

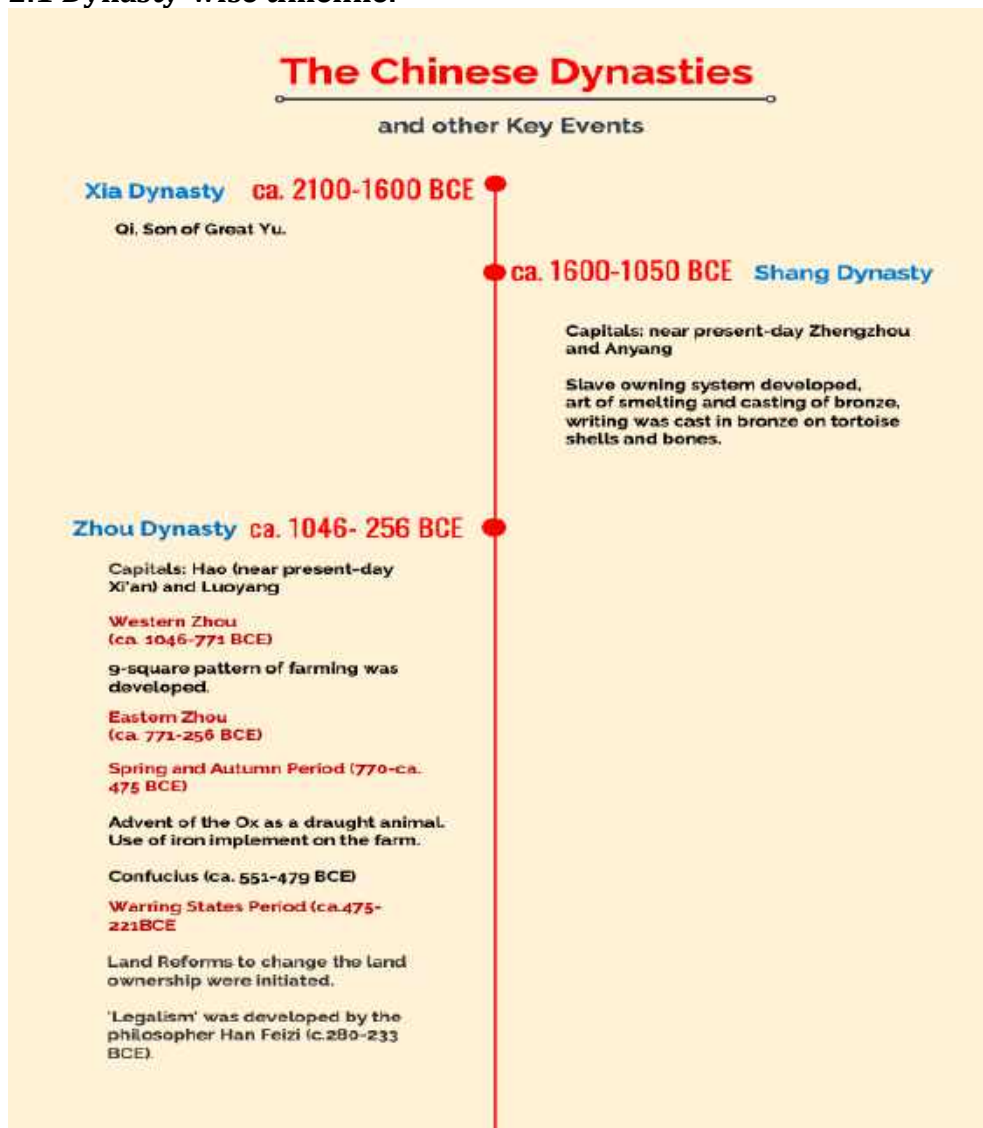
Chapter II

*When the Superior Man deals with the world he is not prejudiced for or against anything.
He does what is Right. – Confucius*

2. Historical Background

China is a country with early civilization, a long and rich history. The compass, gunpowder, the art of paper-making and block printing were all invented in ancient China. The Great Wall, Grand Canal and other projects built by the Chinese people are known for their engineering feats.¹⁸

2.1 Dynasty-wise timeline.



¹⁸ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

221-206 BCE Qin Dynasty

Capital Chang'an, present day Xi'an.

The state of Qin based in Shaanxi province conquered all states.

It was the first Empire in China.

Single Victory for the new landlord class.

'Legalism' became official philosophy.

Initiation of a single currency and a unitary script.

Conscripted labourers to build the GREAT WALL and dispatched warriors to erect Qin Shi Huang ti Mausoleum in the city of Xi'an displaying terracotta warriors and battle needs.

Han Dynasty 206-220 BCE

Western/Former Han (206 BCE-9CE)

Capital: Chang'an.

Confucianism officially established as basis for Chinese state by Han Wudi (r.141-86 BCE).

Zhang Qian opened the Silk Road.

Weakened by corruption of 'Peasant Uprise'.

Eastern/Later Han (25-220 CE)

Capital: Luoyang.

Liu Xin.

Progress in Economy, Science and Culture.

Uprising of Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jiao.

220-589 CE Six Dynasties Period

Three Kingdoms (220-265 CE). Cao Wei, Shu Han, Dong Wu.

Western Jin Dynasty (265-420 CE), established by Sima Jam.

Eastern Jin Dynasty (265-317 CE).

Period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386-589 CE).

Sui Dynasty 581-618 CE

Capital: Chang'an.

Country was unified.

Emperor Yang Di ruined country's economy, Peasant Uprising.

618-906 CE Tang Dynasty

Capitals; Chang'an and Luoyang.

Ruled by Li Yuan.

Economic and Cultural boom ties with Japan, Korea and West-Asian countries, Europe, and Africa.

Invention of Gun Powder, block Printing and astronomical clock and rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming.

Five Dynasties Period 907-960 CE

Later Liang, late Tang, later Jin, later Han and later Zhou rose and fell.

Ten Kingdoms including Qian, Shu, Au, Min, Wuyue, and Chu ruled in South.

960-1276 Song Dynasty

Period of National Unification, Zhao Kuangyin & general of later Zhou Dynasty found the song Dynasty.

Overseas Trade began, boom in Calligraphy, Painting, Sculpture, Weaving art, achievements in Porcelain manufacture, Gun Powder for military purposes, Invention of Compass, movable type printing.

Yuan Dynasty 1271-1368

Song and Nuzhen army locked in warfare.

Mongol under Cenghis Khan subjugated Western Liao and Jin Kingdom.

Yuan Dynasty was set up by Kublai Khan.

The reign of Mongol empire.

Southern Song Dynasty overthrown in AD 1276.

Country was unified once more. But the Peasant insurrections continued.

1368-1644 Ming Dynasty

Dynasty established by peasant leader Zhu Yuan zhang.

Restoration of Han nationality rule in China.

Capital began to burgeon in some handicraft industries in some coastal regions.

Overseas contact increased.

Zheng He, a noted navigator sent overseas as envoy to the equator on the eastern African coast.

Ming Dynasty was overthrown by peasant armies led by Li Zicheng and Zhang Xianzhong.

Qing Dynasty 1644-1911

Reign of Manchus .

Manchu armed forces pushed south of the Great Wall through Shanhaiguan Pass and defeated the peasant armies, followed by establishment of Qing Dynasty.

Several Unequal treaties were signed:
Treaty of Nerchinsh (1689).
Treaty of Kyakhta (1727).

The Opium War, the British forced China to open on unequal terms.(1840-1842) Nanjing Treaty (1842).

Taiping Rebellion (1850-64).
Failed Reforms (1898)
Boxer Rebellion brings foreign retribution(1900)
Republican Revolution (Xinhai Revolution) (1911)

2.2 Imperial History of China

The Imperial History of China is 4,100 years old and comprises of several dynasties.

2.3 The Xia Dynasty (21st century BC-16th century BC)

The first dynasty that emerged in China 4,100 years ago, was founded by Qi, son of Great Yu. The Xia dynasty, which was a slave-owning society, was overthrown by warriors commanded by Shang Tang, the founder of the Shang Dynasty.

2.4 The Shang Dynasty (16th century BC-11th century BC)

During the Shang Dynasty, the slave-owning system developed with the growth of farm and handicraft production. The art of smelting and casting bronze reached a higher level of development in this period. Some of the writings in Shang time were cast in bronze, and some inscribed on tortoise shells or animal bones.

2.5 Western Zhou Dynasty (11th century BC-771 BC)

The Shang Dynasty was superseded by the Western Zhou Dynasty, during which the slave-owning system grew more prosperous. The Western Zhou¹⁹ rulers instituted an enfeoffment system under which nobles were invested with hereditary titles as well as land along with the slaves working on it. Introduced then was the "9-square pattern" of farming in which a tract of land was partitioned into nine squares. The eight outer squares were allocated to slaves who had to work the central square gratis for their masters.²⁰

2.6 The Spring and Autumn Period (770 BC-476 BC)

The Spring and Autumn period witnessed the advent of the ox as a draught animal and the use of iron implements on the farm. As a result, more farmland came under private ownership and the disintegration of the slave system commenced to give way for a feudal society.

2.7 Confucius (ca. 551-479 BCE)

K'ung-fu-tze- K'ung the Master, as his pupils called K'ung Ch'iu- was born at Ch'ufu, in the then kingdom of Lu and the present province of Shantung, in the year 551 B.C. At twenty-

¹⁹ The Chinese dynasties had "Western", "Eastern.", "Northern", "Southern" written as prefixes. Normally, this was because the older regime collapsed, but there was an imperial family member who re-established the regime under the same ruling family. Chinese historians then distinguished between these two dynasties based on the location of the capital. For example, the "western" dynasties typically had a capital at the western part of the country, such as Chang'an (present-day Xi'an), then the "Eastern" dynasty succeeded the "Western" dynasty, the capital was moved to Luoyang, or a relatively eastern part of China (compared to Chang'an). The dynasty was then called "Eastern" Dynasty. This method indicated that there was an "interruption" of the dynasty. An interesting exception of the use of the method was the Tang Dynasty that was interrupted by Zhou Dynasty of Wu Zetian. There weren't two Tang dynasties because the capital remained at Chang'an all the time.

²⁰ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

two he began his career as a teacher, using his home as a schoolhouse, and charging whatever modest fee his pupils could pay. Three subjects formed the substance of his curriculum: history, poetry, and the rules of propriety.²¹ Like many other men of the educated elite class of the Eastern Zhou, Confucius travelled among the states, offering his services as a political advisor and official to feudal rulers and taking on students whom he would teach for a fee. Confucius had an unsuccessful career as a petty bureaucrat, but a highly successful one as a teacher. A couple of generations after his death, first- and second-generation students gathered accounts of Confucius' teachings together. These anecdotes and records of short conversations go under the English title of the Analects.²²

2.8 Warring States Period (475 BC-221 BC)

Landlord class introduced reforms to change the land ownership system to its own advantage at the beginning of the Warring States period. There were then seven vassal states contending with one another for hegemony. The state of Qin based in Shaanxi Province, which had become powerful because of the fact that it had adopted drastic measures to reform the land ownership system, conquered all the other states to establish the **Qin Dynasty (221BC-206BC)**, the first centralized, autocratic feudal empire in China. This was a signal victory for the new landlord class.

2.9 Qin Shi Huang (258-210) and his Empire

Emperor Qin Shi Huang of the Qin Dynasty carried out a lot of reform measures, including standardization of weights and measures and the initiation of a single currency and a unitary script, etc. He conscripted 300,000 laborers to build **the Great Wall** and dispatched 500,000 warriors to garrison Lingnan (present-day Guangdong Province) and 700,000 men to erect his mausoleum. The **Qin Shi Huang Mausoleum** along with a big army of life-sized terra cotta warriors and battle steeds, which have been unearthed in the city of Xi'an, are a big attraction for tourists from all over the world.²³

2.10 Han Dynasty (206 BC- 210 AD) and “the Silk Road”

Pauperized by such extravagances, the peasant masses rose up in arms and overthrew the Qin rulers to set up the **Western Han Dynasty (202BC-AD8)**.

During this dynastic period agriculture and handicraft made marked progress along with the flourishing of science, culture and the arts. Links between the different ethnic groups in the country were strengthened and exchanges with the outside world broadened. **Zhang Qian**, a diplomat of that time, who was dispatched as envoy to the Western Regions, opened the world-famous Silk Road.

As **the Western Han Dynasty** was later weakened by corruption, **Liu Xiu**, taking advantage of the strength of peasant uprisers, replaced the **Western Han Dynasty** with

²¹ Durant, Will.(1935) “Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization”. Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York.pg-662.The different philosophies like Confucianism and Legalism are pointed out as a subject in a separately in this Chapter.

²² http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/cup/confucius_women_servants.pdf

²³ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

the **Eastern Han Dynasty** founded in AD25. From this time onward economy, science and culture continued to progress. However, contradictions within the ruling class flared up later and the uprisings of the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jiao hastened the disintegration of the **Eastern Han Dynasty**. There followed tangled warfare among various separatist regimes until three rival kingdoms Wei, Shu Han and Wu, came to the fore.

In **AD 265 Sima Yan**, an influential official of the Kingdom of Wei, dethroned its ruler and established the **Western Jin Dynasty**. He annexed the Kingdom of Wu in 280. So, with the Kingdom of Shu Han toppled by the Kingdom of Wei earlier in 263, the Three Kingdoms came to an end. Soon afterwards, nevertheless, tangled warfare broke out among various ethnic groups, resulting in the emergence of 16 small kingdoms in northern China and the downfall of the **Western Jin Dynasty**. In 317, the year that the Western Jin Dynasty was brought down, Sima Rui, a member of the royal house, set up the **Eastern Jin Dynasty** in the south.

In 386 there came into existence two antagonistic regimes-**the Southern Dynasty** in the south and the Northern Dynasty in the north. At last, in 581, the country was unified under the Sui Dynasty. The nation's economy, however, was later ruined by Emperor Yang Di's extravagance and corruption as well as by his gigantic construction projects and excessive military spending. This brought about peasant uprisings which swept the whole country. Taking advantage of this situation, Li Yuan, a military commander of the dynasty, led his forces to take the capital Chang'an. He became the founder of the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

2.11 Tang Dynasty (618-907)

The Tang Dynasty witnessed a period of economic and cultural boom in China. At that time China was powerful and ranked among the most advanced countries in the world. Its foreign relations were broader than ever before. It forged friendly ties with Japan, Korea and many countries in West Asia, Europe and Africa, with its capital Chang'an serving as centre of cultural exchange between various countries.²⁴

Economically, agriculture and handicraft in Tang times reached a very high level of technology. Literary and artistic creations flourished. It was in the Tang period that most of the frescos in the Dunhuang Grottos, a world-renowned treasure house of art, were done. A host of noted scientists and men of letters came to the fore, such as the high monk Yi Xing(alias Zhang Sui), an astronomer, and Li Bai and Du Fu, poets. Also accredited to the Tang Dynasty are the inventions of gunpowder, block printing and the astronomical clock, which have substantially contributed to the development of world culture.

The rebellion of **An Lushan and Shi Siming**, generals of the Tang court, marked the beginning of the decline of the Tang Dynasty, which came to an end in 907. In the years that followed, constant strifes plagued the country. In a space of 50 years five dynasties(Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Jin, Later Han and Later Zhou)rose and fell in the Yellow River Basin. At the same time 10 kingdoms including Qian Shu, Wu, Min, Wuyue

²⁴ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

and Chu ruled different areas in the south. This period has come to be known as the period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms.

National unification was achieved again in 960 when Zhao Kuangyin, a general of the **Later Zhou Dynasty**, founded the Song Dynasty with the capital in Kaifeng, modern Henan Province. This dynasty is known in history as the Northern Song Dynasty²⁵.

2.12 Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties (960-1644)

In **Northern Song** time some border tribes grew very strong. They were the Khitan of the Kingdom of Liao and the Nuzhen of the Kingdom of Jin in Northeast China, and the Dang Xiang of the Kingdom of Western Xia. They fought among themselves and against the Song government. After conquering the Khitan, the Nuzhen swept south and overthrew the Northern Song Dynasty. In 1127 Zhao Gou, brother of the last emperor of the Northern Song Dynasty, established a new government in Nanjing (now Shangqiu, Henan Province), which is historically known as the **Southern Song Dynasty**.

During the Song period agriculture and commerce flourished and science and technology made impressive strides. New cities sprang up. Overseas trade began to develop. A host of thinkers, scholars and men of letters came to the fore. There was a boom in calligraphy, painting, sculpture and weaving art. Achievements in porcelain manufacture outshone all previous records. Gunpowder was widely used for military purposes. Especially noteworthy are the inventions of the compass and movable type printing which have greatly contributed to human progress.

While the Song and Nuzhen armies were locked in continuous warfare, the Mongols in the north rose to power under Genghis Khan who unified all the Mongol tribes. He subjugated the Western Xia, Liao and Jin kingdoms one after another. His grandson, Kublai Khan, set up the Yuan Dynasty(1271-1368) and in 1276 overthrew the Southern Song Dynasty, thus unifying China once more.

The renewed national unification served to boost the economy, promote science and culture, improve the ties between various nationalities and increase contacts with foreign lands. During the nine decades of Yuan rule, however, there were no end to peasant insurrections.

In 1368 **Zhu Yuanzhang**, a peasant leader, established the **Ming Dynasty** and in the same year drove the Mongol emperor away from his capital (now Beijing), thereby restoring Han nationality rule in China.

During the **Ming Dynasty** the growth of agriculture and handicraft production brought an expansion to the commodity economy. From the middle of Ming times onward, capitalism began to burgeon in some handicraft industries in certain coastal regions. Meanwhile, overseas contacts increased. A notable example is provided by Zheng He, a

²⁵ The Qin, the Hans, Western Jin, Sui, Tang, Northern Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing were the only dynasties that managed to control the entire of China proper. Shang and Zhou never controlled the entire of China proper. It is argued that Northern Song did not rule the entire of China proper, as the 16 commanderies were controlled by Liao Dynasty of the Khitans.

noted navigator, who was sent overseas as envoy at the head of a large fleet on seven voyages, the longest of which took him to the equator on the eastern African coast. The Ming Dynasty was overthrown in 1644 by the peasant armies under the command of **Li Zicheng** and **Zhang Xianzhong**. In the same year Manchu armed forces pushed south of the Great Wall through Shanhaiguan Pass. They defeated the peasant armies, followed by the establishment of the Qing Dynasty.²⁶

2.13 The Qing dynasty (1644-1911)

The Qing dynasty was first established in 1636 by the Manchus to designate their regime in Manchuria (now the Northeast region of China). In 1644 the Chinese capital at Beijing was captured by the rebel leader Li Zicheng, and desperate Ming dynasty officials called on the Manchus for aid. The Manchus took advantage of the opportunity to seize the capital and establish their own dynasty in China. By adopting the Ming form of government and continuing to employ Ming officials, the Manchus pacified the Chinese population.

