From Yao to Mao: 5000 Years of Chinese History

Professor Kenneth J. Hammond New Mexico State University

Part III



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5000 Vears of Chinasa History Dart III From Yao to Mao:

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Dr. Hammond's research focuses on the cultural and intellectual history of China in the late imperial era, from the 10th through the 18th centuries, especially the history of the Ming dynasty, from 1368 to 1644. He has published articles and translations on Chinese gardens, as well as essays on the 16th-century scholar-official Wang Shizhen. Dr. Hammond also edited *The Human Tradition in Premodern China*, a biographical reader for undergraduate students.

In 1999, he received an American Council of Learned Societies research grant to spend five months at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. In 2002–2003, he was an Affiliated Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies at Leiden, the Netherlands. In June 2003, he organized and chaired an international conference on Chinese cultural history in Leiden.

Dr. Hammond is past president of the Society for Ming Studies and has served on the Board of Directors of the Southwest Association for Asian Studies.

Table of Contents From Yao to Mao: 5000 Years of Chinese History Part III

Course Scope	1987. He meelved his A.M. In East Asjan Rom	1
Lecture Twenty-Five	The Rise of the Manchus	
Lecture Twenty-Six	Kangxi to Qianlong	
Lecture Twenty-Seven	The Coming of the West	9
Lecture Twenty-Eight	Threats from Within and Without	
Lecture Twenty-Nine	The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom	16
Lecture Thirty	Efforts at Reform	
Lecture Thirty-One	The Fall of the Empire	22
Lecture Thirty-Two	The New Culture Movement and May 4th	25
Lecture Thirty-Three	The Chinese Communists, 1921–1937	28
Lecture Thirty-Four	War and Revolution	31
Lecture Thirty-Five	China under Mao	34
Lecture Thirty-Six	China and the World in a New Century	
Timeline	se matibe at the Charge Academy of Secial Se	40
Glossary	103, he was an Affiliated Fellow at the laternation at the laternation at vacors, who between the later and areas.	44
Biographical Notes	ALESTOCK OF VEHICLORIES, IN TRUE 2005, BC OF	47
	SUPPLIES AND ALCOHOLOGY OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SUPPLIES.	1

From Yao to Mao: 5000 Years of Chinese History

Scope:

The 36 lectures in this course explore the history and culture of China, spanning a vast temporal and spatial domain and developing several themes to help understand this ancient and complex society. We will proceed in an essentially chronological passage through the unfolding of China's political and cultural evolution, with particular attention to important ideas and individuals and the roles they have played in shaping both China's historical past and its dynamic present.

Chinese civilization originated in the confluence of several regional Neolithic cultures nearly 5,000 years ago. Emerging from the mythological Era of Sage Emperors, such as Yao and Shun, China's historical record begins with the Shang dynasty around 1500 B.C.E. We will follow the growth of China from a small kingdom on the North China Plain to a major empire extending from the Siberian frontier to the jungles of Southeast Asia, from the Pacific coast to the Central Asian deserts.

One of our main themes will be the evolution of social and political elites and the mechanisms by which they acquired and asserted their power as rulers of China. Closely linked to this is the history of political thought in China, from shamanistic roots in prehistory through the Axial Age of Confucius and Laozi and the long process of crafting and adapting the Imperial Order over the past two millennia and more.

We will also be concerned with the ways in which the Chinese have thought and written about themselves and the world around them. Cosmological ideas about the nature of the universe, the metaphysical insights of Buddhism and religious Daoism, and the perennial mysticism of popular religion have blended and interacted throughout Chinese history in ways which have yielded both the beauties of art and the horrors of religious conflict.

Throughout these lectures, we will consider China's history as it relates to the world beyond China. For more than 2,000 years, China has been linked to the global economy, and traders and travelers have brought both the riches of the empire and tales of its splendor to the West. We will trace the increasingly close relations between China and the West from the age of the Mongol conquests in the 13th century through the rise of European imperialism in the 19th and into the present age of China's reemergence as a great world economic and political power.

By engaging with the history of China over the last five millennia, we will become familiar with one of the world's greatest civilizations and, arguably, its most persistent. Far from the popular image of China as a stagnant, unchanging

relic of a once glorious past, we will see China as a living culture that has flourished and declined, revived and returned to greatness several times over thousands of years. We will come to understand some of the key features that allowed China's political order to remain stable for more than 2,000 years and that continue to shape this country at the opening of the 21st century.

Lecture Twenty-Five The Rise of the Manchus

Scope: The late 16th century once again saw a small group of people on China's northern frontier begin to build their power and prepare to challenge China militarily. Nurhaci was a Jurchen, a descendant of the people who had ruled north China in the 12th and early 13th centuries. He built a multi-ethnic alliance he named the *Manchus* and led them to dominance in the area that is today called Manchuria. Under his son and grandsons, the Manchus launched a campaign to overthrow the Ming and conquer China. As China faced internal rebellion in the early 1640s, the Manchus seized the moment and were able to gain control of Beijing in June 1644. After further campaigns in central and southern China, their Qing dynasty consolidated its rule over China proper and went on to expand the empire in Inner Asia.

- The Manchus were a creation of Nurhaci in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.
 - A. Nurhaci was Jurchen who dreamed of reviving the Jin dynasty.
 - 1. Born in 1559, he conceived the ambition of uniting the peoples of the northeast and challenging China's dominance.
 - 2. He first gained leadership over the Jurchen in the late 16th century.
 - **3.** He then created a new "super-ethnic" group by allying with neighboring groups.
 - **B.** Nurhaci forged a shared identity for these people and shared his vision of expansion with them.
 - 1. In the first quarter of the 17th century, the name *Manchu* was invented, perhaps based on the Buddhist figure Manjusri.
 - A written script for Manchu was created.
 - **3.** A putative history of the Manchus was developed and began to be written down.
 - 4. Links were established with other peoples on the northern frontier of China, especially the Mongols to the west.
- II. From 1626, the Manchus began to challenge the Ming for power.
 - A. A revived Jin dynasty was proclaimed in 1626.
 - 1. This was meant to signal the Manchus' imperial ambitions.
 - 2. They established a capital city at Mukden, modern Shenyang, based on the design of Beijing.
 - 3. In 1635, the Manchu language was made the official court language.

- **B.** The Qing dynasty was established in 1636.
 - 1. The new name recognized the fact that the Manchus were more than successors to the Jurchen.
 - Qing means pure and symbolized the Manchu ambition to cleanse China of what they claimed was the decadent corruption of Ming rule.
- C. Military campaigns against the Ming began in the late 1630s.
 - 1. The siege of Jinzhou in 1641 was a major victory for the Manchus.
 - 2. Some defeated Ming generals brought their troops over to the Manchu side.
 - By early 1644, the Manchus controlled all the territory outside the Great Wall to China's northeast.

III. In 1644, the Ming faced twin crises that toppled the dynasty.

- A. The internal woes that had plagued China since the Wanli era led to massive rebellions.
 - 1. Fiscal problems and factional conflicts weakened the government and impeded its ability to deal with floods and bad harvests.
 - 2. By the time a new emperor came to the throne in 1628 and began reforms, it was too little, too late.
 - 3. Peasant rebellions broke out in the northwest and southwest.
- **B.** By the early 1640s, the rebels threatened the survival of the dynasty.
 - 1. The biggest force was led by Li Zicheng in Shanxi province west of the capital.
 - 2. In the spring of 1644, Li led his forces in an attack on Beijing and, in April, was able to enter the city.
 - 3. The last Ming emperor hanged himself, and remnants of the court fled south to Nanjing.
 - **4.** Li Zicheng proclaimed his own dynasty and set out to create a new government.
- C. The Manchus took advantage of this chaos in China to effect their own conquest.
 - 1. A Chinese general named Wu Sangui was guarding the pass in the Great Wall where the wall reaches the ocean.
 - He was worried about the situation in Beijing, perhaps because his mistress was there and he thought she might be forced to become a concubine of Li Zicheng.
 - 3. Wu allowed the Manchus through the Wall to aid in chasing the rebels out of Beijing.
 - **4.** After Li's army was destroyed, the Manchus refused to depart and, instead, announced that their Qing dynasty would now rule China.
- IV. The Qing conquered all of China over the next 20 years.
 - A. Most of the fighting took place between 1644 and 1646.

