang Dynasty	Zhou(Chou) Dynasty
Legalism	Quin(Ch'in) Dynasty	Han Dynasty
Confucius	Sui Dynasty	T'ang Dynasty
Taoism	Sung Dynasty	Yuan-Mongol Dynasty
Great Wall	Ming Dynasty	Manchus (Ch'ing) Dynasty
Entombed Warriors		

PAPER:

Cover page:
As indicated by handout.

Outline pages:

Minimum one page, in outline form as indicated by handout.
Written on front of paper only.
May be written or typed. If typed, use 12 font.
Must be able to read it.
Must be written in ink – no red ink.
Must cover all parts of topic listed.

Bibliography:

Must be at least three references, written in correct form as indicated by handout.
Only one reference can be an encyclopedia.

PAPERS WILL BE PRESENTED IN CLASS:

TEACHING SESSION:

Present paper in class, notes will be taken.
Will involve use of black board, overhead or computer.
Will have an assignment must be worth 10 points. (10 questions)
Will have 5 test questions to turn into teacher that are different than the homework.
ALL PAPERS WILL BE KEPT BY INSTRUCTOR.

POSTER:

Must have a minimum of 4 pictures, charts, graphs or drawings. (charts, graphs and drawings must be made by you)

Pictures must have captions written by you.

Poster should be neatly done and completed.

Poster should be self-explanatory.

Must include general information from your report.

Can read from a distance of 6 ft. Do not use pencil.

POINTS POSSIBLE:

REPORT:

Paper written neatly	5 pts.
Material accurate	
Covered material assigned	25 pts.
Cover page written properly	5 pts.
Outline properly written	5 pts.
References at least 3	5 pts.
References written properly	5 pts.
Use of blackboard, overhead, or computer	5 pts.
Assignment for students	5 pts.
5 test questions	5 pts.
TOTAL	65 PTS.

POSTER:

Poster neat	5 pts.
Can read from a distance of 6 ft.	5 pts.
Poster information accurate	10 pts.
4 pictures, charts, graphs, or drawings with captions	15 pts.
Information from report	10 pts.
Self-explanatory and completed	5 pts.
TOTAL	50 PTS.

China –Economic Development vs. Environmental Protection Case Study

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Objectives:

The objectives of this case study are:

- To familiarize students with the current status of the economy and environment in China.
- To introduce the concepts of biomass, desertification, gross domestic product and gross national product/
- To teach student through experiential learning to decision making where 100% certainty will never occur and all competing interests have clear advantages.

Strategies:

Use of this case study as an instructional tool requires an educator to have some basic knowledge of how to use case studies and cooperative learning in the classroom. A good source of information on the use of case studies in the classroom is: The Center for Case Studies in Education, Pace University, School of Education, 78 North Broadway, White Plains, NY 10603.

Materials:

All materials needed for the analysis of this case are included in the case study.

Questions:

1. What are the basic environmental problems currently face by China?
2. What are the basic economic problems currently faced by China?
3. Do you feel that economic development and environmental protection are mutually exclusive?
4. Because of such wide poverty, China continually gives itself high goals for economic development in order to raise the standard of living of its 1.3 billion people. Chinese culture and religions place a great deal of emphasis on the harmony of man with nature. How would you resolve this conflict.
5. What do you think China's economy and environment will look like 20 years from now?

Background Notes:

This case should be done in groups of 3 – 4 students working together as a team. Each team should be instructed to choose a chair as well as a scribe.

After introduction of the case and before breaking up into groups, each group should be asked to write down, on the form provided what their group “norm” behaviors are. Typical group norms include:

- ❑ One person speaks at a time
- ❑ People are not interrupted while they are speaking
- ❑ All ideas are listened to completely not dismissed out of hand.
- ❑ No one should be allowed to dominate the discussion. The chair is responsible for making sure that this does not happen.

Evaluation:

Evaluation of the outcome of using case studies is a difficult process because of the subjective nature of case studies. Recognizing this limitation, the following is recommended as the method by which the level of learning of students who do this case study can be measured.