The **Qing Dynasty** reached the zenith of its power during the reigns of emperors Kang Xi, Yong Zheng and Qian Long. Its territory was extensive and Under Kangxi (reigned 1661–1722), the second Qing emperor, the Manchus forced the Russians to abandon their fort at Albazin, located along the Manchurian border on the Amur River. In 1689 a treaty was concluded with Russia at Nerchinsk demarcating the northern extent of the Manchurian boundary at the Argun River. Over the next 40 years the Dzungar Mongols were defeated, and the empire was extended to include Outer Mongolia, Tibet, Dzungaria, Turkistan, and Nepal. Under the two succeeding emperors, Yongzheng (reigned 1722–35) and Qianlong (reigned 1735–96), commerce continued to thrive, handicraft industries prospered, and Roman Catholic missionaries were tolerated and employed as astronomers and artists. In addition, painting, printmaking, and porcelain manufacture flourished, and scientific methods of philology were developed, production boomed.

The Late Qing Dynasty

Subsequent rulers, however, were unable to meet the problems caused by increased population pressure and concentration of land ownership. The Manchu armies deteriorated, and popular unrest, aggravated by severe floods and famine, were factors contributing to the Taiping (1850–64) and Nian (1853–68) rebellions in the south and north, respectively. Efforts at modernization and Westernization met opposition from conservative officials especially through the efforts of the dowager empress Cixi.²⁷ Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption became widespread.²⁸

Starting from 1649, Chinese people were unable to trade outside of the Qing Empire, i.e. in foreign countries. Building large ships that may sail far away from the land in the open seas was punishable by death. In 1716, the trade of copper and zinc with foreigners was prohibited, as was the trade of iron in 1733. From 1759, the export of silk ceased. The

²⁶ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

²⁷ Empress Dowager Cixi ruled 1861–1908. Empress Dowager Cixi's son (Emperor Tongzhi) "reigned" from 1862 to 1874, and her nephew (Emperor Guangxu) "ruled" from 1875 to 1908. But it is said that she was the real ruler during this long and crucial period of time.

²⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Qing-dynasty>

export of silk was repeatedly banned several times in later years. Even goods permitted for export were restricted in many ways: the annual amount of tea leaves and rhubarb for export was limited.

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2.14 Philosophies evolved during Imperial Period of China

Confucius Thought

The Duke of Wei offered Confucius the leadership of his government, but Confucius, disapproving of the Duke's principles, refused.³²

He left behind him five volumes apparently written or edited by his own hand, and therefore known to China as the "Five Ching," or Canonical Books. First, he edited the Li-Chi, or Record of Rites, believing that these ancient rules of propriety were subtle aides to the formation and mellowing of character, and the maintenance of social order and peace. Second, he wrote appendices and commentaries for the I-Ching, or Book of Changes, seeing in this the profoundest contribution yet made by China to that obscure realm of metaphysics which he himself had sedulously avoided in his philosophy. Third, he selected and arranged the Shi-Ching, or Book of Odes, in order to illustrate the nature of human life and the principles of morality. Fourth, he wrote the Ch'un Ch'iu, or Spring and Autumn Annals, to record with unadorned brevity the main events in the history of his own state of Lu. Fifth, and above all, he sought to inspire his pupils by gathering into a Shu-Ching, or Book of History, the most important and elevating events or legends of the early reigns, when China had been in some measure a unified empire, and its leaders, as Confucius thought, had been heroic and unselfish civilizers of the race. He did not think of his function, in these works, as that of an historian; rather he was a teacher, a moulder of youth; and he deliberately selected from the past such items as would rather inspire than disillusion his pupils; we should do him injustice if we turned to these volumes for an impartial and scientific account of Chinese history. He added to the record imaginary speeches and stories into which he poured as much as he could of his solicitude for morals and his admiration for wisdom. If he idealized the past of his country he did no more than we do with our own less ancient past; if already our earliest presidents have become sages and saints in hardly a century or two, surely to the historians of a thousand years

²⁹ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335561242_The_Qing_Policy_of_Self-Isolation_in_China

³⁰ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

³¹ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335561242_The_Qing_Policy_of_Self-Isolation_in_China

³² Will Durant Durant, Will. (1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York. page 663

hence they will seem as virtuous and perfect as Yao and Shun. To these five Ching the Chinese add four Shu, or "Books" (of the Philosophers), to constitute the "Nine Classics."³³

The Agnosticism of Confucius : Since his dominating passion was the application of philosophy to conduct and government, Confucius avoided metaphysics, and tried to turn the minds of his followers from all recondite or celestial concerns. Though he made occasional mention of "Heaven" and prayer, and counselled his disciples to observe sedulously the traditional rites of ancestor worship and national sacrifice, he was so negative in his answers to theological questions that modern commentators agree in calling him an agnostic.³⁴

Confucian Politics : The first principle of government, in the view of Confucius, is as the first principle of character- sincerity. Therefore the prime instrument of government is good example: the ruler must be an eminence of model behaviour, from which, by prestige imitation, right conduct will pour down upon his people.³⁵ There was not much of the revolutionist in Confucius; perhaps he suspected that the inheritors of a revolution are made of the same flesh as the men whom it deposed. But he wrote bravely enough in the Book of Odes: "Before the sovereigns of the Shang (Dynasty) had lost (the hearts of) the people, they were the mates of God. Take warning from the house of Shang. The great decree is not easily preserved." The people are the actual and proper source of political sovereignty, for any government that does not retain their confidence sooner or later falls.³⁶

The success of Confucius was posthumous, but complete.

A rival school, the "Legalists," disputed for a while this leadership of Confucian thought in the political world, and occasionally moulded the policy of the state. To make government depend upon the good example of the governors and the inherent goodness of the governed, said the Legalists, was to take a considerable risk; history had offered no superabundance of precedents for the successful operation of these idealistic principles. Not men but laws should rule, they argued; and laws must be enforced until, becoming a second nature to a society, they are obeyed without force. The people are not intelligent enough to rule themselves well; they prosper best under an aristocracy. Even tradesmen are not too intelligent, but pursue their interests very often to the detriment of the state; perhaps, said some of the Legalists, it would be wiser for the state to socialize capital, monopolize trade, and prevent the manipulation of prices and the concentration of

³³ Durant, Will.(1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York. Pg. 664-665

³⁴ Durant, Will.(1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York. pg. 667

³⁵ Durant, Will.(1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York.pg.672

³⁶ Durant, Will.(1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York.pg. 671 Ibid contribution of Confucius in the *Book of Odes* described as : Most of the verse written before Confucius has disappeared; what remains of it is chiefly his own stern selection of the more respectable samples, gathered together in the Shi-Ching, or "Book of Odes," ranging over a thousand years from ancient compositions of the Shang Dynasty to highly modern poems as recent as Pythagoras.pg 648

wealth. These were ideas that were destined to appear again and again in the history of Chinese government.

In the long run the philosophy of Confucius triumphed. We shall see later how the mighty Shih Huang-ti, with a Legalist for his prime minister, sought to end the influence of Confucius by ordering that all existing Confucian literature should be burned. But the power of the word proved stronger than that of the sword; the books which the "First Emperor" sought to destroy became holy and precious through his enmity, and men died as martyrs in the effort to preserve them.

When Shih Huang-ti and his brief dynasty had passed away, a wiser emperor, Wu Ti, brought the Confucian literature out of hiding, gave office to its students, and strengthened the Han Dynasty by introducing the ideas and methods of Confucius into the education of Chinese youth and statesmanship. Sacrifices were decreed in honour of Confucius; the texts of the Classics were by imperial command engraved on stone, and became the official religion of the state. Rivalled at times by the influence of Taoism, and eclipsed for a while by Buddhism, Confucianism was restored and exalted by the T'ang Dynasty, and the great T'ai Tsung ordered that a temple should be erected to Confucius, and sacrifices offered in it by scholars and officials, in every town and village of the empire. During the Sung Dynasty a virile school of "Neo-Confucians" arose, whose innumerable commentaries on the Classics spread the philosophy of the Master, in varied dilutions, throughout the Far East, and stimulated a philosophical development in Japan. From the rise of the Han Dynasty to the fall of the Manchus- i.e., for two thousand years- the doctrine of Confucius moulded and dominated the Chinese mind.³⁷

Selection from the Confucian Analects: On Women and Servants

17:25 Women and servants are most difficult to nurture. If one is close to them, they lose their reserve, while if one is distant, they feel resentful .

Selections from the Confucian Analects

1:1 The Master said, "To learn, and at due times to practice what one has learned, is that not also a pleasure? To have friends come from afar, is that not also a joy? To go unrecognized, yet without being embittered, is that not also to be a noble person?"

1:2 Master You [You Ruo] said, "Among those who are filial toward their parents and fraternal toward their brothers, those who are inclined to offend against their superiors are few indeed. Among those who are disinclined to offend against their superiors, there have never been any who are not inclined to create disorder. The

Source: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/cup/confucius_analects.pdf

³⁷ Durant, Will.(1935) "Our Oriental Heritage-The Story of Civilization" . Simon & Schuster, Inc, New York. pg. 675

Sayings about filial piety (Hsiao)

4:19 Confucius said: "While your parents are alive, it is better not to travel far away. If you do travel, you should have a precise destination."

4:20 Confucius said: "If, for three years (after your father's death) you don't alter his ways of doing things, you can certainly be called 'filial.'"

Source: <http://www.human.toyogakuen-u.ac.jp/~acmuller/contao/analects.htm>

Selections from *Book of Odes*

13. Confucius said: The Tao is not something separate from man. If you practice a Tao that is apart from man, this cannot be the Tao. The Book of Odes says:

Carving axe handles

One after another

They differ little from the original sample

Taking one to carve another.

When you compare them,

There are still differences.

Therefore the Superior Man treats people as human beings, and once they have corrected themselves, he lets them be. Being sincere and fair to all, though this is different from the Tao, it is not far from it. This means "not doing to others what you don't want done to yourself." There are four general ways that this can be characterized, one of which I[1] have been able to fully practice:

- (1) Treating my father as I expect my son to treat me.
- (2) Treating my ruler as I expect my ministers to treat me.
- (3) Treating my older brothers as I expect my younger brothers to treat me.
- (4) Treating my friends as I expect my friends to treat me.

In the putting into practice of virtue or the taking care of speech, if there is somewhere where I am deficient, I certainly endeavour further. If there is excess, I do not dare to merely expend it. His words reflecting his actions, his actions reflecting his words--how can this Superior Man not be sincere through and through?

Source: <https://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/jcanders/Ethics/mulleranalectsselect.htm>

Legalism

Legalism in ancient China was a philosophical belief that human beings are more inclined to do wrong than right because they are motivated entirely by self-interest. It was developed by the philosopher Han Feizi (c. 280-233 BCE) who drew on earlier writings of the Warring States Period of China (476-221 BCE) by a Qin statesman named Shang Yang (died 338 BCE). Legalism during the Qin Dynasty resulted in huge loss of life and culture, it should be remembered that the philosophy developed during a time of constant warfare in China when each state fought every other for control.

Shang Yang's legalism dealt with everyday situations but extended to how one should conduct one's self in war and he is credited with the tactics of total war which allowed the state of Qin to defeat the other warring states to control China.

Legalism became the official philosophy of the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE) when the first emperor of China, Shi Huang ti, rose to power and banned all other philosophies as a corrupting influence. Confucianism was especially condemned .

During the Qin Dynasty any books which did not support the Legalist philosophy were burned and writers, philosophers, and teachers of other philosophies were executed. The excesses of the Qin Dynasty's legalism made the regime very unpopular. After the Qin were overthrown, Legalism was abandoned in favour of Confucianism.

Legalism was practiced through enacting laws to control the population of China. These laws would include how one was to address social superiors, women, children, servants as well as criminal law dealing with theft or murder. The penalties for breaking the law were severe and included heavy fines, conscription in the army, or being sentenced to years of community service building public monuments or fortifications.

Legalism was not only opposed to Confucianism but could not tolerate it. Once Legalism was adopted by the Qin Dynasty, Confucianism faced the very real threat of extinction.

The Zhou Dynasty (1046 - 221 BCE) slowly began to fall apart . The seven states of China, Chu, Han, Qi, Qin, Wei, Yan, and Zhao, all believed they were fit to rule and replace the Zhou. These states battled with each other again and again but none of them could gain an advantage over the others until King Ying Zheng of Qin adopted Shang Yang's philosophy of legalism in warfare which was total war. The old rules ignored by the Qin as they crushed one state after another. Ying Zheng declared himself the first emperor of China: Shi Huang ti.

Legalism remained in effect throughout the Qin Dynasty until its fall in 206 BCE. Han Dynasty kept a form of Legalism as their official philosophy but it was a much gentler version than that of the Qin.

Confucianism could be expressed openly again during the Han Dynasty. The suppression of Legalism remained a go-to philosophy throughout China's history up into modern

times. Whenever a government has felt it might be losing control it has resorted to some degree of Legalism.³⁸

2.15 Modern Period (1840-1919)

The Late Qing Dynasty

Western challenge (1839–60)

The opium question, the direct cause of the first Sino-British clash in the 19th century, began in the late 18th century as the British attempted to counterbalance their unfavourable China trade with traffic in Indian opium. Opium addiction increased, and opium importations grew rapidly during the first century of the Qing dynasty.³⁹ Qing Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu intentionally destroyed privately-owned chests of opium in 1839. The astounding growth of Opium import and consumption within China in the 19th century contributed to the breakdown of moral and social order that the Court in Beijing desperately sought to address.⁴⁰

The efforts of the Qing dynasty to enforce the opium restrictions resulted in two armed conflicts between China and the West, known as the Opium Wars, both of which China lost. The first war, between Britain and China (1839–42), did not legalize the trade. In the second Opium War (1856–60), fought between a British-French alliance and China, the Chinese government was forced to legalize the trade.⁴¹ The foreign powers also forced the corrupt and incompetent Qing government to sign a series of unequal treaties. Consequently, China was gradually turned into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country.⁴²

³⁸ Mark, Emily. Excerpts from : "Legalism." *Ancient History Encyclopaedia*. Ancient History Encyclopaedia, 31 Jan 2016. Accessed on web. 26 Feb 2020.

³⁹ Leese, Daniel. "'Revolution': Conceptualizing Political and Social Change in the Late Qing Dynasty." *Oriens Extremus*, vol. 51, 2012, pp. 25–61. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/24047786. Accessed 4 Feb. 2020.

⁴⁰ https://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents_archive/nanking-treaty%20v2.php

⁴¹ Alexander, Joseph G. "The Truth about the Opium War." *The North American Review*, vol. 163, no. 478, 1896, pp. 381–383. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25118713. Accessed 5 Mar. 2020.

⁴² http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

The Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing)

It was proposed in 1842 and ratified in 1843, marked the conclusion of the conflict between Great Britain and Qing China commonly known as the 1st Opium War (1839-1842). Sir Henry Pottinger and High Commissioners Keying and Elepoo, the respective plenipotentiaries of Queen Victoria and Emperor Tao-kwang, brokered the treaty. It was the first conflict that pitted Qing Imperial forces against an industrial European power.

The Treaty of Nanking was a significant milestone in the study of empires in Asia for a variety of reasons. The five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Ningpo and Shanghai, British merchants had been surveying the Chinese coastline for some time, looking for suitably profitable ports from which to develop a lucrative China trade. These outlets were in fact what the 1793 Macartney Mission sought to obtain, as British interests strove for decades to break free of the restrictive conditions imposed on them at Canton.

The Treaty of Nanking bestowed upon the United Kingdom rights of extraterritoriality and the status of the “Most Favored Nation”, but these were in fact conceded in a supplementary treaty, commonly known as the Treaty of the Bogue (1843).

The Treaty’s Article III stipulated that the island of Hong Kong was to be ceded in perpetuity to the United Kingdom for the purpose of establishing a naval supply base in the region for British state and private interests. It also allowed the British to govern the island inhabitants as they saw fit, paving the way for Hong Kong’s rise to the status of a Crown Colony after both British and Asian merchants flocked to this new secure port resting under the Union Jack and connected to the British world-system, with all that that entailed.

Source: https://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents_archive/nanking-treaty%20v2.php

The Signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 (with the US)

The Opium War and these treaties were emblematic of an era in which Western powers tried to gain unfettered access to Chinese products and markets for European and U.S. trade. American trade with China began as early as 1784, relying on North American exports such as furs, sandalwood, and ginseng, but American interest in Chinese products soon outstripped the Chinese appetite for these American exports. The British had already discovered a great market in southern China for smuggled opium, and American traders soon also turned to opium to supplement their exports to China. China imported more goods than it exported. Settling this financial problem eventually led to the First Opium War between Great Britain and China, from 1839 to 1842. The British were in a position to make a large number of demands from the weaker Qing Government of China, in the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Nanjing. The U.S. negotiators sought to conclude a similar treaty with the Chinese, to guarantee the United States many of the favorable terms awarded the British. The Chinese readily agreed in an effort to keep all foreigners on the same footing.

U.S. President John Tyler chose Massachusetts Congressman Caleb Cushing as his representative in treaty negotiations with the Chinese. Cushing and his counterparts reached the terms of the treaty quickly and signed it at Wangxia, a suburb of the Portuguese port city of Macau, in 1844. The Treaty of Wangxia replicated many of the key terms of the Treaty of Nanjing.

The U.S. treaty was somewhat longer than the British version, as it included major points from the Treaty of Nanjing, but also added some issues of particular interest to the United States. Unlike Great Britain, the United States agreed that anyone involved in the opium trade or the smuggling of contraband would be prosecuted under Chinese law, but, with that exception, the treaty allowed for other Americans in China to be afforded the benefits of extraterritoriality. Due to the most-favoured-nation clause in all of the western powers' treaties with the Chinese Government, any special consideration given to one power could ultimately be claimed by them all. In the 1850s, the United States and the European powers grew increasingly dissatisfied with both the terms of their treaties with China, and the Qing Government's failure to adhere to them. The British forced the issue by attacking the Chinese port cities of Guangzhou and Tianjin in the Second Opium War (1857–1858). Under the most-favoured-nation clause, all of the foreign powers operating in China were permitted to seek the same concessions of China that Great Britain achieved by force. As a result, France, Russia, and the United States all signed treaties with China at Tianjin in quick succession in 1858.

Source: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1830-1860/china-1>

Popular uprising

The third quarter of the 19th century was marked by a series of uprisings, again as a result of social discontent.