- 1. The greatest resistance came in the Jiangnan region.
- 2. The siege of Yangzhou and the massacre of its citizens after their surrender was a message to all not to resist too long.
- 3. The Ming court fled south, and the last Ming prince was eventually captured and executed in 1660.
- B. Some resistance continued until the 1680s.
 - 1. Ming loyalists withdrew to Taiwan and created a fortified retreat there.
 - 2. Coastal raiders and pirates allied with the Ming exiles.
 - **3.** Finally, in 1683, the last of the challengers to Qing power was suppressed.
 - 4. The new dynasty entered on a great age of expansion and prosperity, which we will examine in the next lecture.

Pamela Kyle Crossley, A Translucent Mirror.

Supplemental Reading:

Frederick Wakeman, The Great Enterprise.

- 1. Why did Nurhaci feel the need to include other ethnic groups in his quest for a new power to challenge China? Why did he not simply seek to revive the Jurchen and restore the Jin dynasty?
- **2.** Why would Chinese commanders have gone over to the Manchu side rather than remain loyal to the Ming dynasty?

Lecture Twenty-Six Kangxi to Qianlong

Scope: From 1661 to 1795, China was ruled by just three emperors; Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. Kangxi and Qianlong each occupied the throne for 60 years, giving this period almost unparalleled stability. It was largely an age of peace and prosperity for China, though warfare continued on Inner Asian frontiers almost throughout these reigns. Chinese people, whether members of the educated elite or simple farmers, had to adjust to life under the Manchus, who imposed some of their own particular cultural practices on their new subjects. The requirement to wear the *queue*, the long braid characteristic of Manchu warriors, was imposed on pain of death as a sign of China's submission. Yet during the long *Pax Sinica* of the late 17th and 18th centuries, a Manchu-Chinese symbiosis developed that provided a strong and durable basis for the dynasty and allowed Chinese scholars and officials to make major political and cultural advances.

- I. The Kangxi emperor oversaw the stabilization of the dynasty and its early expansion.
 - A. Kangxi came to the throne as a young boy in 1662.
 - He was not the eldest son of the previous emperor but had survived a bout with smallpox and was seen as the strongest.
 - 2. His uncle Oboi and a council of regents guided his early years, but in 1667, he took power into his own hands.
 - 3. He reigned until his death in 1722.
 - **B.** In the 1670s, he faced the only serious challenge to Qing power until the middle of the 19th century.
 - 1. Wu Sangui, who had aided the Manchus in their initial conquest and been rewarded with a large grant of territory in southern China, led a rebellion against the Qing.
 - 2. Other Chinese generals in the south joined him.
 - 3. It took the Qing eight years to suppress the rising, but the main Chinese armies remained loyal to the dynasty, and the Qing emerged stronger in the end.
 - C. Once peace was restored in China proper, Kangxi turned his attention to Inner Asia.
 - 1. The main objective was to bring all the Mongol tribes into the empire.
 - 2. Eastern Mongols had shared in Manchu power from the first.

- Western Mongol groups resisted incorporation, some fleeing as far as southern Russia.
- 4. Kangxi's campaigns did not resolve this problem but did extend Qing power into what is now Xinjiang (New Frontier) province.
- D. Kangxi also established a new fiscal basis for the empire.
 - 1. In 1712, he issued an edict fixing tax rates on land throughout the empire.
 - 2. This was based on a survey carried out to determine who actually owned and farmed specific plots of land.
 - 3. The edict decreed that these tax rates would remain in effect in perpetuity, laying the foundation for later fiscal problems.
- II. Kangxi died in 1722 and was succeeded by one of his sons, who became the Yongzheng emperor.
 - A. Yongzheng came to the throne in questionable circumstances.
 - 1. The edict naming him emperor was believed by many to have been forged.
 - 2. He was the 13th son of Kangxi, far from first in the normal line of succession.
 - 3. He imprisoned or exiled several of his brothers.
 - B. Yongzheng set out to reform the finances of the dynasty.
 - 1. Already the adverse effects of the 1712 taxation edict were being felt.
 - 2. Yongzheng attempted to increase the flow of taxes to the central treasury, while regularizing the financing of local administration.
 - 3. This move was resisted by an alliance of local elites and officials, who wanted to retain control of revenues and informal income, sometimes seen as corruption, in their own hands.
 - 4. Eventually, Yongzheng had to abandon his reforms.
 - C. He did, however, succeed in streamlining some aspects of government.
- 1. He simplified the central policy-making bodies and began the process of creating the Grand Council, which became the main organ in the imperial government.
 - 2. He also carried out important reforms in domestic policy, such as ending discrimination against certain groups of "inferior" status.
- III. Yongzheng reigned for 13 years and was succeeded in 1735 by the Qianlong emperor, one of the greatest rulers in Chinese history.
 - A. Qianlong continued the long age of peace and prosperity in the empire.
 - 1. He managed the government and the economy in a pragmatic way, relying on the advice of his Confucian officials but always paying close attention to the day-to-day workings of government.
 - 2. China's population approached 400 million by the end of the 18th century.

- 3. China was the richest country in the world, and Chinese products flowed around the planet in the ever-expanding global economy.
- **B.** Qianlong completed the process of bringing the Mongol tribes into the empire.
 - 1. In a series of military campaigns through the 1760s and 1770s, he subdued vast territories in Central Asia.
 - 2. He pursued a policy of honoring defeated leaders with titles and riches and, thus, won the loyalty of many.
 - 3. He extended Qing authority into Tibet and pushed the empire's borders to their greatest extent.
- C. But by the end of his reign, new problems began to develop.
 - 1. Given existing technologies and patterns of land tenure, the growth of China's population began to push against ecological limits.
 - 2. Standards of living stagnated in the later 18th century.
 - 3. China began to feel new pressures brought on by changes in the outside world.
- 4. The rise of an aggressive, expansive system of state-sponsored capitalism in the West began to lead to a conflict between the Atlantic world and East Asia, the background to which we will discuss in the next lecture.

Jonathan Spence, K'ang-hsi, Emperor of China.

Supplemental Reading:

Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*.

Philip A. Kuhn, Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768.

- 1. Given the harshness of the conquest, how were the Manchus able to win the support of the Chinese in the middle decades of the 17th century?
- 2. The tax edict of 1712 effectively prevented later emperors from adjusting the fiscal system of the dynasty. Why would Kangxi have thought this was a good or reasonable thing to do?

Lecture Twenty-Seven The Coming of the West

Scope: Contact between Europe and China goes back to at least the time of the Roman Empire. For much of history, though, such contact was quite tenuous and infrequent. Marco Polo's visit in the 13th century and the reports of missionaries did little to engender clear knowledge about China in the West. In the 16th century, as Europeans began to explore and participate more fully in the global economy, information began to improve, but contacts remained marginal for both sides. With the Industrial Revolution and the rise of free-trade ideas in the West, a new age opened. For centuries, the economic relationship between Europe and China was based on Europeans buying Chinese goods with silver, much of it originating in the mines of Spanish America. By the end of the 18th century, the British, in particular, were eager to open broader trading relations and were desperate to find a commodity other than silver that they could trade for China's superior goods.

- I. East Asia and the Mediterranean world had a long history of trade and contact.
 - A. Overland and maritime links go back at least to the time of Rome.
 - 1. Roman glass has been found in Chinese tombs.
 - 2. Chinese silk was traded in markets in Rome.
 - 3. Chinese records contain reports of representatives of Rum arriving in Chang'an, but these were likely traders rather than true Roman diplomats.
 - **B.** During the age of Islamic expansion, direct links were cut off, but trade continued.
 - 1. Christian Europe was isolated by the growth of the realm of Islam.
 - 2. Goods from East Asia, especially China, were still traded along the Silk Road and through maritime networks stretching from the Pacific through the Indian Ocean.
 - **3.** Arab traders from the Persian Gulf began to arrive in China in increasing numbers in the 7th century and established a mosque in Guangzhou around 670.
 - **4.** The Great Mosque in Xian also dates from the 7th century and was used by Muslims in the caravan trade.
 - **C.** In the age of the Mongol conquests, as we have seen, Europeans again traveled directly to China.