Proposed Solution to the Case:

Solutions to the case can be evaluated by:

- ❑ The clarity with which the solution is presented
- ❑ The quality and level of the solution and the reasons for choosing the proposed solution

Quality of the answers to the questions given above by each student individually.

Case Study

China's path-breaking economic initiatives began over two decades ago and are leading to a total transformation of the economy. Its impressive accomplishments over this period are capped by near double-digit growth and as a consequence, the uplifting of hundreds of millions of people out of absolute poverty. China has, in fact, made the largest single contribution to global poverty reduction of any country in the last 20 years.

World Bank estimates indicate that, while the number of poor people *worldwide* fell by 8 million between 1987 and 1996, the number of poor *outside China* actually increased by 82 million meaning that China moved raised 90 million people out of poverty during those years.

Beyond income, the last two decades of China's market-oriented reforms, which dramatically improved the dynamism of both the rural and urban economies, also saw substantial improvements in indicators of human development. Official estimates of the adult illiteracy rate fell by more than half, from 37% in 1976 to less than 17% in 1999. Indicative of health indices, the infant mortality rate fell, from 41 per 1,000 live births in 1978 to 30 in 1999.

Nevertheless, substantial challenges remain. Over 200 million Chinese, many in remote and resource-poor areas in the western and interior regions, still live on less than US \$1.00 a day, often without access to clean water, arable land, or adequate health and education services. China is also finding it more difficult to achieve economic gains, since it must deal with many of the most complex systemic issues – like financial sector and state enterprises reform – that will determine its long-term growth and prosperity.

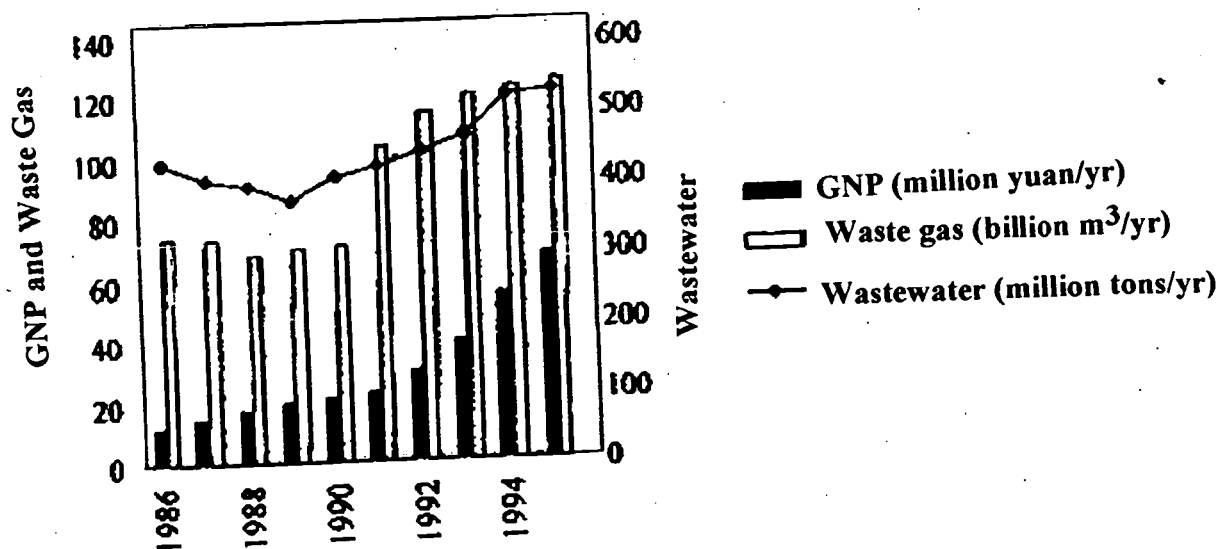


Figure 1 Diagram illustrating economic growth versus discharges of pollutants

Source: <http://www.unescap.org/drpad/publication/integra.volume2/china/2ch01d.htm>

Further, while China's environmental program has had notable successes, for example, in slightly reducing industrial air and water pollution emissions and reversing deforestation, much more needs to be done to remedy the serious environmental toll that two decades of phenomenal growth took on the rural natural resource base and the urban environment. In fact, as the graph below shows there is a direct correlation between Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and amounts of air and water pollution.