The Taiping Rebellion

In the first half of the 19th century, the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi, the homeland of the Taiping people, had been beset with accelerating social unrest. After the first Opium War, government prestige declined. The Baishangdi Hui (“God Worshippers’ Society”) was founded by Hong Xiuquan, a fanatic who believed himself a son of God, and his protégé, Feng Yunshan, an able organizer. Their followers were collected from among miners, charcoal workers, and poor peasants in central Guangxi, most of whom were Hakka. In January 1851 a new state named Taiping Tianguo (“Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace”) was declared in the district of Guiping in Guangxi, with Hong Xiuquan assuming the title *tianwang* (“heavenly king”). That September the Taiping shifted their base to the city of Yong’an (present-day Mengshan, Guangxi), where they were besieged by the imperial army until April 1852. At that point they broke the siege and rushed into Hunan. Absorbing some secret-society members and outlaws, they dashed to Wuhan, the capital of Hubei, and proceeded along the Yangtze to Nanjing, which they captured in March 1853, renamed Tianjing (“Heavenly Capital”), and made their capital.⁴³

After the Taiping settled in Tianjing (Nanjing), village officials were appointed, and redistribution of farmland was planned in accordance with an idea of primitive communism. In May 1853 the Taiping sent an expedition to northern China, which reached the neighbourhood of Tianjin but finally collapsed during the spring of 1855. The Qing government had no choice but to rely on the local militia forces.

The Taiping were gradually beaten down; with the capture of Anqing, the capital of Anhui, in October 1861 by the Hunan Army. But the fall of Nanjing was accelerated by the cooperation of Chinese mercenaries equipped with Western arms, commanded by an American, Frederick Townsend Ward; a Briton, Charles George Gordon; and others. Nanjing’s fall in July 1864 marked the end of one of the greatest civil wars in world history. Taiping failure was internal strife among the top leaders in Nanjing. Their energy was exhausted and their leadership lost by an internecine conflict that erupted in 1856. The failure of the land-redistribution policy also estranged the landless paupers from the Taiping cause.

The Nian Rebellion

Around first half of the 19th century, plundering gangs called *nian* ravaged northern Anhui, southern Shandong, and southern Henan. From 1856 to 1859 the Nian leaders consolidated their bases north of the Huai River .

⁴³ Kilcourse, Carl S. (2016). *Taiping Theology: The Localization of Christianity in China, 1843–64*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Many influential clans, with all their members, joined the Nian cause. The greater part of the Nian force consisted of poor peasants, although deserters from the government-recruited militias and salt smugglers were important as military experts. The Nian's basic social unit was the earth-wall community, where a powerful master exercised autonomy. In 1856 Zhang Luoxing received the title "lord of the alliance" of the Nian. Imperial pacification was launched by General Senggelinqin, who led a powerful cavalry into the affected area in 1862, but his pursuit was ineffective, and the general himself was killed in Shandong in May 1865. Zeng Guofan succeeded Senggelinqin as general and enforced a policy of detaching the earth-wall masters from their men and of employing the latter as his troops. Finally, Li Hongzhang succeeded Zeng in 1866 and set up encirclement lines along the Huang He and the Grand Canal, using that strategy to destroy the revolts in 1868.⁴⁴



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nian_Rebellion.png

Muslim rebellions

Muslim rebellions in Yunnan and in Shaanxi and Gansu originated from clashes between the Chinese and Muslims in those provinces. Religious antipathy must be taken into account, but more important were social and political factors. In the frontier provinces the late-dynastic confusions were felt as keenly as elsewhere, which aggravated the problems between the Chinese and the Muslims. Yunnan had been haunted by Muslim-Chinese rivalries since 1821, but in Shaanxi small disturbances had been seen as early as the Qianlong reign. Government officials supported the Chinese, and the Muslims were obliged to rise up against both the Chinese and the authorities.

Rivalry between the Chinese and Muslim miners in central Yunnan triggered a severe clash in 1855, which developed into the slaughter of a great many Muslims in and around the provincial capital, Kunming, the following April. This triggered a general uprising of Yunnan Muslims, which lasted until 1873. Lack of a unified policy weakened the Muslims,

⁴⁴ Jonathan D. Spence (1991). *The Search for Modern China*. Norton. pp. 185.

and the rebellion was brought to an end partly through the pacifiers' policy of playing the rebel leaders off against one another.

Another Muslim uprising, in Shaanxi in 1862, promptly spread to Gansu and Xinjiang and lasted for 15 years. The general cause of the trouble was the same as in Yunnan, but the Taiping advance to Shaanxi encouraged the Muslims to rebel. The first stage of the uprising developed in the Wei River valley in Shaanxi; in the next stage the rebels, defeated by the imperial army, fled to Gansu, which became the main theatre of fighting. Encouraged by the Nian invading Shaanxi at the end of 1866, the core of the rebel troops returned to Shaanxi, and sporadic clashes continued in the two provinces. In the last phase, Zuo Zongtang, a former protégé of Zeng Guofan, appeared in Shaanxi with part of the Huai Army and succeeded in pacifying the area in 1873.

There were many independent Muslim leaders in Shaanxi and Gansu at that time, but they had neither a common headquarters nor a unified policy, nor were there any all-out revolutionaries. Pacification was delayed because the imperial camp was preoccupied with the Taiping and the Nian and could not afford the expenditure needed for an expedition to the remote border provinces.⁴⁵

Effects of the rebellions

The Qing authorities had to rely on local armies, financed by the provincial and local gentry class, to combat the large popular uprisings. To meet this need, a special tax on goods in transit—called the *likin* (*lijin*)—was started in 1853, the proceeds of which remained largely outside the control of the central government. The provincial governors-general and governors came to enlarge their military and financial autonomy, bringing about a trend of decentralization. Moreover, the locus of power shifted from the Manchu to those Chinese who had played the main part in putting down the rebellions. The Hunan Army was gradually disbanded after Nanjing had been retaken from the Taiping, but the Huai Army, after its success against the Muslims, served as a strong basis for the political manoeuvres of its leader, Li Hongzhang, until its defeat and collapse in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95.

The rebellions brought immeasurable damage and devastation to China. Both the Taiping and the pacifiers were guilty of brutality and destruction. A contemporary estimate of 20 million to 30 million victims is certainly far less than the real number. In the course of the Taiping Rebellion, the lower Yangtze provinces lost much of their surplus population, but thereafter the region was resettled by immigrants from less-damaged areas. Its ruined industry and agriculture had not fully recovered even by the beginning of the 20th century. The area of the Muslim rebellions too suffered catastrophic devastation and depopulation.

During the first half of the 19th century, a number of natural disasters left large hordes of starving victims who had no choice but to join the Taiping and other rebel groups. The worst calamity, however, was a drought that attacked the northern provinces of Shanxi,

⁴⁵ Jonathan N. Lipman; Jonathan Neaman Lipman; Stevan Harrell (1990). *Violence in China: Essays in Culture and Counterculture*. SUNY Press. pg.76

Shaanxi, and Henan in 1877–78 and caused hardship for perhaps as many as 13 million people. These disasters were a serious setback to China, which had just begun to promote industrialization to meet the Western challenge.⁴⁶

The Self-Strengthening Movement

Upon the Xianfeng emperor's death at Chengde in 1861, his antforeign entourage entered Beijing and seized power, but Cixi, mother of the newly enthroned boy emperor Zaichun (reigned as the Tongzhi emperor, 1861–74/75), and Prince Gong succeeded in crushing their opponents by a coup d'état in October. A new system emerged in which the leadership in Beijing was shared by Cixi and another empress dowager, Ci'an, in the palace and by Prince Gong and Wen Xiang, with the Zongli Yamen as their base of operation. The core of their foreign policy was expressed by Prince Gong as "overt peace with the Western nations in order to gain time for recovering the exhausted power of the state".

Foreign relations in the 1860s

The Zongli Yamen had two offices attached to it: the Inspectorate General of Customs and Tongwen Guan. The former was the centre for the Maritime Custom Service, administered by Western personnel appointed by the Qing. The latter was the language school opened to train the children of bannermen in foreign languages. Similar schools were opened in Shanghai and Guangzhou.⁴⁷

A superintendent of trade for the three northern ports (later known as high commissioner for *beiyang*, or "northern ocean") was established in 1861 at Tianjin, parallel to a similar, existing post at Shanghai (later known as high commissioner for *nanyang*, or "southern ocean").

In 1865–66 the British strongly urged the Qing authorities to make domestic reforms. A roving mission was sent to the United States in 1868, which then proceeded to London and Berlin. This first mission abroad was a success for China, but its very success had an adverse effect on China's modernization by encouraging the conservatives, who learned to regard the Westerners as easy to manipulate.

The treaties signed in 1858 at Tianjin by the Chinese, British, and French included provisions for them to be revised in the year 1868, at which time the Qing were able to negotiate with due preparations and in an atmosphere of peace for the first time since the Opium Wars. The result was the Alcock Convention of 1869, which limited the unilateral most-favoured-nation clause of the original treaty, a sign of gradual improvement in China's foreign relations. The London government refused to ratify it. The resentment engendered by the refusal, together with an anti-Christian riot at Tianjin in 1870, brought an end to the climate of Sino-foreign cooperation that had prevailed in the 1860s.

⁴⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/Popular-uprising>

⁴⁷ Hsu, Immanuel C.Y. (1978). "Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866–1905". In John King Fairbank (ed.). *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge University Press. p. 127

The treaty arrangements made just after the Opium Wars forced China to remove the ban on Christianity, but the Beijing court tried to keep that fact secret and encouraged provincial officials to continue prohibiting the religion. The pseudo-Christian Taiping movement furthered the anti-Christian move on the part of royalists. Under such circumstances, anti-Christian riots spread throughout the country, culminating in the Tianjin Massacre in 1870. At the negotiating table, the French sternly demanded the lives of three responsible Chinese officials as a preventive against further such occurrences, but the Qing negotiators, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, were successful at least in refusing the demanded execution of the three (though several others were put to death). After the incident, however, Zeng was denounced for his infirm stand, and Prince Gong's political influence began to wane in the growing antiforeign climate.⁴⁸

Various interpretations have been given regarding the nature of the anti-Christian movement: some emphasize the anti-foreign Confucian orthodoxy, while others stress the patriotic and nationalistic reaction against the missionaries' attempt to Westernize the Chinese. Christianity sowed dissension and friction in the already disintegrating late Qing society and undermined the prestige of the Qing dynasty and the Confucian orthodoxy.

Industrialization for "self-strengthening"

Stimulated by the military training and techniques exhibited during the Westerners' cooperation against the Taiping and supported by Prince Gong in Beijing, the Self-Strengthening Movement was launched by the anti-Taiping generals Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, and Zuo Zongtang, who sought to consolidate the Qing power by introducing Western technology. The ideological champion of the movement was Feng Guifen, who urged China to "use the barbarians' superior techniques to control the barbarians" and proposed to give the gentry stronger leadership than before in local administration.⁴⁹ In 1842 **Wei Yuan (1794-1856)**, a scholar and adviser to the government, concluded that the West had beset China because of the West's more advanced military technology. He outlined a plan for maritime defence which included building ships, making weapons. In the decades that followed, other scholars went further than Wei, calling not only for the purchase and eventual manufacture of Western arms but also for the establishment of translation offices and institutions where students could study Western languages and mathematics in addition to Chinese classics. This approach came to be known as "self-strengthening".⁵⁰

In the first period of modern industrial development (1861-72), effort was focused on manufacturing firearms and machines, the most important enterprises being the Kiangnan (Jiangnan) Arsenal in Shanghai, the Tianjin Machine Factory, and the Fuzhou Navy Yard; there were many other smaller ones. The shipyard was destroyed in 1884 during the Sino-French War, and the weapons industry was significant for the introduction of Western knowledge and techniques through the many educational facilities that were attached to each installation.

⁴⁸ Hsu, Immanuel C.Y. (1978). "Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905". In John King Fairbank (ed.). *The Cambridge History of China*. Cambridge University Press. p. 127

⁴⁹ Fairbank, John King (1978). *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 2*. Cambridge University Press. pp.156-61.

⁵⁰ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

In the second period (1872–94), weight shifted to field of manufacture, and to a government-supervised and merchant-managed method. Leading among the several enterprises of the second period were the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company and the Kaiping coal mines.⁵¹ Scholars like **Li Hongzhang** in 1872, argued that self-strengthening programs should be widened to include industrial ventures and transport facilities. But for many reasons these projects did not succeed: many of them were not central to the state's concerns, scholars were still bound by the traditional examination system based on the Confucian classics.⁵²

The central government not only was unable to supply capital but also looked for every opportunity to exploit these enterprises. The enterprises inevitably slid into depression after some initial years of apparent success. The compradors (Chinese agents employed by foreign firms in China) lacked technical training and knowledge and often indulged in speculation and embezzlement. These shortcomings were deeply rooted in the late Qing social conditions and more than offset efforts to construct and maintain the new enterprises.⁵³

Changes in outlying areas

With the decline of the Qing power and prestige, beginning in the early 19th century, China's peripheral areas began to free themselves from the Qing influence.

East Turkistan

To the west of Kashgaria in East Turkistan (now in western Xinjiang), a khanate of Khokand emerged after 1760 in the Fergana region and became a powerful caravan trade centre. In 1762 the Qing government countered this by establishing a presence in the Ili (Yili) River region. When Muslim rebellion spread rapidly from Shaanxi and Gansu to East Turkistan, a Tajik adventurer from Khokand, Yakub Beg, seized the opportunity to invade Kashgaria and established power there in 1865; he soon showed signs of advancing to the Ili region in support of the British in India. In Ili, rebel Muslims had set up an independent power at Kuldja (Yining) in 1864, which terrorized the Russian borders in defiance of the Sino-Russian Treaty of Kuldja in 1851. The Russians, therefore, occupied Kuldja in 1871 and remained there for 10 years. Having subdued the Gansu Muslim rebellion in 1873, Zuo Zongtang captured Urumchi (Ürümqi) in August 1876 and restored the whole region northward to the Tien Shan range, except for the Kuldja area, and painstakingly recovered Kashgaria at the end of 1877. Li Hongzhang hoped to regain Ili through negotiation; however, a treaty for the restitution of Ili, signed in October 1879, was extremely disadvantageous to China. The Chinese negotiator Chonghou was sentenced to death; the Russians considered this to be inhuman, and they stiffened their attitude. But the minister to Britain and France, Zeng Jize, son of Zeng Guofan, succeeded in concluding a treaty at St. Petersburg in February 1881 that was more favourable yet still conceded the Russians many privileges in East Turkistan.

⁵¹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/Reformist-and-revolutionist-movements-at-the-end-of-the-dynasty>

⁵² http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

⁵³ Fairbank, John King (1978). *The Cambridge History of China Vol. 2*. Cambridge University Press. pp160-86.

Xinjiang's integration into China

Though at a cost of nearly 58 million taels in expedition and indemnity, the northwest was finally restored to China, and in 1884 a new province, Xinjiang, was established over the area, which had never before been integrated into China.⁵⁴

Tibet under control of Qing

Qing control of Tibet reached its height in 1792, but thereafter China became unable to protect that region from foreign invasion. When an army from northern India invaded western Tibet in 1841, China could not afford to reinforce the Tibetans, who expelled the enemy on their own. China was a mere bystander during a coup d'état in Lhasa in 1844 and could not protect Tibet when it was invaded by Gurkhas in 1855. Tibet thus tended to free itself from Qing control.⁵⁵

Nepal

The border dispute between Nepal and British India, which sharpened after 1801, had caused the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814–16 and brought the Gurkhas under British influence. During the war the Gurkhas sent several missions to China in vain expectation of assistance. When political unrest flared up in Nepal after 1832, an anti-British clique seized power and sought assistance from China to form an anti-British common front with the Qing, then fighting the first Opium War. But this too was rejected. Jung Bahadur, who had become premier of Nepal in 1846, decided on a pro-British policy; his invasion of Tibet in 1855, which took advantage of the Taiping uprising in China, gained Nepal many privileges there. Though Nepal sent quinquennial missions to China until 1906, the Gurkhas did not recognize Chinese suzerainty.⁵⁶

Myanmar (Burma)

In 1867 the British gained the right to station a commercial agent at Bhamo in Myanmar, from which they could explore the Irrawaddy River up to the Yunnan border. A British interpreter accompanying a British exploratory mission to Yunnan was killed by local tribesmen on the Yunnan-Myanmar border in February 1875. The British minister in China, Sir Thomas Francis Wade, seized the opportunity to negotiate the Chefoo Convention with China. Negotiated and signed at the northern Shandong city of Yantai (Chefoo) in 1876, the treaty further extended the British rights by opening more Chinese ports to foreign trade and agreeing to a mission to delineate the Yunnan-Myanmar border, though the London government put off its ratification until 1885. Guo Songtao, appointed chief of a mission of apology to Britain, arrived in London in 1877. He was the first Chinese resident minister abroad, and within two years China opened embassies in five major foreign capitals.

⁵⁴ Wang, Ke (2017). "Between the "Ummah" and "China" : The Qing Dynasty's Rule over Xinjiang Uyghur Society" . *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Kobe University

⁵⁵ Dai, Yingcong (2011). *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing*. University of Washington Press. p. 42

⁵⁶ Mote, F.W. (1999). *Imperial China 900-1800*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. pp. 936–939.

When the last king of Myanmar, Thibaw, tried to join with France and Italy to stave off British pressure, Britain sent an ultimatum in October 1885, seized the capital of Mandalay, and annexed the country in January 1886 under the name Burma. During the final bargaining with the British, Thibaw ignored his tributary relations with the Qing, yet China proposed that the Myanmar royal court be preserved even nominally so that it could send a decennial mission to China. Britain refused, but, in a convention signed in July 1886, it agreed that the new Burmese government should send to China a decennial envoy. This outdated practice, however, was abandoned in 1900.⁵⁷

Vietnam

In 1802 a new dynasty was founded in Vietnam (Dai Viet) by Nguyen Anh, a member of the royal family of Nguyen at Hue who had expelled the short-lived Tay Son regime and had unified the country, taking the dynastic name Gia Long. The Qing, under the Jiaqing emperor, recognized the new dynasty as a *fait accompli*, but a controversy arose as to a name for the new country. Gia Long demanded the name Nam Viet, but the Qing recommended Vietnam, reversing the two syllables. Finally an agreement was reached, and Gia Long became ruler of Vietnam.

Minh Mang, the second Nguyen emperor (reigned 1820–41), vigorously persecuted Christians in Vietnam. France resorted to arms after 1843 and, by the treaty of 1862 signed at Saigon (present-day Ho Chi Minh City), received three eastern provinces of Cochinchina, besides other privileges concerning trade and religion. In time, French attentions were focused on the Tonkin delta region into which the Red River flows, providing easy access to Yunnan. But the region was beset with many disorderly gangs escaped from China, including the Black Flags, who were under the command of Liu Yung-fu, a confederate of the Taiping. After a small French force had occupied some key points in Tongkin in 1873, a treaty was signed at Saigon in March 1874 that stipulated the sovereignty and independence of Vietnam. Though this clause implied that China could not intervene in Vietnamese affairs, the Zongli Yamen failed to file a strong protest. In 1880, however, the Qing claimed a right to protect Vietnam as its vassal state. Against the French occupation of Tongkin in 1882–83 and France's proclamation of protectorate status for Vietnam (under the name of Annam) in the Treaty of Hue of August 1883.