- Representatives of the church sought to contact Christian communities in Inner Asia and founded some congregations in China.
- 2. Such traders as the Polos helped move goods and brought some knowledge of East Asia into Europe.
- There were even brief hopes for a Christian-Mongol alliance against Islam at the time of the Crusades, based on myths of Prester John's Christian kingdom.
- **II.** By the 15th century, Europeans had some knowledge of East Asia but would need to embark on the Age of Exploration to learn more.
 - **A.** The Portuguese began to search for a direct route to the source of valuable spices in what is now Indonesia.
 - 1. They explored the coast of Africa and reached the Indian Ocean, finally arriving in India in 1496.
 - 2. By 1511, the Portuguese had attacked and seized Malacca, one of the key ports in Southeast Asia.
 - 3. The Portuguese found that they could not dominate the local trade system and, instead, sought to create a place for themselves to participate in this rich economic life.
 - 4. The Spanish followed suit, as did the Dutch and the English after 1600.
- **B.** Through the 17th and early 18th centuries, Europeans established a place for themselves but remained merely one group out of many participants in the Asian trade networks.
 - 1. Rivalries between the Europeans further weakened their positions in Asia
 - 2. The Dutch came to concentrate on the islands of Southeast Asia and Japan, while the Spanish took over the northern Philippines.
 - 3. The Portuguese diverted much of their attention to Africa and the New World, and the British came to focus on India.
 - **4.** For all the Europeans, though, China remained a great potential market and source of the highest quality goods.
- III. Two major changes in the later 18th century set the stage for the complete transformation of the global economy.
 - A. The Industrial Revolution took place, primarily in Britain.
 - Although many of the conditions leading to the Industrial Revolution were also present in China and India, in England, the proximity of coal and the availability of new markets and sources for raw materials in America combined to set off a great leap forward.
 - 2. The English also appropriated technologies from Asian manufacturers that, when combined with new energy sources from coal and steam, yielded significant improvements in production.

- **B.** At the same time, Adam Smith's ideas about free trade became the ideology of British capitalism.
 - 1. In his 1776 book *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued that governments should refrain from intervention in the economy as much as possible and allow markets to function freely.
 - 2. This new way of thinking led to the abandonment of the old mercantilist system, which included state-sponsored trading companies, such as the English and Dutch East India companies.
- C. The combination of an expanding industrial economy, in need of raw materials and markets for its goods, with an assertive free-trade ideology created the conditions for the emergence of Western imperialism, led by the British in the 19th century.
 - 1. What was needed was some way to break in to the Chinese domestic market.
 - 2. In India, the British found their ideal commodity; we will discuss the creation of a new trading order based on opium in the next lecture.

Susan Whitfield, Life along the Silk Road.

Supplemental Reading:

Janet L. Abu-Lughod, Before European Hegemony.

- Although products, such as silk and glass, traveled long distances across Eurasia or the Indian Ocean, very few individuals made the journey from Europe to Asia or from Asia to Europe before the 16th century. Why was it easier for goods to be transported than for people to travel?
- 2. China remained a vast continental empire, but Europe was divided into small local states that constantly warred with one another. How might this situation have played a role in the development of relations between the two regions?

Lecture Twenty-Eight Threats from Within and Without

In the first half of the 19th century, China began to face new challenges, Scope: some arising from within its borders and some arriving from the outside world. Domestically, the long era of peace and prosperity that had lasted into the late 18th century gave way to one of increasing economic, demographic, and social problems. China's population growth began to put serious stress on the empire's ability to feed itself, and economic problems limited China's capacity for expansion of production. Popular rebellions began to break out as living conditions deteriorated. At the same time, the British began marketing opium in China on a rapidly growing scale, reversing the flow of silver into China and creating a drain of money just when China was in need of greater capital for investment. Efforts by the Qing to stop or regulate the opium trade led to war with Britain in 1839. The Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the war in 1842, not only created de facto legalization of the opium trade but also forced open coastal ports to foreign traders.

- At the end of the reign of Qianlong and the beginning of the 19th century, China was at a turning point in its modern history.
 - A. The very success of the Qing state had created conditions that now began to undermine the dynasty.
 - 1. Population growth, which had been rapid during the long years of peace and prosperity, finally began to push against the available food supply, and little land was left to be brought into cultivation.
 - 2. Patterns of intensive labor utilization in agriculture had rendered technological improvements unprofitable.
 - 3. The wealthy elites of literati and merchants sought to protect their economic interests against state taxation and against the demands of the peasantry.
 - 4. Frustration and resentment began to be manifested in popular rebellions against landlords and local officials.
 - **B.** The international context was also shifting.
 - 1. From the middle of the 18th century, China had regulated its trade with the West through the Canton trade, also called the *cohong* system.
 - **2.** Trade was permitted only at the port of Canton, or Guangzhou, in the far south, and had to be conducted through state-licensed brokers, known as *hong* merchants.

- 3. The flow of silver into China continued as Western merchants bought large volumes of tea, silk, ceramics, and many other kinds of valuable commodities.
- 4. But the changes in the West, as outlined in the previous lecture, were putting pressure on this system.
- 5. In 1792 and again in 1816, the British sent diplomatic missions to seek open trade relations, but in both cases, they were rejected by the Qing.
- II. As the British consolidated their control of large parts of India, they came into possession of the opium growing regions and found an ideal commodity to change their trading relationship with China.
 - A. Opium had been known in China for a long time.
 - 1. It was produced in small quantities in the far southwest and had been used as a medicine for centuries.
 - 2. Non-medicinal use was banned by the Yongzheng emperor in the 1730s.
 - **B.** The British destroyed the indigenous cotton industry in Bengal and other parts of India to convert farms to opium production.
 - 1. They first began trading opium in Southeast Asia and found that it was popular among the Chinese coolie workers there.
 - 2. Imports into China began in the early 19th century but only took off after the end of the Napoleonic Wars allowed Britain to refocus its attention on Asia.
 - 3. From around 1816 to the mid-1830s, the volume of opium shipped into China grew every year.
 - C. The impact of the opium trade was dramatic.
 - 1. Millions of Chinese became addicts.
- 2. The British demanded silver in payment for opium, and the flow of silver, which had been heavily in China's favor, was rapidly reversed.
 - 3. By the 1830s, China was losing silver at such a high rate that it began to face serious shortages of capital and prices were subject to dramatic fluctuations.
- III. The Qing state faced difficult problems in responding to these challenges.
 - A. The government had become bureaucratically rigid.
 - 1. Efforts to deal with problems creatively were frustrated by established interests.
 - 2. Revenues were declining, which limited the capacity of the government to fund reforms or maintain infrastructure.
 - B. Control of the opium trade was opposed by the British.
 - 1. The Qing repeatedly protested to the British about the evils of opium and its adverse impact on the Chinese economy.
 - 2. The court called for policy ideas from officials across the empire.

- 3. Lin Zexu, an experienced official who had been serving in Central Asia, proposed a mix of rehabilitation for addicts and strict prohibition of imports and sales.
- 4. Lin was named Imperial Commissioner to eradicate the opium trade.
- C. When China tried to stop the trade, Britain went to war.
 - 1. In 1839, Lin confiscated opium held by British merchants and arrested some leading British traders.
 - 2. The British argued that the real issue was free trade, and when the Chinese destroyed the opium, the British declared war.
 - 3. British military superiority inflicted serious defeats on the Chinese.
- **IV.** The Opium War of 1839–1842 ushered in a new age in China's relations with the outside world.
 - **A.** In 1842, the Qing were forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Nanjing; although it never mentioned opium, the treaty had the effect of legalizing the trade.
 - 1. The treaty required the Chinese to open ports along the coast to British and other foreign traders.
 - **2.** The treaty allowed British merchants to trade freely in China, without using the *cohong* brokers.
 - 3. It ceded Hong Kong island to Britain.
 - 4. It established the Principle of Extraterritoriality, which decreed that while British citizens were in China, they would be subject to the laws of Britain, not China.
 - **B.** In the wake of China's defeat, other Western powers also signed treaties.
 - 1. These expanded the rights of foreign powers in China.
 - 2. They included the "no most favored nation" clause, which ensured than any privilege granted to any one power must be granted to all.
 - Foreign missionaries were given legal protection to operate in China.
 - **4.** All these provisions opened China to the power of the West and led to severe disruptions of the domestic economy and political order.
 - 5. In the next lecture, we will turn to one of the stranger results of this situation, the Taiping Rebellion.