Some examples of the costs of excessive pollution include:

- ◆ An estimated 178,000 people in major cities suffer premature deaths each year because of air pollution. Air pollution also results in 6.8 million emergency room visits, and 346,000 hospital admissions.
- ◆ Indoor air pollution primarily from burning coal and biomass for cooking and heating – causes 111,000 premature deaths per year, mainly in rural areas.
- ◆ Each year some 7.4 million work-years are lost to health damages related to air pollution.
- ◆ Acid rain in the high-sulfur coal regions of southern and southwestern China threatens to damage 10% of the land area, and may already have reduced crop and forestry productivity by 3%.
- ◆ The percentage of land fit for cultivation affected by acid rain increased from 18 % to 40% between 1985 and 1996.
- ◆ Children in Shenyang, Shanghai, and other major cities have blood-lead levels averaging 80% higher than levels considered dangerous to mental development.
- ◆ The costs of water pollution are at least US\$4 billion a year.
- ◆ (IRB)The World Bank estimates that damage to human health from air and water pollution costs China US\$ 54 billion per year or about 8% of the Gross Domestic Product which is also equal to the level of economic growth.
- ◆ Eight of the ten most polluted cities in the world are now located in China.
- ◆ In 1995, ambient (outdoor air that people breath every day) concentrations of sulfur dioxide (SO₂) in over half of 88 Chinese cities monitored, exceeded World Health Organization guidelines for safety.
- ◆ 85 of 87 cities exceeded World Health Organization guidelines for total suspended particulate matter (TSP's); in many cities the concentration were two to five times the safety levels given by WHO guidelines.
- ◆ China now releases 13% of global carbon dioxide(CO₂). This is second only to the United States (23%). With the increase in automobile usage in China and development in general, this number is rapidly increasing. China will soon attain the top position if growth trends continue.
- ◆ (IRB) Urban pollution affects agriculture in China. In a study carried out in 1993 in Chongqing municipality where sulfur dioxide emissions are arguably the highest in the world, it was found that one-fourth of the vegetable and grain crops have been damaged by acid rain.

In addition to China's environmental problems impacting the health of its citizens, some are also adversely affecting the health of people from other countries. An example of this is school being called off in Seoul, South Korea in the spring of 2002 because of an immense cloud of yellow

dust that blew in from China's fast-spreading deserts, about 750 miles away. (Please see Map 1). According to China's Environmental Protection Agency, the Gobi desert (China's largest) grew by 20,000 square miles (more than twice the size of the State of Massachusetts) from 1994 to 1999 with its advancing edge a mere 150 miles north of Beijing. This desertification is due to overfarming, overgrazing and the widespread destruction of forests.

In Seoul, a measurement of 70 micrograms of dust per cubic meter of air is considered normal during most of the year. At 1,000 micrograms, experts say, serious health warnings are indicated. Levels of dust more than 2,000 have been routinely recorded in Seoul according to South Korea's National Weather Service. In addition, the dust from the Gobi desert is binding with toxic industrial pollutants, including arsenic, cadmium, and lead, increasing the health threat.

Energy use is also of concern. China's continued economic growth will require ever increasing consumption of energy. The government recently reiterated its aggressive policy for national economic growth. China's plan for the next half century is, by 2010 to double its Gross National Product (GNP) in year 2000, and by 2050, as one government official put it, to make per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) "reach the level of intermediately developed countries, modernize the country, and to build China into a wealthy, strong, democratic, and civilized socialist country". Achievement of the year 2010 goal requires that GNP growth be an average of 7% per year.

China's energy consumption still has a great deal of room for growth. Despite rapid growth in energy consumption, China's per capita energy consumption remains well below much of the rest of the world. Per capital commercial energy usage is only a tenth of the United States' and less than half the world average. The prospect of a China that consumes energy at the same rate as developed Western nations is somewhat frightening, given the high levels of environmental degradation that already exist.