In August 1884, French warships attacked Fuzhou and destroyed the Chinese fleet and dockyard there. Thereafter, however, the French navy and army were stalemated, and an armistice was reached in the spring of 1885. By the subsequent definitive treaty, the French protectorate of Vietnam was recognized, terminating the historical tributary relationship between China and Vietnam. During the crisis the attitude of the Qing headquarters fluctuated between advocating militancy and seeking appeasement.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Lieberman, Victor. "The Qing Dynasty and Its Neighbors: Early Modern China in World History." *Social Science History*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2008, pp. 281–304. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40267971. Accessed 28 Feb. 2020

⁵⁸ Lieberman, Victor. "The Qing Dynasty and Its Neighbours: Early Modern China in World History." *Social Science History*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2008, pp. 281–304. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40267971. Accessed 28Feb. 2020.

Japan and the Ryukyu Islands

Three years after the Meiji Restoration of 1868—which inaugurated a period of modernization and political change in Japan—a commercial treaty was signed between China and Japan, and it was ratified in 1873.

In 1872 the Meiji government conferred on the last king of the Ryukyu Islands, Shō Tai, the title of vassal king and in the following year took over the island's foreign affairs. In reprisal for the massacre of shipwrecked Ryukyuan by Taiwanese tribesmen in 1871, the Tokyo government sent a punitive expedition to Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Japanese sent an envoy to Beijing to discuss the matter, and the Qing agreed to indemnify Japan. In 1877, however, the Ryukyu king asked for Qing intervention to revive his former tributary relations with China; Sino-Japanese negotiations were opened at Tianjin in regard to Ryukyu's position, and an agreement was reached in 1882. However, the Qing refused to ratify it, and the matter was dropped.⁵⁹

Korea and the Sino-Japanese War

In Korea a boy was enthroned as the Chosŏn king Kojong in 1864 . In 1866 the Koreans began a nationwide persecution of Christians and repulsed the French and Americans there. The Qing, although uneasy, did not intervene.

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan made many efforts to open new and direct intercourse with Korea, but the Taewŏn'gun, citing diplomatic slights, managed to rebuff these overtures. The Chosŏn government became more approachable after he stepped down in 1873, and a Japanese envoy began talks at Pusan in 1875. However, the parley was protracted, and Japan impatiently sent warships to Korea; these sailed northward to Kanghwa Bay, where gunfire was exchanged between the Japanese vessels and a Korean island fort. The Treaty of Kanghwa, signed in 1876, defined Korea as an independent state on an equal footing with Japan. Japan sent an envoy, Mori Arinori, to China to report on recent Korean affairs. China insisted that, although Korea was independent.

From that time on, the Qing strove to increase their influence in Korea; they helped open Korea to the United States and supported the efforts of pro-Chinese Koreans for modernization. Taewŏn'gun returned to power. In July 1882 he expelled Kojong's consort, Queen Min, and her clique and burned down the Japanese legation. The Qing dispatched an army to Korea, arrested the Taewŏn'gun, and urged the king to sign a treaty with Japan. Thus, the Qing claim for suzerainty was substantiated. In December 1884 another coup was attempted by a group of pro-Japanese reformists, but it failed because of the Qing military presence in Korea. From these two incidents, Qing political influence and commercial privileges emerged much stronger, though Japan's trade in Korea far surpassed that of China in the late 1880s.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ "Soldiers, Diplomats, and Merchants: Establishing a Qing Presence in Korea." *Tradition, Treaties and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850–1910*, by Kirk W. Larsen, 1st ed., vol. 295, Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge (Massachusetts); London, 2008, pp. 95–127. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1tg5pqx.8. Accessed 15 Mar. 2020

In 1860 a Korean scholar, Ch'oe Che-u, had founded a popular religion called Tonghak ("Eastern Learning"). By 1893 it had turned into a political movement that attracted a vast number of peasants under the banner of antiforeignism and anticorruption. They occupied the southwestern city of Chŏnju in late May 1894. Both China and Japan sent expeditions to Korea, but the two interventionists arrived to find the rebels at Chŏnju already dispersed. To justify its military presence, Japan proposed to China a policy of joint support of Korean reform. When China refused on the ground that this was counter to Korean independence, a clash seemed inevitable. On July 25 the Japanese navy defeated a Chinese fleet in Kanghwa Bay, and on August 1 the two sides declared war on each other. Japan gained victories in every quarter on both land and sea.

During the crisis the Qing power centre was again divided. In February 1895 Li Hongzhang was appointed envoy to Japan; he signed a peace treaty at Shimonoseki on April 17, whose main items were recognition of Korean independence, indemnity of 200 million taels, and the cession of Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaodong Peninsula. Six days later, however, Russia, Germany, and France forced Japan to restore the peninsula; Japan formally relinquished it on May 5, for which China agreed to pay 30 million taels. Gaining China's favour by this intervention, the three powers began to press China with demands, which gave rise to a veritable scramble for concessions.⁶¹

Reform and upheaval

Immediately after the triple intervention, Russia succeeded in 1896 in signing a secret treaty of alliance with China against Japan, by which Russia gained the right to construct the Chinese Eastern Railway across northern Manchuria. In November 1897 the Germans seized Jiaozhou Bay in Shandong and forced China to concede them the right to build two railways in the province. In March 1898 Russia occupied Port Arthur (Lüshun; since 1984 a part of Dalian) and a small fishing village that became Dairen (Dalian; called Lüda in 1950–81) on the Liaodong Peninsula and obtained the lease of the two ports and the right to build a railway connecting them to the Chinese Eastern Railway. Vying with Russia and Germany, Britain leased Weihai in Shandong and the New Territories opposite Hong Kong and forced China to recognize the Yangtze River valley as being under British influence. Following suit, Japan put the province of Fujian under its influence, and France leased Kwangchow (Zhanjiang) Bay, southwest of Hong Kong, and singled out three southwestern provinces for its sphere of influence. Thus, China was placed on the brink of partition, arousing a keen sense of crisis in 1898 in which the Hundred Days of Reform was staged.⁶²

⁶¹ "Soldiers, Diplomats, and Merchants: Establishing a Qing Presence in Korea." *Tradition, Treaties and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850–1910*, by Kirk W. Larsen, 1st ed., vol. 295, Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge (Massachusetts); London, 2008, pp. 95–127. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1tg5pqx.8. Accessed 3 Apr. 2020

⁶² <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/The-Hundred-Days-of-Reform-of-1898>



Map of Hong Kong c. 1900; from the 10th edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*. *Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.*

The Hundred Days of Reform of 1898

After 1895, with the disastrous defeat of China by the Japanese over dominance in Korea and the subsequent "scramble" by foreign powers for Chinese concessions and spheres of influence, the more conciliatory and pragmatic programs of the "self strengtheners" were discredited as fears for China's survival mounted. It was in this period that Chinese nationalism developed, along with urgent appeals to the Qing court for more radical reform. The reform program designed by the scholars **Kang Youwei (1858-1927)**, **Liang Qichao (1873-1929)**, and **Tan Sitong (1865-1898)** had a brief trial in the so-called "Hundred Days of Reform" of 1898.⁶³

In April 1898 the National Protection Society was established in Beijing under the premise of protecting state, nation, and national religion. On June 11, 1898, the emperor began to issue a stream of radical and probably hastily prepared reform decrees that lasted for about 100 days, until September 20. The reform movement produced no practical results, however. Finally, the conservatives were provoked to a sharp reaction when they learned of a reformist plot to remove the archconservative empress dowager Cixi. On September 21 the emperor was detained and the empress dowager took over the administration, putting an end to the reform movement.

The reformist-conservative confrontation overlapped with the rivalry between the Chinese and the Manchu, who considered the Chinese-sponsored reform as

⁶³ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

disadvantageous to them. Among the local movements for reform, that in Hunan was the most active. The Hunan movement was shattered at the end of May 1898. The reform movement had provided much of the substance for the “conservative” imperial reform efforts that the Manchu court undertook after the Boxer episode.

The Boxer Rebellion

The crisis of 1896–98 stirred a furious antforeign uprising in Shandong, aroused by the German advances and encouraged by the provincial governor. It was staged by a band of people called the Yihequan (“Righteous and Harmonious Fists”), who believed that a mysterious boxing art rendered them invulnerable to harm. The group’s origin is generally supposed to have been in the White Lotus sect, though it may have begun as a self-defence organization during the Taiping Rebellion. At first the Boxers (as they were called in the West) directed their wrath against Christian converts. Developing from this anti-Christian hysteria, the Boxer Rebellion grew into a naive but furious attempt to destroy all things foreign, including churches, railways, and mines, which the people blamed for their misery and for the loss of a sacred way of life.

On the part of the Boxers, there emerged sometime in the autumn of 1899 a move to gain access to the court under the slogan “Support for the Qing and extermination of foreigners.” By May 1900 the Qing government had changed its policy and was secretly supporting the Boxers. Cixi inclined toward open war when she became convinced of the dependability of the Boxers’ art. The foreign powers then sent an expedition of some 19,000 troops, which marched to Beijing and seized the city on August 14. Cixi and the emperor fled to Xi’an.⁶⁴

The two governors-general in the south-eastern provinces, Liu Kunyi and Zhang Zhidong, who together with Li Hongzhang at Guangzhou had already disobeyed Beijing’s antforeign decrees, concluded an informal pact with foreign consuls at Shanghai on June 26, to the effect that the governors-general would take charge of the safety of the foreigners under their jurisdiction. At first the pact covered the five provinces in the Yangtze River region, but later it was extended to three coastal provinces. Thus, the foreign operations were restricted to Zhili (present-day Hebei) province, along the northern coast.

The United States, which had announced its commercial Open Door policy in 1899, made a second declaration of the policy in July 1900, this time insisting on the preservation of the territorial and administrative entity of China. With its newly acquired territory in the western Pacific, the United States was determined to preserve its own commercial interests in China by protecting Chinese territorial integrity from the other major powers. This provided a basis for the Anglo-German agreement (October 1900) for preventing further territorial partition, to which Japan and Russia consented. Thus, partition of China was avoided by mutual restraint among the powers.

The final settlement of the disturbance was signed in September 1901. The indemnity amounted to 450 million taels to be paid over 39 years.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Victor Purcell (2010). *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study*. Cambridge UP. p. 125

⁶⁵ Victor Purcell (2010). *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study*. Cambridge UP. p. 125

Reformist and revolutionist movements at the end of the dynasty

It was not until after the Boxer Rebellion defeat in 1900 that wide-ranging reforms in education, military, economics and government were actually implemented.⁶⁶

The reform program after 1901 did begin to address structural reforms, with changes in and the eventual abolition of the examination system, the establishment of more schools throughout the country which were to include Western subjects, support for student study abroad, the establishment of a new national army under a new army ministry, along with a new ministry of commerce, reform of the currency, and the promulgation of a commercial code. In spite of these changes and perhaps because of them, the dynasty collapsed in 1911.⁶⁷

Thinkers such as **Liang Qichao** and **Sun Yatsen (1866-1925)** had already abandoned not only the Manchu dynasty but also the imperial system and had argued for its replacement with a different form of government. Local assemblies had begun to meet in 1909 and the dynasty had worked out a timetable for creating a constitutional monarchy, with a constitution planned for 1912 and a parliament to be convened the following year. Sun went even further and called for a republican revolution. In the tumultuous years that followed, a number of visions for a new China were created by either mixing old and new, or by rejecting Chinese traditional ideas entirely. These efforts informed and fuelled the May Fourth Movement, so named for the popular protests it engendered in China on May 4, 1919. Reform efforts also informed the reorganization of the Guomindang (Kuomintang [KMT]), or Nationalist Party, which nominally reunified the country in 1926-28 and tried to build a modern state, and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, which saw itself as adapting Marxist ideas to Chinese realities.

Being defeated by the Western powers at first they were confused and uncertain. Confucian scholars like **Feng Guifen (Feng Kuei-fen)** wrote the selection on "Western Learning" in the 1860s, when China was defeated a second time by the West and had unequal treaties imposed upon it. Feng argued that China should adopt Western technology while retaining Chinese values. Others, like the writer **Yan Fu (Yen Fu)**, felt that Western technology could not be borrowed without also borrowing Western science and the democratic system of government that fostered science.

In the later-half of the 19th century as China was slowly partitioned into various spheres of influence. The southeast of China was occupied by the French, the northeast by the Germans, the south by the British, the northwest by the Russians, and the north by the Japanese.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the ineffectiveness of reform efforts led them to believe that the traditional system itself was hindering both China's modernization and her ability to deal with the foreigners. The quest for a "new China" began in the 1800s as the Chinese of that period debated how they could borrow from the West and Japan what was useful (*yong*) for economic development or industrialization without losing the

⁶⁶ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

⁶⁷ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

essence (*ti*) of Chinese culture. Feng Guifen argued for adopting Western techniques without altering Chinese "foundations," and Yan Fu argued that this would not be enough.

Liang Qichao (China's first democrat)

Liang Qichao's formative political experiences was his participation in China's first student demonstration, in 1895. But Liang belonged to the first generation of scholars who, instead of going into voluntary exile when their entreaties were rebuffed by the Imperial government, dared to organize a constituency outside of the government to apply political pressure.

Just as intellectuals in the 1980s were debating the causes of China's backwardness and searching for ways to remedy it through "modernization". Liang came to believe that the source of Western wealth and power lay in democracy.⁶⁸

In the aftermath of Qing defeat in the Opium War (1839-1842) and the Arrow War (1856-1859), a number of Qing officials put forth and put into action proposals, meant to increase the empire's military strength by adopting Western military and industrial technology and other Western techniques.⁶⁹

Sun Yatsen

By 1900 the leading revolutionary in China was **Sun Yatsen (1866-1925)**, a man very different from previous Chinese reformers. In 1894 he founded his first revolutionary organization, and by 1905 he was made head of the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui) in Japan by representatives from Chinese secret societies, overseas Chinese groups, and Chinese students abroad.⁷⁰

Founding of the United League

The year 1903 marked a significant turning point in Sun's career; from then on, his following came increasingly from the educated class, the most prestigious and influential group in China. For this decisive change Sun owed much to two factors: the steady decline of the Qing dynasty and the powerful propaganda of Liang Qichao.⁷¹ Liang did not actually oppose the Qing regime, but his attacks on Cixi, the empress dowager, who effectively ruled the country, served to undermine the regime and make revolution the only logical choice. As a consequence, Sun's stock rose steadily among the Chinese students abroad. In 1904 he was able to establish several revolutionary cells in Europe, and in 1905 he became head of a revolutionary coalition, the United League (Tongmenghui), in Tokyo. For the next three years the society propagandized effectively through its mouthpiece, "People's Journal" (*Minbao*).⁷² After sixteen years of traveling,

⁶⁸ Excerpted from Orville Schell, *Discos & Democracy: China in the Throes of Reform* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988; paperback: Anchor Doubleday, 1989). Reprinted with permission.

⁶⁹ *Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present*, by J. Mason Gentzler (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), 70-71. ©

⁷⁰ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

⁷¹ Liang Qichao, a reformist had fled to Japan in 1898, founded a Chinese press, and turned it into an instant success

⁷² Mitter, Rana. "1911: The Unanchored Chinese Revolution." *The China Quarterly*, no. 208, 2011, pp. 1009–

planning, writing and organizing, his dreams were realized when the **revolution of 1911** led to the end of the Qing dynasty.⁷³

The Revolution Of 1911 (Xinhai Revolution)

In 1911 the Qing decided to nationalize all the trunk railways, thus incurring the wrath of local vested interests. Armed rebellion broke out in the province of Sichuan, and the court exposed itself to further attacks by failing to suppress it.⁷⁴ The turning point was the Wuchang uprising on 10 October 1911 (Xinhai Revolution⁷⁵), which was the result of the mishandling of the Railway Protection Movement. The revolution ended with the abdication of the six-year-old Last Emperor, Puyi, on 12 February 1912, that marked the end of 2,000 years of imperial rule and the beginning of China's early republican era.⁷⁶

In December, 1911 Sun Yat-sen was elected provisional president by delegates meeting in Nanjing. Knowing that his regime was weak, he gave up the presidency in favour of General Yuan Shikai, whose death in 1916 led to an era of local warlord rule. Sun died in 1925. His "three principles of revolution" were first articulated for the Revolutionary League and later formed the foundation for the Nationalist (Kuomintang) Party; they included:

1. **Nationalism.** Finding evidence of proto-nationalism throughout Chinese history, Sun believed that he had enlarged and modernized the principle to include opposition to foreign imperialism and a firm sense of China as an equal among the nations of the world. He also addressed the need for self-determination for China's minorities.
2. **Democracy.** Finding important Chinese precedents for the notion of the voice of the people, Sun introduced the new notions of a republican government and a constitution as the best way to articulate and protect people's rights. Sun advocated popular elections, initiative, recall and referendum, but he felt that China was not yet ready for full democracy, requiring instead a preparatory period of political tutelage.
3. **Livelihood.** Sun believed in both economic egalitarianism and economic development. He sketched out a complicated plan to equalize land holdings and ensure that taxation was both widely and fairly implemented. Dedicated to industrialization but concerned about China's difficulty in securing investment capital and also about social unrest, Sun advocated nationalization of key industries as the best way to ensure both economic development and political stability.⁷⁷

1020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41447787. Accessed 26 Mar. 2020.

⁷³ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm

⁷⁴ Mitter, Rana. "1911: The Unanchored Chinese Revolution." *The China Quarterly*, no. 208, 2011, pp. 1009–1020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41447787. Accessed 26 Mar. 2020.

⁷⁵ The revolution was named Xinhai (Hsin-hai) because it occurred in 1911, the year of the Xinhai (辛亥) stem-branch in the sexagenary cycle of the Chinese calendar.

⁷⁶ Li, Xiaobing. (2007). *A History of the Modern Chinese Army*. University Press of Kentucky. pp. 13, 26–27.

⁷⁷ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1750_reform.htm#sun

The early Republican Period

The development of the Republic (1912–20)

In first half of the 20th century, the old order in China gradually disintegrated, and turbulent preparations were made for a new society. Nationalism became the strongest force, and civil wars and Japanese invasion tore the country apart. Although the revolution ushered in a republic, China was not prepared for democracy. A three-way settlement ended the revolution: the Qing dynasty abdicated; Sun Yat-sen relinquished the provisional presidency in favour of Yuan Shikai, regarded as the indispensable man to restore unity; and Yuan promised to establish a republican government. But the revolutionaries had only a minority position in the new national government.

Regrettably, the fruits of the 1911 Revolution were usurped by the warlord Yuan Shikai with the backing of imperialism.