Frederick Wakeman, Strangers at the Gate.

Supplemental Reading:

James Polachek, The Inner Opium War.

- 1. Opium was illegal in England, yet Parliament voted to go to war to force China to open its markets. How is this different from the "war on drugs" of the present period?
- 2. Why were the Chinese so reluctant to open their domestic markets to the outside world?

Lecture Twenty-Nine The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

Scope: The stresses within Chinese society that were growing in the early 19th century led some Chinese to search for radical new ways to deal with the world around them. Christian missionaries from the West began to make greater headway in seeking Chinese converts. In this context, one of the more intriguing episodes in Chinese history unfolded. This lecture will trace the course of the Taiping Rebellion, in which a tiny cult begun by Hong Xiuquan, who believed himself to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ, blossomed into a mass movement of tens of millions and nearly brought the Qing dynasty to an end. By the time imperial troops destroyed the last of the Taiping forces in the mid-1860s, some 20 million people had died as a result of war and related disasters. The dynasty survived but never fully recovered from this trauma.

- I. The combination of internal and external problems gave rise in the mid-19th century to a profound challenge to the Qing dynasty.
 - **A.** In southern China, the negative impact of the opium trade and the results of the ensuing war caused widespread suffering.
 - By the 1840s, large numbers of people saw their lives disrupted by changing trade patterns and by the corrosive social effects of opium.
 - 2. The Hakka people, a linguistic and cultural minority, were particularly affected.
 - Even members of the educated strata felt the tensions in social and economic life.
 - B. Hong Xiuquan was a failed examination candidate who founded a new religious movement.
 - Hong came from a Hakka village and was trying to lift his family's fortunes through an official career.
 - 2. He repeatedly took the entry-level exam and failed each time.
 - 3. He was exposed to Christian missionary tracts during his visits to the examination site in Guangzhou.
 - 4. During a stress-induced illness following one of his examination attempts, he saw visions that he later interpreted as visits from God and Jesus, who was his older brother.
 - 5. He conceived the mission of creating a heavenly kingdom in China.
- II. The Taiping Movement grew through the 1840s.
 - A. Hong first formed the Society of God Worshippers.

- 1. This group formed a kind of rural utopia.
- 2. Many of the original members were Hakka, but the movement grew beyond the Hakka community.
- **3.** Hong had repeated visions and developed his self-centered theology.
- **B.** As others joined his movement, Hong's ambitions expanded, and he planned a campaign to overthrow the Qing.
 - 1. Thousands of farmers and artisans flocked to Hong's group.
 - 2. The Taipings developed an ideology of radical egalitarianism and the communal ownership of land.
 - **3.** They were also extreme sexual puritans, breaking up families and living in single-sex dormitories.
 - 4. By the end of the decade, they were ready to attack the dynasty.
- III. In 1850, the Taipings launched a military campaign to overthrow the Qing.
 - **A.** They set out from Guangdong province and marched north through Hunan to the Yangzi valley.
 - 1. As they fought their way north, they won repeated battles against the weak and demoralized Qing army.
 - 2. The gained many converts along the way.
 - 3. When they reached the Yangzi River, they headed east to Nanjing, where they set up their "Heavenly Capital."
 - **B.** From 1854 to 1864, the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace controlled much of central and southern China, with a population of more than 100 million.
 - 1. Although there were some efforts to conquer the north, the movement seems to have stalled out once it captured Nanjing.
 - 2. Hong Xiuquan and his fellow leaders settled into palaces in Nanjing and led a rich life of indulgence while their followers lived in poverty and sexual segregation.
- 3. The Western powers, which had at first been intrigued with Hong's professed Christianity, decided that he was not sane and declined to support the Taiping.
- III. The response of the Qing was slow in coming but eventually resulted in the defeat of the Taipings.
 - A. The established Qing military was in disarray.
 - 1. Elite Manchu banner forces had fallen into decadence and neglect.
 - 2. Chinese units were poorly paid and undisciplined.
 - 3. The defeats by the British had demoralized the military.
 - **B.** In the face of early Taiping successes, the Qing turned to local Chinese leaders for help.
 - 1. One such leader was Zeng Guofan, from Hunan.

- 2. Zeng built up a local defense force, funded from a new tax on trade within Hunan province.
- **3.** The Hunan Army became an effective fighting force, with the latest weapons and decent pay.
- **4.** Other local forces developed, and these played the decisive role in ending the Taiping Rebellion.
- **C.** By 1864, the new provincial armies came together to destroy the Taiping regime.
 - 1. Hong Xiuquan was killed and tens of thousands of Taiping followers were massacred in Nanjing.
 - 2. The defeat of the Taipings saved the Qing rulers, but the sharing of power with local Chinese leaders changed the political landscape for the rest of the dynasty.
 - 3. In the wake of defeat by the British and the narrow escape from the Taiping Rebellion, some Chinese leaders began to seek to reform the state, a process we will examine in the next lecture.

Jonathan Spence, God's Chinese Son.

Supplemental Reading:

Elizabeth J. Perry, Rebels and Revolutionaries in North China, 1845–1945.

- 1. Hong Xiuquan's claim to be the younger brother of Jesus Christ seems absurd to modern Westerners, yet it appealed to tens of millions of Chinese in the 1840s and 1850s. What might have been attractive in such a vision?
- 2. The Manchus had conquered China two centuries before the Taiping Rebellion and had lost much of their martial vigor, as indicated by the need to raise new armies from the Chinese provinces, yet Manchu rule persisted until the early 20th century. Why were the Manchus able to survive as an alien elite while earlier conquerors, such as the Mongols or the Jurchen, fell in much less time?

Lecture Thirty Efforts at Reform

Scope: The humiliation of the Opium War and the challenge of the Taiping Rebellion left a deep impression on the Qing leadership. In the second half of the 19th century, efforts were undertaken to reform the dynasty and adapt Western ideas and technologies to strengthen China and give it the ability to resist Western domination. Although they achieved some successes, these measures ultimately proved inadequate. China was again defeated militarily in 1894–1895 by the Japanese, whose aggressive adoption of Western ways contrasted strongly with the general conservatism of China. A final wave of reformist activity, with the support of the Guangxu emperor in the summer of 1898, was thwarted by the Empress Dowager Cixi and was followed by the antiforeign Boxer Rebellion of 1899–1900. Western troops invaded China to suppress the Boxers and again imposed harsh humiliations on the tottering Manchu regime.

- I. In the wake of the Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion, some Chinese and Manchus began to pursue reform.
 - **A.** Even before the final suppression of the Taipings, there were efforts to revive the Qing.
 - 1. In the 1860s, during the reign of the young Tongzhi emperor, progressive senior officials sought to restore vitality to the court.
 - 2. As new leaders, such as Zeng Guofan, emerged in provincial activities, they were offered roles in reform.
 - **B.** In the 1870s and 1880s, the Self-Strengthening Movement sought to modernize the Qing state and military.
 - Chinese officials undertook initiatives to develop a modern weapons industry, including building shipyards and arsenals.
 - **2.** A bureau for translating Western books, especially on science and technology, was founded.
 - 3. The Zongli Yamen, a kind of foreign ministry, was set up to handle relations with the Western powers.
 - **C.** Despite these efforts, China continued to be treated as an inferior by foreign states.
 - 1. In 1884, China was defeated by France as the French established their control over Vietnam, a client state of China's.
 - 2. In 1894–1895, China suffered a severe embarrassment when Japan inflicted a crushing defeat on both land and sea, ending Chinese influence in Korea.