The Chinese government is well aware of the social and economic costs of environmental pollution. The government has made a number of major pronouncements concerning the environment since the beginning of the reform era in 1978. In 1983, the government "declared environmental protection a basic national policy". In 1994, China set forth a broad plan to achieve sustainable development in China - Agenda 21. In 1996, the National People's Council, for the first time, issued a five-year plan on environmental protection. In June 1999, senior legislators of the National People's Council, made a well-publicized tour of major Chinese cities and publicly pronounced their alarm at the severity of the air pollution problem they witnessed.

The policy pronouncements of this period represented a shift away from a single-minded focus on economic development to an approach that balances development and environmental protection. Lester Ross, a frequent author on China affairs, has remarked that China's Agenda 21 released in 1994 represented a particularly sharp shift in "the center of gravity in the environmental/development debate further in the direction of environmental protection.

However, traditional opponents of environmental protection, such as the Ministry of Finance, and the production ministries, were only assuaged by Communist Party leadership's assurance that environmental protection would be phased in only to the extent China's economy could



Gobi Desert

Seoul

Map 1

Showing the locations of the Gobi Desert in China and Seoul, South Korea

Source: Times Atlas of the World, 7th Comprehensive Edition, Times Books, 1985

handle it. In practice, this has meant that enforcement of environmental regulations has been stronger in the most economically robust industries and regions, and weaker in areas with under performing economic growth.

Additionally, central government policy is clear that pollution must be controlled and all necessary legislation and bureaucratic infrastructure is in place. Yet, at the local level, where most enterprise and bureaucratic infrastructure is in place. Yet at the local level, where most enterprise ownership is really exercised, the conflict of interest between the state as owner or polluting enterprises and the state as regulator of pollution been decided in favor of the enterprise, as reflected in the lack of enforcement. Most bureaus focus on large polluters who are monitored once or twice annually, and most small enterprises are visited infrequently or not at all.

The Task:

Given all of the above information, your group, as the chief policy making "think tank" of the Chinese government, needs to develop a direction for China to take its economic growth and environmental protection for the next twenty years. The task for your group is to develop six key elements of China's economic/environment policy along with a rationale for each element. Both economic and environment protection must each have three elements developed for them.

Glossary

Biomass – organic matter produced by plants and other photosynthetic producers; includes wood logs and pellets, charcoal, agricultural waste (stalks and other plant debris), timbering wastes (branches, treetops, and wood chips), animal wastes (dung), aquatic plants (kelp and water hyacinths) and urban wastes (paper, cardboard, and other combustible materials).

Desertification – is a process whereby the productive potential of arid or semiarid land falls by 105 or more; this phenomenon results mostly from human activities. Moderate desertification is a 10 – 25% drop in productivity, severe desertification is a 25 – 50% drop, and very severe desertification is a drop of 50% or more, usually creating huge gullies and sand dunes.

Practices that leave topsoil vulnerable to desertification include (1) overgrazing on fragile arid and semiarid rangelands, (2) deforestation without reforestation, (3) surface mining without land reclamation, (4) irrigation techniques that lead to increased erosion, (5) salt buildup and waterlogged soil, (6) farming on land with unsuitable terrain or soils, ((7) soil compaction by farm machinery and cattle.

The consequences of desertification include (1) worsening drought, (2) famine, (3) declining living standards, and (4) swelling numbers of environmental refugees whose land is too eroded to grow crops or feed livestock.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – the total market value of all final goods and services (goods and services that are sold to ultimate or final purchasers) produced within an economy in a given year.

Gross National Product (GNP) – Gross Domestic Product plus net income earned by U.S. firms and residents minus any income earned in the United States by foreign firms or residents.

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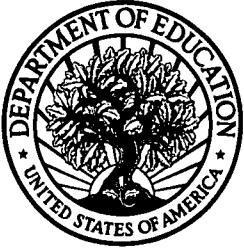
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