Early power struggles

The first years of the republic were marked by a continuing contest between Yuan and the former revolutionaries. The contest began with the election of parliament (the National Assembly) in February 1913. The Nationalist Party (Kuomintang⁷⁸ or Guomindang), was made up of former revolutionaries and won majority of seats. Parliament was to produce a permanent constitution. Song Jiaoren, the main organizer of the KMT's electoral victory, advocated executive authority in a cabinet responsible to parliament rather than to the president. In March 1913, Song was assassinated; the confession of the assassin implicated the premier and possibly Yuan himself. Yuan, then coerced parliament into electing him formally to the presidency on October 10. By then his government had been recognized by most foreign powers. He dissolved parliament on Jan. 10, 1914, and appointed another body to prepare a constitution according to his own specifications. The presidency had become a dictatorship.⁷⁹

China in World War I

Japanese gains

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Japan joined the side of the Allies and seized the German leasehold around Jiaozhou Bay together with German-owned railways in Shandong. China was not permitted to interfere. On Jan. 18, 1915, the Japanese government presented to Yuan the Twenty-one Demands, which sought in effect to make China a Japanese dependency. On May 7 Japan gave Yuan a 48-hour ultimatum, forcing him to accept the terms.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Also, known as KMT

⁷⁹ Kaiyuan, Zhang. "A General Review of the Study of the Revolution of 1911 in the People's Republic of China." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1980, pp. 525–531. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2054680. Accessed 1 Apr. 2020.

⁸⁰ Xin, Li. "The Project on the History of the Republic of China: A Brief Introduction." *Modern China*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1979, pp. 531–534. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/188845. Accessed 31 Mar. 2020.



Source: https://ww2db.com/image.php?image_id=6730

Yuan's attempts to become Emperor

In the wake of the humiliation of these forced concessions, Yuan launched a movement to revive the monarchy. The public opinion was running strongly against him and opposition came from the leaders of the Nationalist and Progressive parties. Revolutionary generals also established the National Protection Army (Huguojun) and demanded that Yuan cancel his plan. By March the rebellion had assumed serious dimensions against him and military leaders declared the independence of their provinces. President Yuan became gravely ill and died on June 6, 1915. Gen. Li Yuanhong, the vice president, succeeded to the presidency, and Duan Qirui continued as premier.

The period of the Warlords

The succession of Yuan Shikai is signified by several powerful groups of generals called warlords that made alliances or fought against each other. The most powerful person of the first phase was Duan Qirui who installed a new parliament in 1918 and made Xu Shichang president. In a short interlude of 1917 Zhang Xun wanted to reinstall the last emperor of Qing. While most of the warlords reigned over the northern part of China, the forces of the Guomindang were still prevalent in the south. In June 1917 Sun Yat-sen

established a military government in Guangzhou with Tang Jiyao and Lu Rongting their mission being the protection of the constitution. When Lu Rongting seized the power and founded the Guizhou military clique Sun Yat-sen fled to Shanghai. In the north, three other military cliques dominated the political order: Duan Qirui's Anhui Clique, Zhang Zuolin's Fengtian Clique, and Feng Guozhang's Zhili Clique that was taken over in 1919 by Cao Kun, Wu Peifu, and Sun Chuanfang. In 1920 the Anhui Clique that was accused of collaborating with Japan was defeated by Cao Kun and should further play no important role in the question of who reigned the northern capital Beijing. The two other groups, the Zhili and Fengtian Cliques, had two clashes in 1922 and 1924. After the first war in 1922 Zhang Zuolin declared his independence, followed by many military governors of the south that reigned independently from the centre in Beijing that was dominated by Cao Kun's Zhili Clique. After Cao Kun had made the puppet parliament elect him as president in 1924, the governor of Zhejiang, Lu Yongxiang, created an alliance with Zhang Zuolin and Sun Yat-sen. Wu Peifu sent out Sun Chuanfang, governor of Jiangsu, to subdue the rebellion of Lu Yongxiang, and at the same time Zhang Zuolin attacked Beijing with the support of marshal Feng Yuxiang. After the victory of the Fengtian Clique, Duan Qirui was made president and proclaimed a provisional government. He did not install a cabinet but directly controlled the ministries and accepted the Qing time unequal treaties that imposed heavy financial burdens upon the Republican governments, in order to achieve international support.⁸¹

Wartime changes

Although its wartime participation was limited, China made some gains from its entry into the war, taking over the German and Austrian concessions and cancelling the unpaid portions of the Boxer indemnities due its enemies. It was also assured a seat at the peace conference. Japan, however, extended its gains in China. The Beijing government, dominated by Duan after Feng's retirement, granted concessions to Japan for railway building in Shandong, Manchuria, and Mongolia.

An Intellectual revolution

An intellectual revolution took place during the first decade of the republic, referred to as the New Culture Movement. Guided by concepts of individual liberty and equality, scientific inquiry, and a pragmatic approach to the nation's problems, they wanted profound reform of China's institutions than had resulted from self-strengthening or the republican revolution. In September 1915 Chen Duxiu founded Xinqingnian ("New Youth") magazine to oppose Yuan's imperial ambitions and to regenerate the country's youth. This became the most popular reform journal, and in 1917 it began to express the iconoclasm of new faculty members at Peking University.⁸²

⁸¹ <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Rep/rep-event.html>

⁸² <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/Formation-of-a-rival-southern-government>

2.16 New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949)

May Fourth Movement

The CPC grew directly from the May Fourth Movement. Its leaders and early members were professors and students who came to believe that China needed a social revolution and who began to see Soviet Russia as a model.⁸³ The First World War from 1914 to 1918 was a manifestation of the sharpening of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system. This gradually aroused the doubts and criticisms of the left-wingers of the New Culture Movement on the value of Western civilization. It is this suspicion and criticism that has laid a foundation for their future acceptance of Marxism. In 1917, the October Revolution led by Lenin opened a new era in human history. For the first time, the October Revolution transformed socialism from a book-based doctrine into a living reality.⁸⁴

Li Dazhao was the first person in China to praise the October Revolution in Russia. He wrote in 1918 that the October Revolution was "a revolution based on socialism" and "a new dawn for all humanity in the world." He predicted: "Looking at the future world, there must be a world of red flags!" The direct trigger of the May 4th Movement was China's diplomatic failure at the Paris peace conference, patriotic students in Beijing protested the decision at the Paris Peace Conference that Japan should retain defeated Germany's rights and possessions in Shandong . On May 4, 1919, more than 3,000 students from Beijing gathered in front of Tiananmen Square to stage demonstrations and set off a patriotic storm. Under the severe crackdown of the Beiyang warlord government⁸⁵, the storm turned to a low tide. From June 3, students returned to the streets to lecture, and a large number of students were arrested. At this important juncture, the working class began to emerge on the political stage with an independent attitude. Since June 5, Shanghai workers held strikes in support of students, with a participation of 60,000 to 70,000. Subsequently, workers' strikes and businessmen's strikes, spread across the country, expanding to more than 100 cities in more than 20 provinces and cities. The May 4th Movement broke through the narrow scope of young intellectuals and developed into a nationwide mass revolutionary movement with the participation of the working class, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The centre of the movement moved from Beijing to Shanghai, and the main force of the struggle gradually shifted from students to workers.

Under pressure from the people, the Beiyang government had to release the arrested students on June 10 and announce the removal of pro-Japanese bureaucrats. On June 28, the Chinese representative finally did not attend the signing ceremony of the Paris peace

⁸³ Chen, Joseph T. "The May Fourth Movement Redefined." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1970, pp.63-81. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/311753. Accessed 3 Apr. 2020.

⁸⁴ <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64190/65724/4444661.html>

⁸⁵ The Beiyang government refers to the government of the Republic of China which sat in its capital Peking between 1912 and 1928. It was internationally recognized as the legitimate Chinese government. The name derives from the Beiyang Army, which dominated its politics with the rise of Yuan Shikai, who was a general of the Qing dynasty

treaty. The May 4th Movement is a significant event in the history of the Chinese revolution, and it marked the beginning of a new democratic revolution in China.

In the May 4th Movement, young students saw with their own eyes the great power demonstrated by the working class. Some intellectuals with preliminary communist ideology began to "go to the people" to set up schools and organize trade unions among workers. These people later became early backbones of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the spread of Marxism after the May 4th Movement, Li Dazhao played a major role. In 1919, he published the article "My Marxist Outlook" in "New Youth", which introduced a more comprehensive view of Marxist historical materialism, economic theory, and socialist theory. In September 1920, Chen Duxiu published an article "Talking Politics", which clearly announced that he had recognized the use of revolutionary means to build a working class (that is, a productive class) country, indicating that he had transformed from a radical democracy to a Marxist. During his second visit to Beijing, leader of the Hunan Student Movement, Mao Zedong enthusiastically searched for and read Chinese-language communist books, and built his faith in Marxism. Deng Zhongxia, Cai Hesen, Yun Daiying, Qu Qiubai, Zhou Enlai, Zhao Shiyan, Chen Tanqiu, Xiang Jingyu, Gao Junyu, He Mengxiong, Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming, Li Da, Li Hanjun, etc., also became revolutionaries who believed in Marxism. Some members of the Old Alliance such as Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Wu Yuzhang, etc., also began to establish their belief in Marxism at this time. The fact that these advanced elements with different experiences share the same goal showed that the path to identify scientific socialism is a historical choice made by them consciously through repeated comparison in practice.

China's advanced elements accepted Marxism, and from the beginning they did not treat it as a purely academic theory, but used it as a tool to observe the destiny of the country. Guided by the basic principles of Marxism, they actively engaged in the actual struggle, paying attention to the integration with the workers and the masses, and the actual combination with China. This is a characteristic and merit of the Chinese Marxist ideological movement from the beginning.⁸⁶

The establishment of the Communist Party of China and the formulation of a Democratic Revolution program.

The founding of the Communist Party of China was helped by the Third International led by Lenin (the Communist International, founded in March 1919)⁸⁷. In April 1920, with the approval of the Communist International, the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist Party of Russia (Brazil) sent Wei Jingsky and others to China. They met Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu in Beijing and Shanghai, discussed the issue of establishing the Communist Party, and helped to prepare for the establishment of the party.

⁸⁶ <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64190/65724/4444661.html>

⁸⁷ This new revolution was led by the Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CPC). Sun Yat-sen's ideology of the "three principles of the people" envisaged a "tutelage phase" before the introduction of democracy. Accordingly, his party, the Kuomintang (KMT) never considered direct democracy as the first option. While all other Western powers refused to support him, he found help with the new state of the Soviet Union. Communist advisors helped him to transform his party into a profession cadre party, and to found the Whampoa Military Academy, yet at the cost of a political union with the young Communist Party that had been founded in 1921 in Shanghai.

The earliest organization of the Chinese Communist Party was established in Shanghai. In August 1920, the Shanghai Communist Party organization was formally established, and Chen Duxiu served as secretary. It served as the party's sponsoring group and contact centre throughout the country. In October, the Communist Party of Beijing was established with Li Dazhao as its secretary. From the autumn of 1920 to the spring of 1921, local organizations of the Communist Party were established in Wuhan, Changsha, Jinan, and Guangzhou. In Europe and Japan, advanced elements among Chinese students and diasporas had also established Communist Party organizations.

After the establishment of the early Communist Party organizations in various places, they mainly carried out several aspects of activities: First, propagating Marxism, organizing progressive youth to learn Marxism, and studying practical problems in China. The second was to argue with anti-Marxist ideological trends, to help a group of progressives draw a line between scientific socialism and other socialist factions, and finally embark on the road of Marxism. Third, through the work of propaganda and organization of trade unions among workers, the workers began to receive Marxist education, and class awareness was improved. The fourth, was to establish youth league organizations, organize members to learn Marxism, participate in actual struggles, and cultivate reserve forces for the party.

On July 23, 1921, the first National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Shanghai. The last day of the meeting was transferred to Nanxing, Jiaxing, Zhejiang. Representatives from various places participating in the meeting were: Li Da, Li Hanjun (Shanghai), Zhang Guozhen, Liu Renjing (Beijing), Mao Zedong, He Shuheng (Changsha), Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu (Wuhan), Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming (Jinan), Chen Gongbo (Guangzhou), Zhou Fohai (Travel Japan). Monk Bao Hui was dispatched by Chen Duxiu in Guangzhou and also attended the meeting. They represented more than 50 party members across the country. The representatives of the Comintern⁸⁸, Marin and Nikolski attended the meeting.

The name of the party was determined by the congress as "Chinese Communist Party." The party's program was "the revolutionary army must work with the proletariat to overthrow the capitalist class's power", "recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat until the end of the class struggle", "eliminate capitalist private ownership", and unite the Third International. The conference discussed the actual work plan and decided to focus on leading the workers' movement, organizing unions and educating workers. The party's leading body, the Central Bureau, was elected by the congress, with Chen Duxiu as the secretary, and Li Da and Zhang Guozhen in charge of the propaganda and organization.

The founding of the Communist Party of China adapted to the objective requirements of social progress and revolutionary development since modern times, and was a major event of a ground-breaking nature. As the party of China's most advanced class working class, the Communist Party of China not only represented the interests of the working

⁸⁸ The Communist International (Comintern), known also as the Third International (1919–1943), was an international organization that advocated world communism.

class, but also the interests of the entire Chinese nation. In January 1922, the Chinese Communist Party sent representatives to the 1st Congress of the Communist International and the National Revolutionary Groups of the Far East held in Moscow by the Communist International. According to Lenin's theory on ethnic and colonial issues, the conference stated that China "the first thing to do now was to liberate China from the yoke of foreign countries and push down the oversight forces" to establish a democratic republic. This directly assisted the party in formulating the revolutionary program of the time.

From July 16 to 23, 1922, the 2nd National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Shanghai. The conference's analysis of China's economic and political situation revealed the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Chinese society, and pointed out that the party's highest program was to achieve socialism and communism, but at this stage, the minimum program was: overthrowing warlords; overthrowing the international empire, the oppression of doctrine; unify China as a true democratic republic. In this way, the 2nd National Congress for the first time presented a clear anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution program before the people of the country.

The resolution passed by the 2nd National Congress of the Communist Party of China puts forward the task of building the party into a revolutionary mass proletarian party. The 2nd Congress also passed a resolution confirming that the Communist Party of China was a branch of the Communist International. The second election elected a central executive committee consisting of five members and three alternate members including Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guozhen, Cai Hesen, Gao Junyu, Deng Zhongxia. The Central Executive Committee elected Chen Duxiu as its chairman.

The party-led workers' struggles during this period provided important lessons. First, the enemies of the Chinese revolution were extremely powerful. In order to defeat powerful enemies, it was not enough to fight by the working class alone. All possible allies must be won. Second, in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, workers did not have at least democratic rights, and almost all larger workers' struggles were suppressed by reactionary military police. Therefore, there was no revolutionary armed struggle, and only relying on strikes or other legitimate struggle, no way. It was with these experiences and lessons that the Chinese Communists entered the period of the Great Revolution based on the cooperation between the KMT and the Communist Party.⁸⁹

The first Kuomintang-Communist Cooperation and the rise of the Great Revolution.

In 1924 to 1927, a revolutionary movement aimed at overthrowing the forces of imperialism in China and the Northern Warlords seemed to roll across the Chinese land known as the "Great Revolution" or "National Revolution." The party recognized the importance of forming the broadest united front and decided to take positive steps to unite the Chinese Kuomintang led by Sun Yat-sen. At this time, the Communist International Executive Committee's resolution on the relationship between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang made in January 1923 on the proposal of

⁸⁹ <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64190/65724/4444662.html>

Marin was passed to China, which played a positive role in promoting cooperation between the KMT and the Communist Party.

The Kuomintang at this time was generally a party representing the national bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie. But it had several advantages that cannot be ignored: First, its leader Sun Yat-sen was the founder of the Republic of China in the eyes of the people, and the Kuomintang he led was prestigious in society. The second advantage was to build a base in southern China that could accommodate various revolutionary forces, with an army of tens of thousands. Third, after many setbacks, Sun Yat-sen deeply felt that the revolution under his leadership must be changed. He sincerely welcomed the members of the Communist Party to cooperate with him and the Soviet Union to assist the Chinese revolution. Therefore, when the Chinese Communist Party was preparing to establish a united front, cooperation with the Kuomintang was first carefully chosen.

In this case, the Communist Party of China held the 3rd National Congress in Guangzhou from June 12 to 20, 1923. The conference correctly estimated the revolutionary positions of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang, and decided that Communist Party members would join the Kuomintang in their personal capacity and realize Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. The 3rd Congress also clearly stipulated that when Communist Party members join the Kuomintang, the party must maintain its independence politically, ideologically and organizationally.

The three major elections elected a new Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee elected Chen Duxiu, Cai Hesen, Tan Pingshan, Mao Zedong, and Luo Zhanglong to form the Central Bureau, and elected Chen Duxiu as its chairman.

After the three major congresses, the pace of KMT-CPC cooperation accelerated greatly. In early October 1923, at the invitation of Sun Yat-sen, Soviet representative Borodin arrived in Guangzhou and was soon hired as a political adviser. The KMT reorganization soon entered into the implementation phase.

From January 20 to 30, 1924, the 1st National Congress of the Kuomintang was hosted by Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou. Li Dazhao was appointed by the Sun Yat-sen as a member of the presidium of the conference. The declaration adopted by the conference made a new interpretation of Sun Yat-sen's 'Three People's Principles'. 'Nationalism' highlighted the content of opposing imperialism; 'civil rights' emphasized that democracy should be "shared by ordinary people"; 'people's livelihood' regarded the two principles of "equal land rights" and "restricted capital". This political platform of the New Three People's Principles was basically consistent with the program of the Communist Party of China in the stage of democratic revolution, thus becoming the political foundation of the first Kuomintang-Communist cooperation.

The Kuomintang Party, in fact, established the three revolutionary policies of United Russia, United Communist Party, and assistance to agricultural workers. The General Assembly elected the KMT Central Executive Committee. Ten members including party members Li Dazhao, Tan Pingshan, Mao Zedong, Lin Boqu, and Qu Qiubai were elected as members or alternate members of the Central Executive Committee, accounting for about a quarter of the total.

The great success of the Kuomintang marked the first formal cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. After the realization of this cooperation, with Guangzhou as the centre, the revolutionary forces of the country were brought together, and a new situation of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution was created. The realization of the KMT-CCP cooperation promoted the recovery and development of the workers-peasants movement.

At the suggestion of the Communists, the Kuomintang decided to establish an army officer school (located in Huangpu near Guangzhou, commonly known as Huangpu Military Academy). In May 1924, the Huangpu Military Academy opened, and Sun Yat-sen was the prime minister. Chiang Kai-shek was the principal and Liao Zhongkai was the party's representative. In November, Zhou Enlai (Chairman of the Guangdong District Committee of the Communist Party of China), who returned from his trip to France, became the director of the Political Department of the military academy and carried out fruitful political work. The Communist Party of China selected parties, league members and revolutionary youth from various places to study at Huangpu Military Academy.

With the joint efforts of the Kuomintang and Communist Party, the ideas of the National Revolution spread from south to north and spread widely on an unprecedented scale across the country. In October 1924, Feng Yuxiang, a general with progressive thinking, launched a coup and overthrew the Beijing government controlled by the direct warlords. He temporarily controlled the Beijing and Tianjin areas and adapted the headquarters to the National Army. He telegraphed Sun Yat-sen to go north to "communicate the country". In November, Sun Zhongshan left Guangzhou and headed north to promote the idea of convening a national conference and abolishing the unequal treaties along the way, forming an extensive political propaganda campaign.