- II. The defeat of 1895 set off a new, more intense round of reform.
 - **A.** In the autumn of 1895, examination candidates in Beijing demonstrated in protest over China's weakness.
 - 1. A minor official, Kang Youwei, organized a petition drive to call for government reform.
 - 2. Others, including Liang Qichao, began to write articles advocating political change.
 - B. In 1898, the Guangxu emperor embraced reform and issued a series of edicts.
 - 1. He called for modernizing the educational system and studying Western, as well as Chinese, topics.
 - 2. He wanted to streamline administration and reduce bureaucracy.
 - 3. He wanted to increase opportunities for people to communicate with the government.
 - 4. He appointed several reformers to high positions.
 - C. Many senior Manchus feared that reform would weaken their power, and these "100 Days," as they were known, were brought to an abrupt end.
 - 1. The Manchu nobles worried that Chinese officials would move to eliminate their influence and, perhaps, to terminate rule by the Manchu minority.
 - 2. Some Chinese officials also feared reform and allied with the conservative Manchus.
- 3. The Empress Dowager Cixi resented the autonomy of her nephew, the emperor, and moved to block his changes.
 - **4.** In September 1898, she ordered the arrest of eight leading reformers, who were executed shortly thereafter.
 - 5. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao fled to exile in Japan.
- III. The thwarting of reform allowed popular anti-foreign feelings to overflow in the Boxer Rebellion.
 - **A.** The Boxers were members of a martial arts movement with mystical beliefs.
 - Centered in Shandong province, the Boxers were angered by the privileges of foreign missionaries and the favors given to Chinese Christian converts.
 - **2.** They also resented the special concessions Germany held at Qingdao.
 - 3. Boxer fighters believed certain talismans would protect them from Western firearms.
 - 4. They thought that divine spirits would come to save China from the "barbarians"
 - **B.** In 1899, the Boxers moved out of Shandong and headed toward Beijing.

1. They began to receive official approval.

2. In June, they besieged the Western diplomatic legations in the capital.

3. An international force, led by Russian and Japanese troops, fought its way into Beijing and lifted the siege in August.

4. The Western powers occupied Beijing and imposed a harsh settlement on the Chinese, thus ending the last challenge to Western power under imperial rule.

5. The days of the Qing dynasty were now numbered; we will follow the course of its fall in the next lecture.

Essential Reading:

Paul A. Cohen and John Schrecker, Reform in Nineteenth Century China.

Supplemental Reading:

Benjamin Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power.

Joseph W. Esherick, The Origins of the Boxer Uprising.

- 1. In the middle decades of the 19th century, the Japanese managed to completely transform their government and military in line with contemporary Western models. Why was reform so difficult in China?
- 2. Chinese reformers wanted to adopt Western technologies and administrative practices but resisted the embrace of Western values. Was this a reasonable response on their part?

Lecture Thirty-One The Fall of the Empire

Scope: The failures of reform efforts gave rise to more radical forces, and agitation for the overthrow of the imperial system grew through the 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century. The revolutionary movement to create a Chinese republic was led by Sun Yatsen and had broad support among educated Chinese who wanted to save their country through modernization. In 1911, a military mutiny led to the collapse of the Qing dynasty, and China appeared to be on the way to a republican system. But corrupt military strongmen soon subverted this process, and by the middle of the 1910s, China descended into a decade of fragmentation, as warlords carved up the former empire into local satrapies.

- Shocked by the occupation of Beijing after the Boxer uprising, the Qing made last-minute gestures toward reform, but these efforts were too little and came too late.
 - **A.** The dynasty developed a plan to modernize its administration and to move toward a constitutional monarchy.
 - 1. In 1905, the Confucian examination system, which had operated without significant interruption since 1380 and with origins going back more than 2,000 years, was abolished.
 - 2. Many reforms based on the model of 1898 were put into place.
 - A blueprint for a transition to a constitutional monarchy was developed, with provincial assemblies to begin meeting by 1916.
 - **B.** These measures, however, were not enough to restore faith in the Qing among educated, politically engaged Chinese.
 - 1. Even in the 1890s, some had begun to advocate outright overthrow of the imperial system.
 - **2.** Anti-Manchu sentiment blended with anti-Western nationalism to spark interest in a revolutionary program of modernization.
- II. Sun Yatsen emerged as the principal leader of revolutionary activity.
 - A. Sun was from Guangdong province in the south.
 - He had been educated in Hawaii and Hong Kong and became a doctor of Western medicine.
 - 2. In the 1880s, he began to think about radical change for China.
 - **3.** He began to build a movement in the 1890s, aimed not at reform but at ending imperial rule.

- **B.** By the beginning of the 20th century, Sun's movement grew into the mainstream of revolutionary activity.
 - 1. He founded the *Tongmeng hui*, the Revolutionary League, to bring together various anti-Qing movements.
 - 2. He traveled extensively in China and around the world, raising money and promoting the ideal of a republican government for China.
- 3. Several abortive uprisings were organized by the revolutionaries, but all ended in failure.

III. In 1911, the dynasty collapsed suddenly.

- A. The Empress Dowager and the Guangxu emperor had died in 1908.
 - 1. A little boy, Puyi, came to the throne as the last emperor.
 - 2. Conservative Manchu elders slowed down the process of reform.
- **B.** The modernized military became a focus of revolutionary politics.
 - 1. Qing efforts to build a modern army had unintended consequences: Officers and men wanted political reform as well.
 - 2. Junior officers often joined the Revolutionary Alliance.
- C. A mutiny at Wuhan triggered the collapse of the dynasty.
 - 1. In October 1911, revolutionary soldiers in Wuhan, in central China, feared arrest and seized their garrison.
 - 2. They proclaimed the surrounding province of Hubei independent of the dynasty.
 - 3. Over the next weeks, a dozen other provinces declared independence.
- **D.** In the winter of 1911–1912, events moved quickly.
 - 1. Sun Yatsen, who had been on a speaking tour in America when the revolution broke out, returned to China at the end of the year.
 - 2. Yuan Shikai, commander of the modern Beiyang Army, negotiated the abdication of the last emperor.
 - 3. In a political deal, Sun yielded the presidency of the new Republic of China to Yuan.
 - **4.** A provisional assembly was elected in 1912, with Sun's newly formed *Guomindang*, or Nationalist Party, gaining the most seats.

IV. Yuan Shikai betrayed the revolution and precipitated an era of warlordism.

- A. Yuan refused to follow the new constitution and tried to hold on to power.
 - 1. He dissolved the assembly when it would not support him.
 - 2. He had a Nationalist leader, Song Jiaoren, assassinated.
 - 3. He even tried to have himself made emperor.
 - 4. These efforts failed as a result of rivalry with other warlords. Yuan died in 1916.

- **B.** Local military leaders then carved China into warlord domains and plunged the country into chaos.
 - 1. Warfare between militarists caused economic disruption and great suffering among the people.
 - 2. China's weakness opened the door to Japan's growing ambitions in China, which we will consider in a later lecture.
 - 3. As the political world fell apart, many Chinese thinkers and activists were seeking new ways to come to grips with the crises they found around them. We will look at this process in the next lecture.

Marie-Claire Bergere, Sun Yat-sen.

Supplemental Reading:

Joseph W. Esherick, Reform and Revolution in China.

- 1. In abolishing the examination system in 1905, the Qing destroyed the central cultural institution of the literati elite. How did they expect to retain the loyalty of educated Chinese without this?
- 2. In presenting his revolutionary program in the form of modern nationalism, how might Sun Yatsen have dealt with the problem of Chinese ethnic identity? Could Manchus be Nationalists, too?

Lecture Thirty-Two

The New Culture Movement and May 4th

Scope: Chinese intellectuals and new urban elites completely rejected the traditional imperial system and the Confucian ideology that had been its official orthodoxy. New kinds of ideas were sought that would allow China to regain internal cohesion and develop into a modern country with the kind of power and prestige it had possessed in the past.

Nationalism, a belief in science and democracy, anarchism, and other European ideas began to spread, as did the pragmatism of the American thinker John Dewey. At the same time, a profound disillusionment with the practical political actions of the Western powers began to spread. After the Versailles Peace Conference agreed to give Japan control of former German-held territories in China, thousands of students took to the streets of Beijing on May 4, 1919, fighting with the police and burning down the house of the foreign minister. This ferment of ideas and political movements set the stage for the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party.