At the same time as a revolutionary torrent rushed towards imperialism and warlord forces on the Chinese land, a counter-revolutionary counter current gradually emerged. The left and right within the Kuomintang further divided, and the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party gradually became more complicated.

From January 11 to 22, 1925, the 4th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Shanghai. The historical merit of this conference summarized the experience and lessons of the KMT-CPC cooperation over the past year, put forward the issue of the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution and the issue of the workers-peasants alliance, and made relatively complete provisions on the content of the democratic revolution.

Less than two months after the end of the Party's 4th National Congress, on March 12, Sun Yat-sen died in Beijing, causing great grief for the people across the country. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party organized people's mourning activities to widely disseminate Sun Yat-sen's will and revolutionary spirit, forming a magnificent revolutionary propaganda event. The voice of the National Revolution grew even higher throughout the country.

The climax of the nationwide revolution began with the May 30 Movement in 1925. On May 15, Gu Zhenghong (member of the Communist Party), a worker at the Shanghai Seventh Cotton Factory, was shot dead by Japanese capitalists. On May 28, the CPC

Central Committee decided to hold a large-scale anti-imperialist demonstration in the concession on the 30th. On May 30th, Shanghai workers and students held street propaganda and demonstrations. British convoys in the concession suddenly shot on Nanjing Road, killing 13 people and injuring countless others. In the following days, incidents in which British and Japanese military police shot and killed Chinese people continued in Shanghai and elsewhere. These incidents aroused great anger of the people across the country, and formed a protest movement of strikes by workers, students, and businessmen. About 17 million people across the country directly participated in the movement. The roar of "overthrowing imperialism" and "abolishing the unequal treaties" was everywhere.

The news of the May 30 tragedy spread to the south, and a massive provincial and port strike with 250,000 people participated. The strike at the Provincial and Hong Kong Port persisted for 16 months. Organized strike workers became powerful pillar of the Guangzhou revolutionary government. At the 2nd Plenary Session of the 2nd KMT Central Committee held on May 15, Chiang Kai-shek proposed the so-called "Reorganization of Party Affairs Resolution". The Communist Party Central Committee's compromised and concession passed the resolution. Communists who served as Kuomintang's central ministers resigned, but Chiang Kai-shek became the Kuomintang's central organization minister and military minister. He later became chairman of the Kuomintang's central standing committee and commander of the National Revolutionary Army. After the Zhongshan ship incident, Chiang Kai-shek's stance further shifted to the landlord and bourgeoisie.

The victory of the Northern Expedition and the defeat of the Great Revolution.

The direct target of the Northern Expedition was the Northern Warlords supported by imperialism. There were mainly three factions of Wu Peifu, Sun Chuanfang and Zhang Zuolin, with a strength of 700,000. The National Revolutionary Army, on the advice of the Soviet military adviser headed by Galen, formulated a strategic policy of concentrating forces and annihilating the enemy.

In May 1926, the vanguard of the National Revolutionary Army sent troops to Hunan. On July 9, the Northern Expedition was officially launched. By the end of 1926, the National Revolutionary Army had controlled southern provinces except Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. Feng Yuxiang's National Army coalition had also taken control of the north-western region, preparing to go east to Tongguan in response to the Northern Expedition. The overall victory of the Northern Expedition was set.

In the process of the Northern Expedition, although there were contradictions between the KMT and the Communist Party, they were basically united, and they were still able to focus their efforts on confronting the enemy. The Northern Expeditionary Forces had direct support from the vast number of workers, farmers, and other revolutionary people. In addition, the help of Soviet military advisers and the material assistance provided by the Soviet Union also played an important role in the victory of the Northern Expedition. In October 1926 and February 1927, although the armed uprisings launched by Shanghai workers failed twice. The mass anti-imperialist struggle flourished, pushing the National Government to withdraw the British concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang.

The victory of the Northern Expedition and the upsurge of the workers and peasants movement failed to contain the crisis within the revolutionary camp. Chiang Kai-shek further tightened control of the army and the regime, and its strength expanded rapidly. The imperialist powers determined that the forces represented by Chiang Kai-shek and others were also anti-Communist forces and began to draw on them. Many troops originally belonging to the Beiyang warlords or local warlords accepted the adaptation of Chiang Kai-shek, and a group of politicians and bureaucrats also turned to Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek proposed to relocate the KMT Central and National Government to Nanjing, the headquarters of the Northern Expeditionary Forces, so as to be placed under his direct control. The CPC Central Committee ignored the struggle for the army and focused unilaterally on the popular movement. As a result, when Chiang Kai-shek launched a surprise attack, not only was the CPC Central Committee mentally unprepared, it was also difficult to organize a strong resistance in terms of actual power comparison.

Facing the serious situation that the revolutionary camp may split at any time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a special meeting on December 13, 1926. Chen Duxiu proposed to prevent both the "rightward" of the "military regime" and the "leftward" of the popular movement. It decided to adopt a policy of negative repression against the mass movement, with extremely serious consequences. Mao Zedong conducted a 32-day inspection of the Hunan Peasant Movement in early 1927. He sharply refuted all censures against the peasant movement inside and outside the party, and expounded the great significance of the rural revolution. Qu Qiubai and others also made a systematic criticism of right-tilt errors.

On March 21, 1927, when the Northern Expeditionary Forces advanced to the outskirts of Shanghai, Shanghai workers launched a general strike under the leadership of a special committee composed of Chen Duxiu, Luo Yinong, Zhou Enlai, Zhao Shiyan, and Wang Shouhua, and then turned into an armed uprising. It occupied Shanghai's areas other than the Concession and set up a temporary municipal government in Shanghai. The victory demonstrated the strength of the Chinese working class.

Following the third armed uprising of Shanghai workers, the Northern Expeditionary Army in the southern suburbs of Shanghai marched into the urban area. On March 24, the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied Nanjing. On the afternoon of the same day, British and US warships cruising along the Yangtze River shelled Nanjing, caused serious casualties to the Chinese military and civilians. After the Nanjing incident, Chiang Kai-shek accelerated the pace of collusion with imperialists to implement anti-communism. In early April, Chiang Kai-shek and others held a secret meeting in Shanghai and decided to implement the "Qing Party" by violent means.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Shanghai District Party Committee of the Communist Party of China were aware of Jieshi's conspiracy. The Communist International still had expectations for Chiang Kai-shek and disapproved of breaking with Chiang. Chen Duxiu and Wang Jingwei, who had just returned from overseas, issued a joint declaration on April 5 stating that "KMT leaders will expel the Communist Party and oppress unions and workers' pickets" as "rumours" and demanded

"not to hear any rumours". The publication of Wang Chen's declaration made some Communists relax their vigilance and mistakenly assumed that the situation had eased.

On April 12, Chiang Kai-shek launched a counter-revolutionary coup, also known commonly in China as the April 12 Purge or April 12 Incident, was the violent suppression of Communist Party of China (CPC) organizations in Shanghai by the military forces of Chiang Kai-shek and conservative factions in the Kuomintang.⁹⁰ In the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi, they successively massacred Communists under the name of "Qing Party". The northern warlord Zhang Zuolin also killed a large number of Communists and revolutionary masses. After the April 12 counter-revolutionary coup, the domestic political situation reversed.

The purge led to an open split between left and right wing factions in the KMT. In addition to the Beijing government headed by Zhang Zuolin, Chiang Kai-shek established himself as the leader of the right wing faction, set up another "National Government" in Nanjing on April 18 in opposition to the original left-wing KMT government based in Wuhan led by Wang Jingwei. This led to a confrontation between the three regimes in Beijing, Nanjing and Wuhan. At this time, the Wuhan government was basically a revolutionary government with direct jurisdiction over the three provinces of Hubei, Hunan, and Jiangxi. After the CPC Central Committee moved to Wuhan, it continued to cooperate with the Kuomintang in Wuhan. At the juncture of the revolution, the 5th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Wuhan from April 27 to May 9, 1927. The failure of the conference to make a correct analysis of the various factions of the Wuhan government led to a right-to-relocate policy of the Wang Jingwei faction, and failed to point the way for the whole party at the critical moment .

For the first time, the party's five largest parties elected the Central Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The Central Committee elected the Politburo of the Central Committee, and elected Chen Duxiu, Zhang Guozhang, Cai Hesen to form the Standing Committee of the Politburo, with Chen Duxiu as general secretary. The crisis in the area under the Wuhan government became more serious, and anti-communist incidents continued to occur. In mid-July, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China implemented a reorganization. The five members of Zhang Guozheng, Li Weihan, Zhou Enlai, Li Lisan, and Zhang Tailei formed the Standing Committee of the Central Political Bureau. On July 13, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a statement strongly condemning the Wuhan Nationalist Party 's Central Committee and the Nationalist Government for preparing a coup in public and deciding to withdraw its members from the Nationalist Government. Revolutionaries within the Kuomintang continue to cooperate.

On July 15 1927, Wang Jingwei convened an enlarged meeting of the KMT Central Standing Committee, officially breaking with the Communist Party.⁹¹ The left wing faction of KMT was in turn toppled by Chiang Kai-shek. The KMT resumed its campaign against warlords and captured Beijing in June 1928.⁹² For the remainder of 1927, the CPC launched several uprisings in an attempt to regain their previous power, marking the beginning of the ten-year armed struggle, known in mainland China as the "Ten-Year Civil

⁹⁰ Wilbur, C. Martin. *The Nationalist Revolution in China, 1923-1928*. Cambridge, UP, 1984, I-Iv Print.

⁹¹ <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64190/65724/4444664.html>

⁹² Guo, Xuezhong. (2002). *The Ideal Chinese Political Leader: A Historical and Cultural Perspective*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

War". With the failure of the Guangzhou Uprising however, the Communist Party was largely diminished in their influence, unable to launch another major urban offensive.⁹³ During the so-called Nanking decade (from 1927 to 1937) Chiang Kai-shek refused any reforms and instead suppressed opposition, and decided to exterminate the Communist Party. Being driven out of Shanghai, the Communists founded soviets in the rural areas of the province of Jiangxi. They survived several extinction campaigns and in 1936 escaped in the so-called Long March, which ended in the "liberated zone" in Yan'an, Shaanxi. During the Long March, party member Mao Zedong became the undisputed leader of the Communist Party.⁹⁴

The Long March

In 1934, the Communists left their base in southeast China, where they had been more easily attacked by the Nationalists, and wound their way over 6,000 miles to the north on their Long March.⁹⁵ There was not one Long March, but a series of marches, as various Communist armies in the south escaped to the north and west. The First Front Army of the Chinese Soviet Republic, led by an inexperienced military commission, was on the brink of annihilation by Chiang Kai-shek's troops in their stronghold in Jiangxi province. The Communists, under the eventual command of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, escaped in a circling retreat to the west and north, which reportedly traversed over 9,000 kilometres over 370 days. The route passed through some of the most difficult terrain of western China by traveling west, then north, to Shaanxi.⁹⁶

"The Long March": A Poem by Mao Zedong

The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March
And thinks nothing of a thousand mountains and rivers.
The Wuling Ridges spread out like ripples;
The Wumeng Ranges roll like balls of clay.
Warmly are the cliffs wrapped in clouds washed by the Gold Sand;
Chilly are the iron chains lying across the width of the Great Ferry.
A thousand acres of snow on the Min Mountain delight
My troops who have just left them behind.

— Mao Zedong, September 1935

From David L. Weitzman, *Mao Tse-tung and The Chinese Revolution*

⁹³ Wilbur, C. Martin. *The Nationalist Revolution in China, 1923–1928*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984. I-Iv. Print.

⁹⁴ "Toward the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party." *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party*, by Ishikawa Yoshihiro and Joshua A. Fogel, Columbia University Press, New York, 2013, pp. 151–226. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/ishi15808.8. Accessed 26 Mar. 2020.

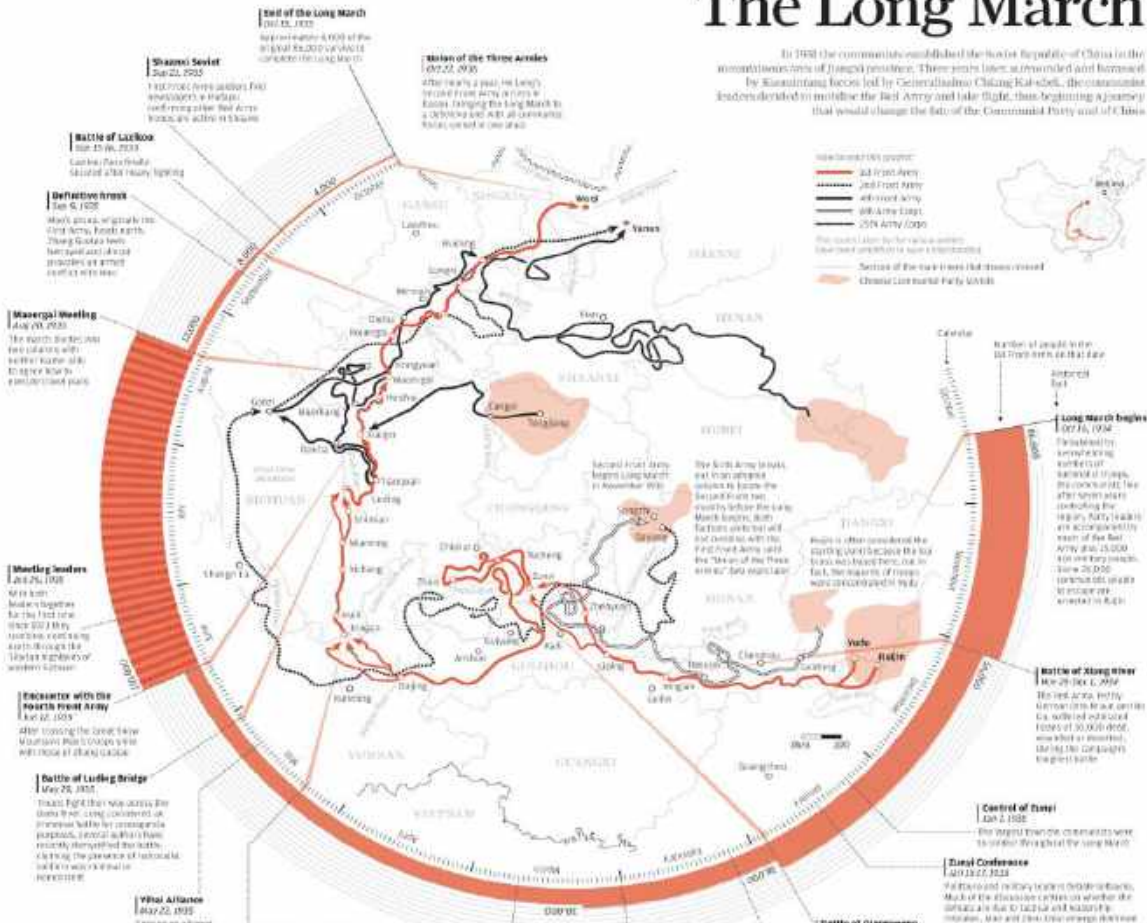
⁹⁵ http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1900_mao_march.htm

⁹⁶ Zhang, Chunhou. Vaughan, C. Edwin. (2002). *Mao Zedong as Poet and Revolutionary Leader: Social and Historical Perspectives*. Lexington books. pg. 65



The Long March

In 1931 the communists established the Soviet Republic of China in the mountainous area of Jiangxi province. Three years later, surrounded and forced from the mountains by Nationalist forces led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the communists decided to withdraw the Red Army and take flight, thus beginning a journey that would change the fate of the Communist Party and of China.



Mao Zedong
Chairman of the Communist Party

Zhu De
Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army

Chiang Kai-shek
Chairman of the Nationalist Government

Gu Guohua
Chairman of the Nationalist Government

Mao Zedong
Chairman of the Communist Party



Source: <https://www.scmp.com/sites/default/files/2014/10/28/longmarch-graphic.png>

The late Republican Period

The war against Japan (1937–45)

After 1931, Japan stepped up its aggression against China. This triggered off the Anti-Japanese War six years later. During the first year of the undeclared war, Japan won victory against Chinese resistance. By late December, Shanghai and Nanjing had fallen, the latter city being the site of the infamous Nanjing Massacre (December 1937–January 1938) perpetrated by Japanese troops. For the second time the Communist Party and **the Kuomintang Party** entered into cooperation-this time to fight the Japanese invaders.⁹⁷ The war dragged on for eight years until Japan surrendered in August 1945.⁹⁸

Civil War (1945–49)

For the Allies and for Japan itself, the Japanese surrender in August 1945 signalled the arrival of peace. For China, it marked the resumption of the civil war between Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, or KMT) and Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The conflict began with deployments and military clashes as each side tried to position itself to control North China and Northeast China (Manchuria). The military struggle took place in the context of an international diplomatic contest in which the Soviet Union and the United States each tried to advance their interests in China while avoiding any military involvement themselves. While the Soviets and the Americans each offered limited military assistance to their Chinese protégés, they also pushed them into negotiations, first at Chongqing from August to October 1945, and then from December 1945 through January 1947, in Chongqing and in Nanjing under the auspices of General George Marshall. Both the Communist and the Nationalist leaders engaged in "talking while fighting," trying to use the dynamic relationship between negotiations and combat in order to maximize gains both at the negotiating table and on the battlefield. By the summer of 1946, it was evident that the negotiations had failed and that the contest between the two parties would be settled by force. While General Marshall continued his efforts at negotiation until January 1947, full-scale civil war broke out, first in China south of the Great Wall, and then with a resumption of hostilities in the Northeast. The military conflict was accompanied by severe economic problems and by intense internal social and political struggles, both in the rural areas and in the cities. The military situation developed rapidly. In the autumn and winter of 1948–1949, the Communists, no longer simple guerrilla forces, defeated Chiang's armies in three major campaigns: the Liao-Shen, Ping-Jin, and Huai-Hai campaigns. By the end of 1949, Chiang was forced to withdraw to Taiwan.⁹⁹ With Chiang defeated, and the Kuomintang regime was toppled in

⁹⁷ A political crisis took place in Xi'an, Republic of China in 1936. Chiang Kai-shek was detained by his subordinates, Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, in order to force the ruling KMT to change its policies regarding the Empire of Japan and the CPC. It came to be known as the X'ian Incident. Prior to the incident, Chiang Kai-shek focused on fighting Communists within China rather than the external threat of the Japanese. After the incident, Chiang aligned with the Communists against the Japanese.

⁹⁸ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

⁹⁹ Pepper, Suzanne. "The Student Movement and the Chinese Civil War, 1945-49." *The China Quarterly*, no. 48, 1971, pp. 698–735. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/652350. Accessed 3 Apr. 2020.

1949. Chiang fled to Taiwan Island with his remnant troops. On Oct. 1, 1949 the People's Republic of China was proclaimed with Mao Zedong as chairman.¹⁰⁰

2.17 The People's Republic of China (1949-)

Socialist transformation under Mao Zedong (1949-1976)

From the inception of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to 1956, the new socialist consultative democracy¹⁰¹, rapidly rehabilitated the country's economy. In the first three years of the People's Republic, established people's governments at all levels throughout the country, confiscated bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and transformed them into state-owned socialist enterprises, unified the country's financial and economic work, stabilized commodity prices, carried out agrarian reform in the new liberated areas, suppressed counter-revolutionaries and unfolded the movements against the "three evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucracy and against the "five evils" of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property.

On the proposal of Mao Zedong in 1952, the Central Committee of the Party advanced the general line for the transition period, which was to realize the country's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce step by step over a fairly long period of time.

Mao's first goal was a total overhaul of the land ownership system, and extensive land reforms. China's old system of gentry landlord ownership of farmland and tenant peasants was replaced with a distribution system in favour of poor/landless peasants which significantly reduced economic inequality. Over a million landlords were executed.¹⁰² In Zhangzhuangcun, in the more thoroughly reformed north of the country, most "landlords" and "rich peasants" had lost all their land and often their lives or had fled. All formerly landless workers had received land, which eliminated this category altogether. As a result, "middling peasants," who now accounted for 90 percent of the village population, owned 90.8 percent of the land.¹⁰³

By 1956, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had been largely completed in most regions. But there had been shortcomings and errors. From the summer of 1955 onwards, the Party was overhasty in pressing on with agricultural co-operation and the transformation of private handicraft and commercial establishments; it was far from meticulous, the changes were too fast, and it did its work

¹⁰⁰ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹⁰¹ Consultative democracy was created by the CPC and the Chinese people as a form of socialist democracy. Not only representing a commitment to socialism, it carries forward China's fine political and cultural traditions. Not only representing a commitment to the organizational principles and leadership mode of democratic centralism, it also affirms the role of the general public in a democracy. Consultative democracy guarantees widespread and effective participation in politics through consultations carried out by political parties, peoples congresses, government departments, CPPCC committees, peoples organizations, communities, and social organizations.

¹⁰² Stephen Rosskamm Shalom. *Deaths in China Due to Communism*. Centre for Asian Studies Arizona State University, 1984. pg. 24

¹⁰³ Scheidel, Walter. 2017. *The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-First Century*.

in a somewhat summary, stereotyped manner, leaving open a number of questions for a long time. Following the basic completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in 1956, China failed to do a proper job in employing and handling some of the former industrialists and businessmen. But on the whole, it was a social change in so vast a country with its several hundred million people, a change, moreover, which promoted the growth of industry, agriculture and the economy as a whole.

The 1st National People's Congress was convened in September 1954, and it enacted the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In March 1955, a national conference of the Party reviewed the plots of the careerists Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the Party. In January 1956, the Central Committee of the Party called a conference on the question of the intellectuals. Subsequently, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was advanced. The cadres, masses, youth and intellectuals earnestly studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and participated enthusiastically in revolutionary and construction activities under the leadership of the Party.¹⁰⁴

The 8th National Congress of the Party which was held in September 1956. The congress declared that the socialist system had been basically established in China; that while the country must strive to liberate Taiwan, thoroughly complete socialist transformation, ultimately eliminate the system of exploitation and continue to wipe out the remnant forces of counter-revolution, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of the economy and culture which fell short of the needs of the people; that the chief task confronting the whole nation was to concentrate all efforts on developing the productive forces, industrializing the country and gradually meeting the people's incessantly growing material and cultural needs; and that although class struggle still existed and the people's democratic dictatorship had to be further strengthened, the basic task of the dictatorship was now to protect and develop the productive forces in the context of the new relations of production. The congress adhered to the principle put forward by the Central Committee of the Party in May 1956, the principle of opposing both conservatism and rash advance in economic construction. It emphasized the problem of the building of the Party in office and the need to uphold democratic centralism and collective leadership, oppose the personality cult, promote democracy within the Party and among the people and strengthen the Party's ties with the masses. The line laid down by the 8th National Congress of the Party was correct and it charted the path for the development of the cause of socialism and for Party building in the new period.

In the 10 years preceding the "cultural revolution" in China, by 1966, the value of fixed industrial assets, calculated on the basis of their original price, was 4 times greater than in 1956. The output of such major industrial products as cotton yarn, coal, electricity, crude oil, steel and mechanical equipment all recorded impressive increases. Beginning in 1965, China became self-sufficient in petroleum. Both the number of tractors for farming and the quantity of chemical fertilizers applied increased over 7 times and rural consumption of electricity 71 times. The number of graduates from institutions of higher

¹⁰⁴ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

education was 4.9 times that of the previous seven years. Educational work was improved markedly through consolidation. Scientific research and technological work, too, produced notable results.

In the 10 years from 1956 to 1966, the Party had experience in leading socialist construction. In the spring of 1957, Mao Zedong called for the creation of "a political situation in which the Party members have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness". In 1958,¹⁰⁵ he proposed that the focus of Party and government work be shifted to technical revolution and socialist construction. In line adopted by the 8th National Congress of the Party.¹⁰⁶ The Congress of 1958 called for a bold form of ideological leadership that could unleash a "leap forward" in technical innovation and economic output. To link the new generalist leaders and the masses, emphasis fell on sending cadres to the lower levels (xiafang) for first-hand experience and manual labour and for practical political indoctrination.¹⁰⁷ While leading the work of correcting the errors in the "great leap forward" and the movement to organize people's communes, Mao Zedong pointed out that there must be no expropriation of the peasants; that a given stage of social development should not be skipped; that egalitarianism must be opposed; that the country must stress commodity production, observe the law of value and strike an overall balance in economic planning; and that economic plans must be arranged with the priority proceeding from agriculture to light industry and then to heavy industry.

The Great Leap Forward

Mao took on the ambitious project of the Great Leap Forward in 1958, beginning an unprecedented process of collectivization in rural areas. Mao urged the use of communally organized iron smelters to increase steel production, pulling workers off of agricultural labour to the point that large amounts of crops rotted unharvested. Mao decided to continue to advocate these smelters despite a visit to a factory steel mill which proved to him that high quality steel could only be produced in a factory.¹⁰⁸ He thought that ending the program would dampen peasant enthusiasm for his political mobilization,¹⁰⁹ the Great Leap Forward¹¹⁰.

However, Liu Shaoqi said that a variety of means of production could be put into circulation as commodities and that there should be a double-track system¹¹¹ for labour

¹⁰⁵ The general line of socialist construction and the Great Leap Forward were announced at the second session of the Eighth Party Congress (May 1958), which concentrated as much on political slogans as on specific objectives. Special emphasis was placed on political guidance by party cadres of the country's scientists and technicians, who were viewed as potentially dangerous unless they would become fully "Red and expert."

¹⁰⁶ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/New-directions-in-national-policy-1958-61>

¹⁰⁸ Teiwes, Frederick C., and Warren Sun. 1999. *China's road to disaster: Mao, central politicians, and provincial leaders in the unfolding of the great leap forward, 1955–1959*. Contemporary China papers. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe. pp. 52–55.

¹⁰⁹ Fenby, J (2008). *Modern China: The Fall and Rise of a Great Power, 1850 to the Present*. Ecco Press. p. 351.

¹¹⁰ The implementation of Maoist thought in China may have been responsible for 40–70 million deaths including famine during peacetime, with the Great Leap Forward, Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957–1958.

¹¹¹ The double-track system for labour refers to a combination of the system of the eight-hour day in factories, rural areas and government offices with a system of part-time work and part-time study in factories and rural areas. The double-track system for education means a system of full-time schooling combined with a system

as well as for education in socialist society. Zhou Enlai said, among other things, that the overwhelming majority of Chinese intellectuals had become intellectuals belonging to the working people and that science and technology would play a key role in China's modernization. Chen Yun held that plan targets should be realistic, that the scale of construction should correspond to national capability, considerations should be given to both the people's livelihood and the needs of state construction, and that the material, financial and credit balances should be maintained in drawing up plans. Deng Xiaoping held that industrial enterprises should be consolidated and their management improved and strengthened, and that the system of workers' conferences should be introduced. Zhu De stressed the need to pay attention to the development of handicrafts and of diverse undertakings in agriculture. Deng Zihui and others pointed out that a system of production responsibility should be introduced in agriculture. All these views were not only of vital significance then, but have remained so ever since. In the course of economic readjustment, the Central Committee drew up draft rules governing the work of the rural people's communes and work in industry, commerce, education, science and literature and art.¹¹²

In the course of this decade, there were serious faults and errors in the guidelines of the Party's work, which developed through twists and turns. The 1957 was one of the years that saw the best results in economic work since the founding of the People's Republic owing the implementation of the correct line formulated at the 8th National Congress of the Party.¹¹³ In economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), China did succeed in its efforts and with the assistance of the Soviet Union. A number of basic industries, were built up. Between 1953 and 1956, the average annual increases in the total value of industrial and agricultural output were 19.6 and 4.8 per cent respectively. The market prospered, prices were stable. This period (1953-57), was the beginning of China's rapid industrialization, and it is still regarded as having been enormously successful. A strong central governmental apparatus proved able to channel scarce resources into the rapid development of heavy industry. The First Five-Year Plan was explicitly modelled on Soviet experience, and the Soviet Union provided both material aid and extensive technical advice on its planning and execution. It was linked with the transition of China's rural and urban economy to collective forms.¹¹⁴

In 1958, the 2nd Plenum of the 8th National Congress of the Party adopted the general line for socialist construction. Its shortcoming was that it overlooked the objective economic laws. The "Left" errors, characterized by excessive targets, the issuing of arbitrary directions, boastfulness and the stirring up of a "communist wind", spread unchecked throughout the country. This was due to lack of experience in socialist construction and inadequate understanding of the laws of economic development and of the basic economic conditions in China. More important, it was due to the fact that Mao Zedong and many leading party members, both at the centre and in the localities, had become smug about their successes, were impatient for quick results and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts. After the general line was formulated, the

of part-time work and part-time study.

¹¹² http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Selden, Mark. "The Transition to Socialism in China (Routledge Revivals)." Jan 2016, doi:10.4324/9781315627915.

great leap forward and the movement for rural people's communes were initiated without careful investigation and study and without prior experimentation. From the end of 1958 to the early stage of the Lushan Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee in July 1959, Mao Zedong and the Central Committee led the whole Party in energetically rectifying the errors which had already been recognized. However, in the later part of the meeting, he erred in initiating criticism of Peng Dehuai and then in launching a Party-wide struggle against "Right opportunism". The resolution passed by the 8th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party concerning the so-called anti-Party group of Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian and Zhou Xiaozhou was entirely wrong. Politically, this struggle gravely undermined inner-Party democracy from the central level down to the grassroots; economically, it cut short the process of the rectification of "Left" errors, thus prolonging their influence. It was mainly due to the errors of the great leap forward and of the struggle against "Right opportunism" together with a succession of natural calamities and the perfidious scrapping of contracts by the Soviet Government that China's economy encountered serious difficulties between 1959 and 1961, which caused serious losses to the country and people.¹¹⁵

In the winter of 1960, the Central Committee of the Party and Mao Zedong set about rectifying the "Left" errors in rural work and decided on the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" for the economy as a whole. Policies and resolute measures were worked out and put into effect with Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping in charge. All this constituted a crucial turning point in that historical phase. In January 1962, the enlarged Central Work Conference attended by 7,000 people made a preliminary summing-up of the positive and negative experience of the great leap forward and unfolded criticism and self-criticism. A majority of the comrades who had been unjustifiably criticized during the campaign against "Right opportunism" were rehabilitated before or after the conference. In addition, most of the "Rightists" had their label removed. The national economy recovered and developed fairly smoothly between 1962 and 1966.¹¹⁶

At the 10th Plenary Session of the Party's 8th Central Committee in September 1962, Mao Zedong widened and absolutized the class struggle. The socialist education movement unfolded between 1963 and 1965 in some rural areas and at the grass-roots level in a small number of cities did help to some extent to improve the cadres' style of work and economic management. There was an increasingly serious "Left" deviation on the question of intellectuals and on the question of education, science and culture. These errors eventually culminated in the "cultural revolution," but they had not yet become dominant.¹¹⁷

The whole Party and people since the winter of 1960, overcame difficulties and stood up to the pressure of the Soviet leading clique and repaid all the debts owed to the Soviet Union, which were chiefly incurred through purchasing Soviet arms during the movement to resist U. S. aggression and aid Korea. The 3rd National People's Congress, which met between the end of 1964 and the first days of 1965, announced that the task of national economic readjustment had in the main been accomplished and that the

¹¹⁵ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

economy as a whole would soon enter a new stage of development. It called for energetic efforts to build China step by step into a socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology. This call was not fulfilled owing to the "cultural revolution".

The 10 years achievements attributed to the collective leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Mao Zedong. The responsibility for the errors committed in the work of this period rested with the same collective leadership. Although Mao Zedong must be held chiefly responsible. During this period, his theoretical and practical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly serious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism in Party life and the personality cult grew graver and graver. The Central Committee of the Party failed to rectify these mistakes in good time. Careerists like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harbouring ulterior motives, made use of these errors and inflated them. This led to the inauguration of the "cultural revolution".

Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

The "cultural revolution", which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic. It was initiated and led by Mao Zedong. His principal theses were that many representatives of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary revisionists had sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and cultural circles, and leadership in a fairly large majority of organizations and departments was no longer in the hands of Marxists and the people; that Party persons in power taking the capitalist road had formed a bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee which pursued a revisionist political and organizational line and had agents in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as in all central departments; that since the forms of struggle adopted in the past had not been able to solve this problem, the power usurped by the capitalist-roaders could be recaptured only by carrying out a great cultural revolution, by openly and fully mobilizing the broad masses from the bottom up to expose these sinister phenomena; and that the cultural revolution was in fact a great political revolution in which one class would overthrow another, a revolution that would have to be waged time and again. These theses appeared mainly in the May 16 Circular, in the political report to the 9th National Congress of the Party in April 1969. The "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat". As for Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others, who were placed in important positions by Mao Zedong, the matter is of an entirely different nature. They rigged up two counter-revolutionary cliques in an attempt to seize supreme power and, taking advantage of Mao Zedong's errors.¹¹⁸

The history of the "cultural revolution" had proved that Mao Zedong's principal theses for initiating this revolution conformed neither to Marxism-Leninism nor to Chinese reality. They represent an entirely erroneous appraisal of the prevailing class relations and political situation in the Party and state.

¹¹⁸ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

1. The "cultural revolution" was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road. There were no grounds at all for this definition. The "cultural revolution" negated many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic. In fact, it negated much of the work of the Central Committee of the Party and the People's Government, including that of Mao and the arduous struggles the entire people had conducted in socialist construction.
2. The so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the Party headed by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping simply did not exist. Labelling Liu Shaoqi a "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" was nothing but a frame-up by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their followers. The political conclusion concerning Liu Shaoqi drawn by the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party and the disciplinary measure it meted out to him were both utterly wrong. The criticism of the so-called reactionary academic authorities in the "cultural revolution" during which many capable and accomplished intellectuals were attacked and persecuted also badly muddled up the distinction between the people and the enemy.
3. The "cultural revolution" was divorced both from the Party organizations and from the masses. At the beginning of the "cultural revolution", the vast majority of participants in the movement acted out of their faith in Mao Zedong and the Party.
4. The "cultural revolution" did not in fact constitute a revolution or social progress in any sense. The socialist revolution represented a fundamental break with the past in both content and method. Under socialist conditions, there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which "one class overthrows another". It could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train. History has shown that the "cultural revolution", initiated by a leader labouring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counter-revolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the Party, the state and the whole people.

The "cultural revolution" can be divided into three stages.

1. From the initiation of the "cultural revolution" to the 9th National Congress of the Party in April 1969. The convening of the enlarged Political Bureau meeting of the Central Committee of the Party in May 1966 and the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee in August of that year marked the launching of the "cultural revolution". These two meetings adopted the May 16 Circular and the Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution respectively. They launched an erroneous struggle against the so-called anti-Party clique of Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun and the so-called headquarters of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. They wrongly re-organized the central leading organs, set up the "Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party". Mao Zedong's personal leadership characterized by "Left" errors took the place of the collective leadership of the Central Committee. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng, Zhang Chunqiao and others, acting chiefly in the name of the "Cultural Revolution Group", exploited the situation to incite people to "overthrow everything and wage full scale civil war". Around February 1967, at various meetings, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen and other Political Bureau Members and leading

members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee sharply criticized the mistakes of the "cultural revolution." Zhu De and Chen Yun were also wrongly criticized. Almost all leading Party and government departments in the different spheres and localities were stripped of their power or re-organized. The chaos was such that it was necessary to send in the People's Liberation Army to support the Left, the workers and the peasants and to institute military control and military training. The 9th Congress of the Party legitimized the erroneous theories and practices of the "cultural revolution", and so reinforced the positions of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others in the Central Committee of the Party. The guidelines of the 9th Congress were wrong, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

2. From the 9th National Congress of the Party to its 10th National Congress in August 1973. In 1970-1971 Lin Biao clique plotted to capture supreme power and attempted an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'état. Such was the outcome of the "cultural revolution" which overturned a series of fundamental Party principles. It announced the failure of the theories and practices of the "cultural revolution". Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai ingeniously thwarted the plotted coup. Supported by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. In fact, this was an extension of the correct proposals put forward around February 1967 by many leaders of the Central Committee who had called for the correction of the errors of the "cultural revolution". Mao Zedong, however, erroneously held that the task was still to oppose the "ultra-Right". The 10th Congress of the Party perpetuated the "left" errors of the 9th Congress and made Wang Hongwen a vice-chairman of the Party. Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen formed a gang of four inside the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, thus strengthening the influence of the counter-revolutionary Jiang Qing clique.
3. From the 10th Congress of the Party to October 1976. Early in 1974 Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen and others launched a campaign to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius." Jiang Qing and the others directed the spearhead at Zhou Enlai. Mao Zedong approved the launching of the movement to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius". He severely criticized them. He declared that they had formed a gang of four and pointed out that Jiang Qing harboured the wild ambition of making herself chairman of the Central Committee and "forming a cabinet" by political manipulation. In 1975, Zhou Enlai was seriously ill, Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong, took charge of the Central Committee. He convened an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and several other important meetings with a view to solving problems in industry, agriculture, transport and science and technology, and began to straighten out work in many fields so that the situation took an obvious turn for the better. Mao Zedong could not bear to accept systematic correction of the errors of the "cultural revolution" by Deng Xiaoping and triggered the movement to "criticize Deng and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts". In January of that year, Zhou Enlai passed away. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Mao Zedong wrongly assessed the nature of the Tiananmen Incident and dismissed Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the Party. As soon as Mao Zedong passed away in September 1976, the counter-revolutionary Jiang Qing clique stepped up its plot to seize supreme Party and state leadership. Early in October of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee,

executing the will of the Party and the people, resolutely smashed the clique and brought the catastrophic "cultural revolution" to an end. This was a great victory won by the entire Party, army and people after prolonged struggle.¹¹⁹

The 4th National People's Congress convened to determine the composition of the State Council with Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping as the core of its leadership. Rigorous tests throughout the "cultural revolution" have proved that standing on the correct side in the struggle were the overwhelming majority of Members of the 8th Central Committee of the Party and the Members it elected to its Political Bureau, Standing Committee and Secretariat. Some progress was made in China's economy despite tremendous losses. Grain output increased relatively steadily. Significant achievements were scored in industry, communications and capital construction and in science and technology. New railways were built and the Changjiang River Bridge at Nanjing was completed; a number of large enterprises using advanced technology went into operation; hydrogen bomb tests were successfully undertaken and man-made satellites successfully launched and retrieved; and new hybrid strains of long-grained rice were developed and popularized.¹²⁰

Rise of Deng Xiaoping and economic reforms (1976-1989)

The victory won in overthrowing the counter-revolutionary Jiang Qing clique, or the Gang of Four, in October 1976. But the "Cultural Revolution" left the serious consequences of political, ideological, organizational and economic confusion. The second generation of the collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at the core shaped after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December 1978. Mao Zedong was at the core of the CPC first generation of collective leadership, and Deng was an important member among that leadership. The second generation of collective leadership, realized the historic turn and enabled China to enter a new historical period of building socialism.