- I. With the collapse of the last dynasty, many Chinese repudiated the whole imperial tradition.
 - **A.** The Confucian political culture was seen as a dead weight on Chinese society.
 - 1. Scholars and writers rejected the use of the classical literary language and, instead, advocated *baihua*, the plain vernacular language of daily speech.
 - 2. The values of Confucian social relations and ritual were seen as rigid impediments to democratic egalitarianism.
 - **3.** Confucianism was seen as oppressing women and young people and privileging the elite over ordinary workers and farmers.
 - **B.** The New Culture Movement sought modern alternatives to the Confucian past.
 - 1. New magazines and literary journals in plain language were published.
 - 2. Ideas about science, democracy, and various kinds of European philosophies were discussed.
 - **3.** Western thinkers, such as John Dewey, George Bernard Shaw, and Bertrand Russell, visited China and gave public talks about their ideas.
 - C. Other movements were more concerned with organizing workers.

- 1. Chinese anarchists began to build unions even before the collapse of the Qing.
- 2. In the 1910s, anarchists were the largest mass political movement in China.
- **3.** Ideas about socialism, feminism, and radical egalitarianism were propagated by the anarchists and by socialists and other Chinese students returning from study in Japan.
- II. World War I provided first hope, then frustration for the Chinese.
 - **A.** During the war, Chinese industry was able to make gains.
 - 1. As the Western powers were concerned with events in Europe, Chinese businessmen took the opportunity to expand their operations and gain market share both at home and abroad.
 - 2. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers went to France to replace French workers who had joined the army.
 - 3. These workers sent home both money and ideas and brought back their experiences of unions, elections, and radical politics.
 - **B.** At the end of the war, Western promises of "self-determination" proved to be hollow rhetoric.
 - 1. The Allies had justified the war, in part, as a campaign for the "self-determination of peoples."
 - 2. At Versailles, however, the victors divided up the spoils of the defeated and made clear their intention to retain their own colonial empires.
 - 3. In 1915, Japan had delivered to the Chinese government a program, known as "The 21 Demands," aimed at facilitating Japanese domination of China, which the Chinese refused to accept. After the war, Japan, which had formally been on the Allied side, was allowed to keep the former German concessions it had occupied during the war.
 - **4.** China, which had also been an ally and had sent much real aid to France, was forced to agree to the terms of the treaty.
- III. The May 4th Movement broke out as a response to the betrayal at Versailles.
 - A. When news of the decision in Paris reached China, students took to the streets of Beijing.
 - 1. Several thousand rallied at Tiananmen, where the government ministries stood.
 - **2.** They marched east toward the Western legations but were blocked by police.
 - 3. They then burned down the home of the foreign minister.
 - **4.** Several students were arrested and many more were beaten by police.
 - **B.** The movement spread beyond Beijing and was embraced by merchants and workers, as well.

- 1. Strikes and boycotts against Japanese businesses and goods took place in many Chinese cities.
- 2. Eventually, the government had to release arrested students, and the Chinese delegation at Versailles refused to sign the final version of the treaty.
- C. The May 4th Movement and the New Culture Movement created a basis for the rise of the Chinese Communist Party.
- 1. In the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, news about Marxism and Leninism spread in China.
- 2. Chinese who had rejected the imperial past and who now felt betrayed by the Western liberal democracies began to turn to communism as a new alternative.
- 3. The Chinese Communist Party would come to be the most serious force seeking to transform China. We will follow its early development in the next lecture.

Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement.

Supplemental Reading:

Arif Dirlik, Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution.

- 1. Why was language reform so important to the progressive intellectuals of the early 20th century?
- 2. Given that both China and Japan had supported the Allies in the First World War, why did the Versailles Peace Conference agree to allow Japan to retain the former German concessions in China?

Lecture Thirty-Three The Chinese Communists, 1921–1937

Scope: The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was founded in Shanghai in 1921. It grew out of discussion groups in Beijing and elsewhere and with the help of advisors from the Soviet Union. In the early 1920s, the Communists and the Nationalists, led by Sun Yatsen, formed an alliance, but after Sun's death in 1925, this collapsed as the new Nationalist leader, Chiang Kaishek, sought to destroy the CCP. In 1927, Chiang launched all-out attacks on Communists and drove the Party out of China's cities. In response, largely influenced by the ideas of Mao Zedong, the Party turned to a peasant strategy, relying on agricultural workers to build the revolution. After a period of experimentation in the early 1930s and following the epic Long March from southeast to northwest China, the CCP established its main base area in Shaanxi province in 1936 and, in 1937, managed to form a new alliance with the Nationalists.

- The Chinese Communist Party was founded in Shanghai in 1921 and soon sought an alliance with the Nationalists.
 - **A.** The Party was established through the actions of Chinese Marxists and Soviet advisors.
 - Study groups in Beijing and other cities had been meeting since 1919.
 - 2. Advisors sent by the Communist International in Moscow worked with Chinese Marxists, including Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu.
 - 3. The First Party Congress was held in July–August 1921 in Shanghai, with a handful of delegates in attendance.
 - **B.** Realizing that they did not have the strength to lead a revolution right away, the members of the CCP sought an alliance with the Nationalist Guomindang (GMD).
 - 1. The GMD was still led by Sun Yatsen, who had been impressed with the organizational efficiency of the Bolshevik Party.
 - 2. Sun was willing to work with the CCP as long as Communists accepted the leading role of the Nationalists.
 - 3. The First United Front allowed Communists to join the GMD as individuals, and many, such as Mao Zedong, rose to positions of responsibility and influence.
- II. In 1925, Sun Yatsen died, and the CCP-GMD alliance began to crumble.
 - A. Sun was succeeded as leader of the GMD by Chiang Kaishek.

- 1. Chiang was a military man who had been leader of the GMD military academy at Whampoa, near Guangzhou.
- 2. He had studied in the Soviet Union and formed a strong aversion to the Communists.
- 3. After Sun's death, Chiang was one of several strong leaders in the GMD.
- 4. He used his control of the army to intimidate and outflank his rivals and eventually became supreme leader.
- B. In 1926, Chiang launched the Northern Expedition to reunite China.
 - 1. The GMD had been in control only of Guangdong province in the far south.
 - 2. Chiang led GMD forces north and either defeated or bribed local warlords, bringing them into the GMD regime.
 - 3. In April 1927, he reached Shanghai but allowed local gangsters and secret GMD agents to wipe out the Communists in the city before bringing his army in to take control.
 - 4. This precipitated a split with the CCP, and a major purge of Communists in all GMD-controlled cities followed.

III. The CCP had to find a new way to survive.

- **A.** For a while, urban Communists and their Soviet advisors tried to carry on as before.
 - 1. The main Party leadership called for uprisings and strikes, but these actions were all failures.
 - 2. Leadership in the Party changed hands repeatedly.
- B. In the countryside, a new strategy was evolving, largely led by Mao Zedong.
 - 1. Mao had been director of the GMD's Peasant Bureau.
 - 2. He believed that "agricultural workers" could be the main force in the revolution.
 - A rural base area was set up in southern Jiangxi, where Communist policies could be tried out and refined, including early efforts at land reform.
- C. Chiang Kaishek completed the unification of China and turned his attention to the eradication of the Communists.
 - 1. By the end of the 1920s, the northern warlords had been brought under GMD control, and a new national government was installed in Nanjing.
 - **2.** Chiang saw the CCP as his main enemy, despite Japanese aggression in Manchuria, which was seized in September 1931.
 - 3. In the early 1930s, Chiang launched repeated campaigns to destroy the CCP bases in Jiangxi.

- **IV.** The Communists embarked on the Long March to reach northwest China and build a new base of operations.
 - **A.** In the autumn of 1934, it became apparent that Chiang was preparing a final assault on the CCP's base.
 - Communist leaders decided to abandon the Jiangxi Soviet and go to northwest China, where another small base area already existed.
 - 2. In October 1934, 115,000 people set out on foot, leaving a small contingent behind to make a last stand against the GMD.
 - 3. Over the next year, the CCP forces walked across much of southwest and northwest China, crossing mountains, marshes, deep gorges, and barren deserts, reaching Shaanxi province late in 1935.
 - **4.** Of the 115,000 who set out on the Long March, only about 15,000 survived, and they became heroes of the revolution, respected even today for the sacrifices they made.
 - B. Once in their new base in Yenan, Mao and the CCP leaders turned to resisting Japanese aggression and to building their movement for a New China, even forming a Second United Front with the GMD in December 1936. We will follow that story in the next lecture.

Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915–1949.

Supplemental Reading:

Harrison Salisbury, *The Long March*. Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China*.

- 1. Why was Chiang Kaishek so obsessed with the Chinese Communists and so willing to ignore the expansionist ambitions of Japan?
- 2. How could Mao Zedong justify his advocacy of a leading role for peasants in the revolution, given the Marxist ideology of the working class as the main force in modern history?

Lecture Thirty-Four War and Revolution

Scope: The Second United Front was not really effective, but it did last in some form throughout the war against Japan. Once Japan was defeated, though, civil war followed quickly. Despite massive aid from the United States, the Nationalists were defeated by the Chinese Red Army in 1949, and Chiang's forces withdrew to the island of Taiwan. The Chinese Communists, under Mao's leadership, set about creating a "New China" and launched a program of building socialism. Land reform, a new marriage law, and the nationalization of urban industry were the first steps. The Korean War threatened to disrupt this process, but China managed to prevent an American invasion and to pursue its new policies with aid from the Soviet Union in the 1950s.

- I. In December 1936, the CCP and GMD formed a new United Front.
 - A. GMD General Zhang Xueliang "arrested" Chiang Kaishek and forced him to negotiate with the Communists.
 - The "Xian Incident," named for the city near which it took place, reflected the frustration of many patriotic Chinese with Chiang's refusal to fight the Japanese.
 - 2. The CCP agreed to join in a new alliance to resist Japan's aggression in northeast China.
 - 3. Chiang accepted the agreement, but Zhang Xueliang was kept under arrest until the 1990s.
 - **B.** The Second United Front lasted through World War II, but was never fully effective.
 - Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China in July 1937.
 - 2. The GMD was forced to retreat to Chongqing, in Sichuan, while Japan occupied much of northern and central China.
 - Japanese atrocities at Nanjing—what came to be known as the Rape of Nanjing— and elsewhere stiffened Chinese resistance.
 - 4. The CCP led a guerrilla war against the Japanese from bases in Shaanxi.
- II. By 1944, Japan's defeat was seen as inevitable, and both the GMD and CCP began to prepare for the postwar period.
 - **A.** Chiang hoarded military supplies from the United States in preparation for attacking the CCP once the war with Japan was over.
 - 1. Frustration with Chiang's attitude led to clashes with his American military advisor, Joseph Stilwell.

- 2. Chiang knew that the Americans would defeat Japan and didn't want to expend his forces fighting the occupation army.
- **B.** The CCP saw the coming end of the war as the chance to extend the revolutionary struggle.
 - 1. Communist activism against the Japanese had greatly expanded support for the revolution among the farmers of north China.
 - 2. The CCP saw Chiang as hopelessly corrupt.
- C. When Japan surrendered, there was a period of negotiation, but civil war broke out before long.
- 1. The United States sent negotiators to try to keep the peace in China, but by the middle of 1946, the confrontation between the CCP and the GMD was beyond control.
- 2. The United States aided Chiang's forces and turned over supplies from the defeated Japanese to them.
 - 3. The Russians gave the CCP some aid from their occupation of Manchuria.
 - 4. Major fighting took place through 1948, and by early 1949, it was clear that the CCP would win.
- III. The People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949.
 - A. The Nationalists withdrew to Taiwan.
 - 1. The Battle of Huai-Hai in November 1948 signaled the end for Chiang's army.
 - 2. He ordered the withdrawal to Taiwan, after first carrying out a massacre of Taiwanese dissidents.
 - **B.** On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the PRC in Beijing.
 - 1. The new government set about stabilizing China, then launched a program of Socialist transformation.
 - 2. The foundation of the program was land reform, in which the economic back of the old literati elite was finally broken.
 - 3. The government also passed a new marriage law, which gave women freedom to marry whom they pleased and to own property.
 - **4.** Urban industry began to be nationalized, and the financial system was brought under government control.
 - C. An alliance with the Soviet Union brought material aid to China, but the Korean War threatened the new regime.
 - 1. Mao signed a treaty of friendship with Moscow in 1950.
 - 2. Soviet advisors came to China in great numbers to help with building projects and educational reform.
 - 3. The civil war in Korea threatened to bring American troops into northeast China, but massive Chinese intervention saved the North Koreans and protected China's frontier.

4. The stage was set for the pursuit of Mao's image of a "New China"; we will examine the major steps in that process in the next lecture.

Essential Reading:

Jonathan Spence, Mao Zedong.

Supplemental Reading:

John Fitzgerald, Awakening China.

Chalmers Johnson, Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power.

- 1. The Communist Party led the most active resistance to the Japanese occupation, and won widespread support among the peasantry of northern China. Was this a sufficient basis for carrying out its revolutionary program?
- 2. Chiang Kaishek relied on the United States to win the war with Japan. Did he then expect that the United States would intervene in China's civil war?

Lecture Thirty-Five China under Mao

Scope: For a quarter of a century, Mao Zedong was the dominant figure in the People's Republic of China, but his prominence should not mask the underlying tensions and disagreements in the Chinese Communist Party. A series of clashes among Party leaders was reflected in the history of the Great Leap Forward, the Socialist Education Movement, and finally, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This lecture will tease out the complex interaction of differing groups within the Communist leadership and consider how the economic and political development of China fared through Mao's death in 1976.

- I. From 1949 until his death in 1976, Mao Zedong was the dominant figure in China.
 - **A.** Mao's vision of a New China was the avowed goal of the government of the People's Republic.
 - 1. Within the leadership of the CCP, however, there were divergent views of how to pursue the goals of Socialist development.
 - 2. Debates and disagreements within the Party shaped the history of the PRC and sometimes broke out into public conflicts.
 - 3. Mao generally was able to win the day but, at times, had to compromise or give up some of his power to gain his objectives.
 - B. In the 1950s, the main area of contention was over agricultural policy.
 - 1. Following land reform, there was a gradual process of collectivization, which at first, was voluntary and modest in scale.
 - 2. These early steps were quite successful, and yields rose rapidly, leading to enthusiasm for further collectivization.
 - 3. By 1956, Mao began to urge an accelerated program, which soon led to the creation of the People's Communes, large-scale units of collective farming.
 - 4. The Great Leap Forward in 1958 and 1959 was an attempt to mobilize peasant labor to achieve a "take off" in production that could also provide investment for urban industrial growth.
 - 5. It failed because of bureaucratic over-reporting and exaggerated claims, which triggered excessive consumption and, ultimately, led to food shortages.
- II. The failure of the Great Leap led to the first serious clash within the Party.
 - **A.** Through the 1950s, the CCP had carried out political campaigns against "rightists" and "anti-Party elements."

- 1. These campaigns were often used by Party bureaucrats to strike at those who criticized their abuses of public trust.
- 2. The Party's popularity suffered somewhat from this, but the overall achievements of the revolution still won wide support.
- **B.** With the Great Leap came the first open clash between Party leaders.
 - 1. At a conference of top Party leaders in August 1959, the defense minister, Peng Dehuai, criticized Mao.
 - 2. Mao counterattacked and was able to have Peng removed from office but had to agree to give up control over the day-to-day management of government affairs.
 - C. Over the next three years, the CCP adopted more moderate tactics, and a "pragmatist" group, led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, came to have great influence.
 - 1. These leaders emphasized the achievement of concrete economic objectives rather than the integration of politics and the economy.
 - 2. They moved away from the more highly collectivized aspects of Mao's policies.
- III. By 1962, Mao began to reassert his leadership.
 - A. In 1962, he advocated a Socialist Education Campaign to give Party leaders a better sense of life among the people.
 - 1. Leaders were to "go down" and experience the realities of village and factory life.
 - 2. But senior and mid-level Party leaders didn't want to give up their privileged lifestyles, and the campaign was diverted into another "anti-rightist" episode.
 - **B.** Mao became increasingly frustrated and sought to go outside the Party to appeal to the people directly.
 - In 1966, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao without the support of other Party leaders.
 - 2. He called on "the masses" to criticize those in the Party taking "the capitalist road" and behaving like a new ruling elite.
 - 3. The forces unleashed by these actions proved to be more than Mao had anticipated, and after two years of widespread conflict, he began to try to regain Party control.
 - 4. At the Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969, the Cultural Revolution was basically ended, though it was carried on in name until Mao's death.
- **IV.** In the years from 1969 to 1976, there was an effective stalemate within the CCP; neither the pragmatists nor the radicals could gain total control.
 - A. The radical forces were centered in the Gang of Four, with Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, as leader.
 - 1. The Gang of Four controlled much of the information and cultural affairs of the country.