The nationwide debate smashed the traditional personality cult on Mao Zedong and shattered the argument of the "two whatever's", the notion pursued by then Party Chairman Hua Guofeng after the death of Mao Zedong¹²¹. The statement first appeared in an editorial entitled "Study the Documents Carefully and Grasp the Key Link", which was published simultaneously in the People's Daily, the Liberation Army Daily and later in the monthly journal Hongqi, or the Red Flag.

The 3rd Session of the 11th Central Committee decisively discarded the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link", the "Left" political line which had become unsuitable in a socialist society, and made the strategic decision to concentrate instead on socialist modernization. The Party made efforts to set things right and started the all-round reform, which took economic development as the central task. In addition, it decided to open up to the outside world. The Party took a clear-cut stand for sticking to the socialist road, the People's democratic dictatorship, the leadership by the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The basic line of "one central task and two basic points", the shortened form of making economic development as the central task

¹¹⁹ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Mao Zedong died in 1976.

while adhering to the 'Four Cardinal Principles' and persevering in reform and the open policy, were shaped.

The CPC examined a large number of cases in the history of the Party in which the charges made against people had been false or exaggerated, or which had been dealt with incorrectly, and redressed the injustices that had been done. The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held from June 27 to 29, 1981, examined and approved the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China". In this resolution the central committee made a scientific summation of the major events in the history of the Party over the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China. They categorically negated the value of the "Cultural Revolution" and of the theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat". But they also affirmed the importance of Mao Zedong's historical role and systematically expounded Mao Zedong Thought. With the development of domestic and international situation, it proved the courage and high vision of the CPC Central Committee to make such decisions.

The 12th National Congress in September 1982. It pointed out to "integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics". It also set the strategic objective of quadrupling the gross annual value of China's industrial and agricultural output by the end of 20th century and then achieved modernizations by the middle of the next century.¹²²

The drive of reform and opening started from the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and comprehensively developed after the 12th CPC National Congress. It began from rural areas to urban areas, from reform of the economic structure to restructuring on various aspect and from invigorating the domestic economy to opening China to the outside world.

The reform in rural areas conformed to the specific Chinese conditions. The CPC Central Committee decided to abolish the People's commune system but not to privatize the farmland. The agricultural economy grew fast toward specialization, commercialization and socialization. Chinese farmers as well as urban dwellers benefited from the reform. The thriving of township enterprises was another great achievement done by the Chinese farmers. The enterprises, making surplus rural labour shift from farming, blazed a new-trail on enriching rural people and stimulating the industry and the whole economic restructuring as well.

Meeting requirements of the new period, the 3rd Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, held in Beijing on October 20, 1984, adopted the "Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure". The decision stated to completely change the old structure that has stunted the development of the productive forces and to establish a vigorous socialist structure of a specifically Chinese character. It declared that China would have a planned market economy based on public ownership. The CPC Central Committee later launched the reform of the system for managing science and technology and the reform of the education structure. They also laid down the principles and objective for reform of the political structure. In 1979, the CPC also, instituted a one child policy to try to control its

¹²² http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

rapidly increasing population. The controversial policy resulted in a dramatic decrease in child poverty (The law was eliminated in 2015).¹²³

In May 1980 the CPC Central Committee and the State Council decided to establish four special economic zones in the cities of Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou(Guangdong Province)and Xiamen(Fujian Province), which was the significant measure for China to use overseas funds and draw on advanced experience on technology and management from foreign countries.¹²⁴

In May 1984 they decided to open another 14 coastal port cities. Other areas, such as the Yangtze River Delta, the Pearl River Delta, the southeast Fujian Province and the Bohai Sea Rim, were opened to the outside world for economic development. The State Council also approved that Hainan Island became a province and another special economic zone. The extensive opening and fast economic development of the coastal areas, which had the population of about 200 million, boosted the nationwide reform and open-up and the economic construction.

The CPC Central Committee focused on the reform and opening process; and on the other hand, they stressed the crackdown on crime. The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee, held in Beijing on September 28, 1986, published the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Level of Culture and Ideology". The enhancement of ethical and cultural progress must boost the socialist modernizations, the overall reform, the open-up policy and the perseverance in the Four Cardinal Principles. Throughout the process of reform and opening, the CPC Central Committee urged the people to adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles and oppose liberalization.

To solve the problems of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, Deng Xiaoping, considering the historical and current conditions, advocated the concept of "one country, two systems" for the peaceful reunification of the nation. The concept means that within the People's Republic of China, the mainland with its more than one billion people will maintain the socialist system while Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan will continue under the capitalist system. When meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in September 1982, Deng elaborated China's basic position on the issues of Hong Kong, safeguarding the sovereignty and dignity of his motherland. In 1983 he suggested the six principles aiming at Taiwan issues, strongly showing his willingness for peaceful reunification. However, he reiterated that China will never rule out the possibility of using non-peaceful means if any force tries to split Taiwan from the motherland.¹²⁵

One country , two systems policy

After the 12th National Congress of the CPC, China solved the problems about the returns of Hong Kong and Macao. The governments of the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom formally signed a joint declaration concerning the Hong Kong issues on December 19, 1984, in Beijing after two years' negotiations. The Joint Declaration states

¹²³ Malcolm Moore (15 November 2013). "China to ease one-child policy". *Telegraph*. Retrieved on 2 April,2020.

¹²⁴ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹²⁵ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

that the government of the People's Republic of China will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997. This sets a good example for resolving the Macao issues. The governments of the People's Republic of China and the Portuguese Republic signed another joint declaration on April 13, 1987, in Beijing. The Joint Declaration states that the government of the People's Republic of China will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Macao on December 20, 1999.¹²⁶

The 13th National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing from October 25 to November 1, 1987. It systematically expounded the theory of the primary stage of socialism in China and defined the Party's basic line of "one central task and two basic points" for building socialism with Chinese characteristics during that stage. It also affirmed a three-step development strategy, which was launched by Deng Xiaoping. China worked out the three-step development strategy in the early 1980s to achieve the country's modernization. It included to double the country's 1980 per capita GNP in the first ten years of the strategy's implementation with adequate food and clothing for the people as the goal (first step), to redouble the doubled per capita GNP by the end of the century (second step), and to achieve modernizations by the middle of the next century (third step). The congress highly valued the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the second historic leap next to the first one, which refers to the success of the new-democratic revolution led by the first generation of collective leadership with Mao Zedong at the core, in the process of integrating Marxism with the Chinese realities.

After the convocation of the 13th National Congress, the CPC Central Committee led the people of all nationalities in united effort to surmount difficulties, stabilize social and political situation and further develop the national economy. China accelerated the economic development from 1984 to 1988, showing a vigorous picture of mutual promotion between agriculture and industry, between rural areas and cities, and between reform and social development. While the scale of the national economy attained a new height, some problems appeared, such as the fluctuation of commodity prices and duplicated construction. The CPC Central Committee decided to spend a certain period on improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order to create a more favourable environment so that the reform would go smoothly. The Tiananmen square incident occurred in early summer of 1989. The Party and the government, taking a clear-cut stand against the turmoil and treated it as an anti-revolutionary rebellion.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, the CPC Central Committee declared that the Party's basic line and decisions made on the 13th National Congress would not change.

¹²⁶ "One country, two systems" is a constitutional principle describing the governance of Hong Kong and Macau since they became regions of China in 1997 and 1999, respectively. It was formulated in the early 1980s by Deng Xiaoping, the Paramount Leader of China, during negotiations with the United Kingdom over Hong Kong.

¹²⁷ Although standards of living improved significantly in the 1980s, Deng's reforms were not without criticism. Hard-liners asserted that Deng opened China once again to various social evils, and an overall increase in materialistic thinking, while liberals attacked Deng's unrelenting stance on political reform. Liberal forces began gathering in different forms to protest against the Party's authoritarian leadership. In 1989, the death of Hu Yaobang, a liberal figure, triggered weeks of spontaneous protests in the Tiananmen Square. The government imposed martial law and sent in tanks and soldiers to suppress the demonstrations. Western countries and multilateral organizations briefly suspended their formal ties with China's government under Premier Li Peng's leadership, which was directly responsible for the military curfew and bloody crackdown.

The 4th Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee elected the new collective leadership. After the 4th and the 5th plenary sessions of the 13th Central Committee, the second generation of the collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at the core transferred the power gradually to the third generation of the collective leadership with Jiang Zemin at the core. The Central Committee extensively persevered in the Party's basic line and continued focusing on economic development while attaching equal importance to both tasks of economic growth and ethical and cultural progress. They also strengthened the ideological, political and organizational work. The CPC Central Committee observed the radical international changes sober-mindedly and dealt with the challenge calmly. China concentrated on handling its own affairs well. The CPC Central Committee made successive decisions on strengthening the anti-corruption drive, improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order, deepening the reform, reinforcing the close ties between the Party and the people, and opening Shanghai's Pudong New Area. They also drew up the 8th Five-Year Plan and the Ten-Year Program for the National Economic and Social Development. Furthermore, started state-owned large and medium-sized enterprises and further strengthened agriculture and work in rural areas.

Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

Deng Xiaoping put forward a series of diplomatic strategies. Peace and development were considered the two major issues in the world. China claimed to have an independent and peaceful foreign policy that opposed hegemonism and power politics and safeguarded the world peace. It advocated establishing a new international political order and a new international economic order on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, including mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Deng said that China always belonged to the Third World and never sought hegemony itself. Deng masterminded to establish diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America, signed a peaceful and friendly treaty with Japan, normalized the relations between the CPC and the Soviet Communist Party, and developed friendly ties with neighbouring countries and countries from the Third World.¹²⁸

Reform and Opening Up policy

Deng Xiaoping's talks given during his visits to southern China were published. The talks by him scientifically summarized the basic practice and experiences since the 3rd Plenary

¹²⁸ The principles originally represented a vision of international relations that was highly principled and not based on realism necessarily. After Mao Zedong declared (at least, apocryphally) that China had “stood up” after a century of humiliation in 1949, the country needed to base its foreign policy around a set of principles that would embody its principled independence in world affairs. The Five Principles were borne of post-colonial solidarity and Chinese leaders embraced them for both their moral weight and strategic flexibility. In recent years, China continues to make reference to its principles when it comes to justifying its voting record at the United Nations Security Council, or justifying its condemnation of interventionist Western powers. For China, the Five Principles’ emphasis on non-intervention and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations are particularly important as it struggles with internal separatism in Tibet and Xinjiang. By taking a principled stand on non-intervention in all conflicts, China is able to repudiate outside criticism of its government’s handling of internal affairs.

Session of the 11th Central Committee.¹²⁹Deng handled problems masterfully, especially the relationship between the socialism and the market economy. Deng urged the Chinese people to develop faster than before in conducting reform and opening to the outside and must not lose opportunities. The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a plenum in March 1992. The participants entirely agreed with Deng's point of view and regarded it as the important guide for the reform and economic development and the coming 14th National Congress of the CPC. The CPC Central Committee and the State Council made a series of decisions to speed up the reform and opening.

Economic growth under the third generation (1989–2002)

The Party held the 14th National Congress in October 1992. With Deng's talks and the convocation of the congress as the symbols, China's socialist modernization drive and the reform and opening ushered in a new period of development.

After the 14th National Congress of the CPC, the Central Committee with Jiang Zemin at the core held high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. They led the whole Party, the armed forces and the people of all nationalities to conscientiously implement the important policy decisions made by the 14th Congress of "seizing the current opportunity to deepen the reform and open China wider to the outside world, promoting development and maintaining stability". The national economy and social development greatly advanced and the second step of Deng Xiaoping's three-step development strategy had been implemented.¹³⁰

China's GNP increased annually by 12 percent from 1991 to 1995, reaching 5.76 trillion yuan in 1995. The target of quadrupling the country's 1980 per capita GNP was attained five years ahead of time. China obtained the breakthrough in the reform on economic restructuring, and basically shaped the overall setup of opening to the outside world. Rural people and urban residents also bettered their lives. During the five years, the average annual per capita income for living expenses increased by 7.7 percent for city dwellers in real terms, while the average annual per capita net income went up by 4.5 percent for rural residents in real terms.¹³¹

Deng Xiaoping passed away on February 19, 1997. The government of the People's Republic of China resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997. The 15th National Congress of the CPC, which was held in September 1997. The Congress unanimously agreed to take Deng Xiaoping Theory as the guiding ideology for the Party

¹²⁹ The conference marked the beginning of the "Reform and Opening Up" policy, and is widely seen as the moment when Deng Xiaoping became paramount leader of China replacing Chairman Hua Guofeng, who remained nominal Chairman of the Communist Party of China until 1981. The meeting was a decisive turning point in post-1949 Chinese history, marking the beginning of the wholesale repudiation of Chairman Mao's "Cultural Revolution" policies, and set China on the course for nationwide economic reforms. The "Four Modernizations" of industry, agriculture, national defence and science-technology were considered the Party's key tasks for the new period. Former President Liu Shaoqi's theory that under socialism, mass class struggle came to an end, and it was necessary to develop relations of production in order to follow the growth of social forces, was openly endorsed, while Mao's theory of continued revolution under socialism was abandoned. The new slogan was to "make China a modern, powerful socialist country before the end of this century".

¹³⁰ http://english1.english.gov.cn/2005-08/06/content_24233.htm

¹³¹ Ibid

and write it into the CPC Constitution. The 1st Plenary Session of the 15th Central Committee elected Jiang Zemin General Secretary and Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

The national economy maintained the appropriately fast growth in 1997. The GDP of 1997 reached 7.4772 trillion yuan, with an increase of 8.8 percent over the previous year. The added value of agriculture reached 1.3674 trillion yuan, adding by 3.5 percent and with its proportion in the whole economy declining by 1.9 percent. The added value of industry reached 3.677 trillion yuan, increasing by 10.8 percent and with its proportion in the whole economy enlarging by 0.2 percent. The added value of the service sector reached 2.4328 trillion yuan, increasing by 8.2 percent and with its proportion in the whole economy expanding by 1.7 percent. The labour productivity of the whole society in 1997 was valued at 5,637 yuan, increasing by 7.5 percent over the previous year.

The national economy continued to grow rapidly and market prices basically remained stable. The margin of price rises continued to fall. Retail prices rose by 0.8 percent, representing a drop of 5.3 percentage points over 1996, and consumer prices rose by 2.8 percent, 5.5 percentage points less than the figure for the previous year. In 1997, China enjoyed a favourable international balance of payments, both on the current account and the capital account, and the country's national foreign exchange reserves reached 139.9 billion US dollars, with an annual increase of 34.9 billion US dollars.

The income of the urban and rural population increased significantly and the standard of living was improved. In 1997 the average per capita disposable income reached 5,160 yuan for city dwellers, representing an increase of 3.4 percent in real terms than the previous year. The average per capita net income of rural residents rose to 2,090 yuan, representing an increase of 4.6 percent in real terms than the previous year.

The 1990s saw the peaceful Handover of Hong Kong and Macao by Britain and Portugal to China.¹³² Hong Kong and Macau mostly continued their own governance, retaining independence in their economic, social, and judicial systems until 2019, when Beijing tried to expand national powers in the face of large-scale protest in Hong Kong.

Jiang and Bill Clinton exchanged state visits, but Sino-American relations took very sour turns at the end of the decade. On May 7, 1999, during the Kosovo War, US aircraft bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. The U.S. government claimed the strike was due to bad intelligence and false target identification.¹³³ Inside the US, the Cox Report stated that China had been stealing various top US military secrets.¹³⁴

In 2001, a US surveillance plane collided with a Chinese fighter jet over international waters near Hainan, inciting further outrage with the Chinese public, already dissatisfied with the US.¹³⁵

¹³² David W. Chang, and Richard Y. Chuang, *The politics of Hong Kong's reversion to China* (1998)

¹³³ Simon Shen, "Nationalism or nationalist foreign policy? Contemporary Chinese nationalism and its role in shaping Chinese foreign policy in response to the Belgrade embassy bombing." *Politics* 24.2 (2004): 122-130

¹³⁴ John M. Spratt Jr, "Keep the facts of the Cox Report in perspective." *Arms Control Today* 29.3 (1999)

¹³⁵ John W. Garver, "Sino-American relations in 2001: the difficult accommodation of two great powers." *International Journal* 57.2 (2002): 283-310

On the political agenda, China was once again put on the spotlight for the banning of public Falun Gong activity in 1999. Silent protesters from the spiritual movement sat outside of Zhongnanhai, asking for dialogue with China's leaders. Jiang saw it as threatening to the political situation and outlawed the group altogether, while using the mass media to denounce it as an evil cult.¹³⁶

Conversely, Premier Zhu Rongji's economic policies held China's economy strong during the Asian Financial Crisis. Economic growth averaged at 8% annually, pushed back by the 1998 Yangtze River Floods. After a decade of talks, China was finally admitted into the World Trade Organization. Standards of living improved significantly, although a wide urban-rural wealth gap was opened, as China saw the reappearance of the middle class. Wealth disparity between East and the Western hinterlands continued to widen by the day, prompting government programs to "develop the West", taking on such ambitious projects such as the Qinghai-Tibet railway. The burden of education was greater than ever. Rampant corruption continued despite Premier Zhu's anti-corruption campaign that executed many officials. Corruption alone is estimated to amount to the equivalent of anywhere from 10 to 20 percent of China's GDP.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Chiung Hwang Chen, "Framing Falun Gong: Xinhua news agency's coverage of the new religious movement in China." *Asian Journal of Communication* 15.1 (2005): 16-36.

¹³⁷ Bruce Gilley, "China's Changing of the Guard: The Limits of Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14.1 (2003): 18-26.