- 2. In 1971, Mao's designated successor, Lin Biao, was denounced as a traitor and accused of having plotted to kill Mao.
- **B.** The pragmatists, led by Deng Xiaoping since Liu Shaoqi's death in 1969, were purged from power, in theory, but still controlled much of the technical and bureaucratic aspects of the Party and government.
 - 1. Deng had been sent to labor reform in the late 1960s but, by 1972, was in charge of China's science and technology policy.
 - 2. Mao seemed to balance the radicals and pragmatists against one another and was unable or unwilling to give full support to either side.
- C. In 1976, a series of dramatic events signaled the coming of a great change.
 - 1. In January, China's much-loved prime minister, Zhou Enlai, died.
 - 2. In April, large-scale demonstrations against the Gang of Four took place in Tiananmen Square.
 - 3. In July, a major earthquake killed nearly 300,000 people in Tangshan, northeast of the capital.
 - 4. Finally, on September 9, Mao died.
 - 5. From 1976 on, China had to come to grips with life without Mao, and the post-Mao era soon proved to be one of profound change and dramatic developments.
- 6. In the final lecture, we will consider China after Mao and prospects for China and the world at the dawn of the 21st century.

Maurice Meisner, Mao's China and After.

Supplemental Reading:

William Hinton, Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village. Hong Yong Lee, The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

- 1. Why were land reform and the marriage law the first priorities for the new government in 1949–1950?
- 2. Mao believed that the Communist Party was becoming too bureaucratic and alienated from the masses and that it would become a new elite, replacing the old literati. Was he right?

Lecture Thirty-Six China and the World in a New Century

Scope: Mao's death in September 1976 was quickly followed by the abandonment of his revolutionary vision and by a reorientation of China's economic and political development. In the 1980s, Deng Xiaoping led China to adopt an aggressive program of modernization and openness to the outside world. Economic changes gave rise to widespread corruption and unequal access to opportunity, with the members of the Party gaining disproportionate wealth and power. The student-led protests of 1989 vented deep social grievances. Yet despite the violence of their suppression, the CCP has retained legitimacy in the eyes of most Chinese because it has continued to deliver a rising standard of living for the vast majority of the people. As China enters the 21st century and the World Trade Organization, it is perhaps on the threshold of regaining its traditional place as one of the great powers of the world.

Outline Totals Island

- I. Within two years of Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping remerged as the top leader in China.
 - **A.** In October 1976, just a month after Mao died, the members of the Gang of Four were arrested.
 - 1. A coalition of pragmatists and conservative Party leaders moved to isolate and remove the last of the radical elements.
 - 2. Mao's designated successor, Hua Guofeng, held on to office, but real power began to flow to Deng.
 - 3. Military leaders and the technocrats in the state-planning apparatus supported Deng's return to leadership.
 - 4. In November 1978, Deng was named vice premier, and his control over policy making was assured.
- **B.** The political and economic orientation of China changed as Mao's policies were abandoned.
 - Deng wanted to emphasize technical expertise over political considerations.
 - 2. He began to dismantle collective ownership in agriculture.
 - 3. He adopted strong family-planning measures to bring population growth under control.
 - 4. He expanded opportunities for private economic activity.
 - 5. China opened its doors to direct foreign investment.

- II. The 1980s was a great period of development, as China became more engaged with the global economy, but stresses also built up domestically.
 - A. As foreign capital flowed into China, the economy began to grow rapidly.
 - 1. Special Economic Zones were set up to encourage investment.
 - 2. Market reforms began to be introduced in both agriculture and industry.
 - 3. Private enterprises grew in number, but Party and government oversight created many opportunities for corruption.
 - **B.** A new strata of wealthy entrepreneurs began to emerge, often with links to the Party, while many workers in state enterprises saw their incomes stagnate.
 - 1. As some Chinese became wealthier, they began to engage in conspicuous consumption.
 - 2. Workers in some state sectors, especially in education and professions, did not share in the rising wage scales of private-sector workers.
 - 3. Public perceptions of growing inequities and corruption began to create social tensions.
- III. In 1989, student-led protests challenged the leadership of the CCP.
 - A. Protests had taken place throughout the 1980s, especially from 1986 on.
- 1. Some of these took the form of anti-Japanese demonstrations.
 - 2. Others more directly criticized the Party leadership.
 - 3. Some Party leaders, such as Hu Yaobang, quietly supported such protests.
- **B.** When Hu died in April 1989, students used his funeral as a forum to launch new protests.
 - 1. The visit of the reformist Russian leader Gorbachev gave protesters access to the global media.
- 2. The CCP leadership was taken by surprise by the extent of the demonstrations in Beijing.
 - 3. Deep divisions in the leadership delayed any effective response, positive or negative.
 - 4. When Deng Xiaoping finally resolved to suppress the demonstrations, the use of force was unavoidable.
 - C. On June 4, the army regained control of Beijing, but hundreds of people were killed in the process.
 - 1. Most students had given up their occupation of Tiananmen Square.
 - 2. The majority of people in central Beijing were from out of town and had nowhere else to go.
 - 3. Fighting in the streets was brief but intense.
 - 4. Beijing was placed under martial law.

- **IV.** In the years since 1989, the CCP has managed to maintain its legitimacy by delivering rising living standards, but the need for eventual political change cannot be ignored forever.
 - **A.** China is, today, perhaps the most rapidly developing country in the world.
 - 1. The economy continues to grow at exceptionally fast rates.
 - 2. Hundreds of millions of Chinese have seen dramatic improvements in their material conditions of life.
 - 3. But problems have also grown in health care and education, as well as other social services.
 - 4. The Marriage Law of 1950 was a strong effort to equalize the status of men and women in Chinese society. In the era of economic reform, however, the status of women has deteriorated.
 - 5. Crime, while still much less of a problem than in the West, has been growing.
 - **B.** On the threshold of the 21st century, China is poised for continuing growth and is likely to resume its ancient role as a great world power.
 - 1. Although China has undergone dramatic and often traumatic change in the modern age, it has also retained strong links to its past.
 - 2. In the post-Communist age, many elements of traditional society have begun to reemerge.
 - 3. Even Confucian values are finding new life in today's China.
 - 4. How China will assume its place in the world in the decades ahead remains unclear, but there can be little doubt that it will be a force to be reckoned with.
 - 5. Understanding China's long and complex history is important, not only for its inherent interest, but for each of us as participants in the public life of our country and our world.

Bruce Gilley, Tiger on the Brink.

Supplemental Reading:

Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng.* Jun Jing, *The Temple of Memories*.

- 1. How will China's historical experience of the last 200 years shape its relationship with the West in the future?
- 2. Based on China's role in East Asia and the world in the past, is there any reason to anticipate that China will be a militarily expansionist power?

COURSE GUIDEBOOK



From Yao to Mao: 5000 Years of Chinese History

Part III

Lecture 25: The Rise of the Manchus

Lecture 26: Kangxi to Qianlong

Lecture 27: The Coming of the West

Lecture 28: Threats from Within and Without

Lecture 29: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

Lecture 30: Efforts at Reform

Lecture 31: The Fall of the Empire

Lecture 32: The New Culture Movement and May 4th

Lecture 33: The Chinese Communists, 1921-1937

Lecture 34: War and Revolution

Lecture 35: China Under Mao

Lecture 36: China and the World in a New Century



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323