

# GEOGRAPHY AND HERITAGE OF CHINA



**Rearing Dragon** This mythical creature has always had special meaning for the Chinese. They regarded it as a helpful animal that brought moisture to the earth. Like water itself, which, sometimes came as floods and at other times came as much-needed rain, a dragon could signify both good and bad. **Fine Art** How does the artist suggest the dragon's great power over the Chinese people's lives?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Geographic Setting
- 2 Enduring Traditions
- 3 Patterns of Life
- 4 Powerful Empires
- 5 Roots of Revolution

**T**he attendants of the emperor pushed toward the palace gate, eager to get their first glimpse of a *qilin*. According to Chinese legend, the beast could walk without crushing the grass and had a single horn to strike evildoers. More important, its appearance was a sign that a ruler was just and virtuous.

To mark the occasion, a court poet, Shen Du, composed an ode.

“A qilin has in truth been produced, some fifteen feet in height,  
Its body that of a deer and with the tail of an ox,  
with a fleshy horn without bone,  
And luminous spots like a red cloud, a purple mist.”

The qilin described by Shen Du was a real creature. During the early 1400s, Chinese fleets had sailed around Southeast Asia to India and Africa. They returned with a gift for the emperor's zoo—a giraffe.

To the Chinese, the giraffe was more than an exotic animal from a distant land. It was a symbol that suited perfectly their beliefs about the emperor and his rule.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

For much of its history, China had little to do with the rest of the world. Located far from other civilizations, the Chinese viewed their land as the center of the world and their civilization as superior.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ China's civilization influenced East Asia for thousands of years.
- ▶ Traditions based on family and Confucian teachings helped to shape ancient China.
- ▶ Chinese advances in science and technology later spread to other parts of the world.
- ▶ European imperialism and crises in China led to a long process of revolutionary change.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

"How glorious is the Sacred Emperor,"  
Shen Du

*Analects*, Confucius

*The Way of Virtue*, Lao Zi

"Work, work—from the rising sun,"  
Chinese folk verse

*The Travels of Marco Polo*, Marco Polo

"Fighting South of the Ramparts,"  
Li Bo

For other literature suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

# 1

## GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

### FIND OUT

How did location shape China's view of the world?

Why is China's population unevenly distributed?

How have rivers influenced the lives of the Chinese?

**Vocabulary** loess

A Chinese historian guides a visitor to the highest terrace of the Temple of Heaven in Beijing\* (bay jihng), China's capital. The tourist gazes at a stone. The guide explains that the ancient Chinese believed the stone was the center of the Earth. The guide notes,

“We Chinese call our country Zhong-guo [Middle Kingdom]. . . . The Chinese for centuries knew no other world than China, for thousands of years no other highly developed culture than their own. . . . The realm of the Han [Chinese] was the center of civilization, the center of the Earth.”

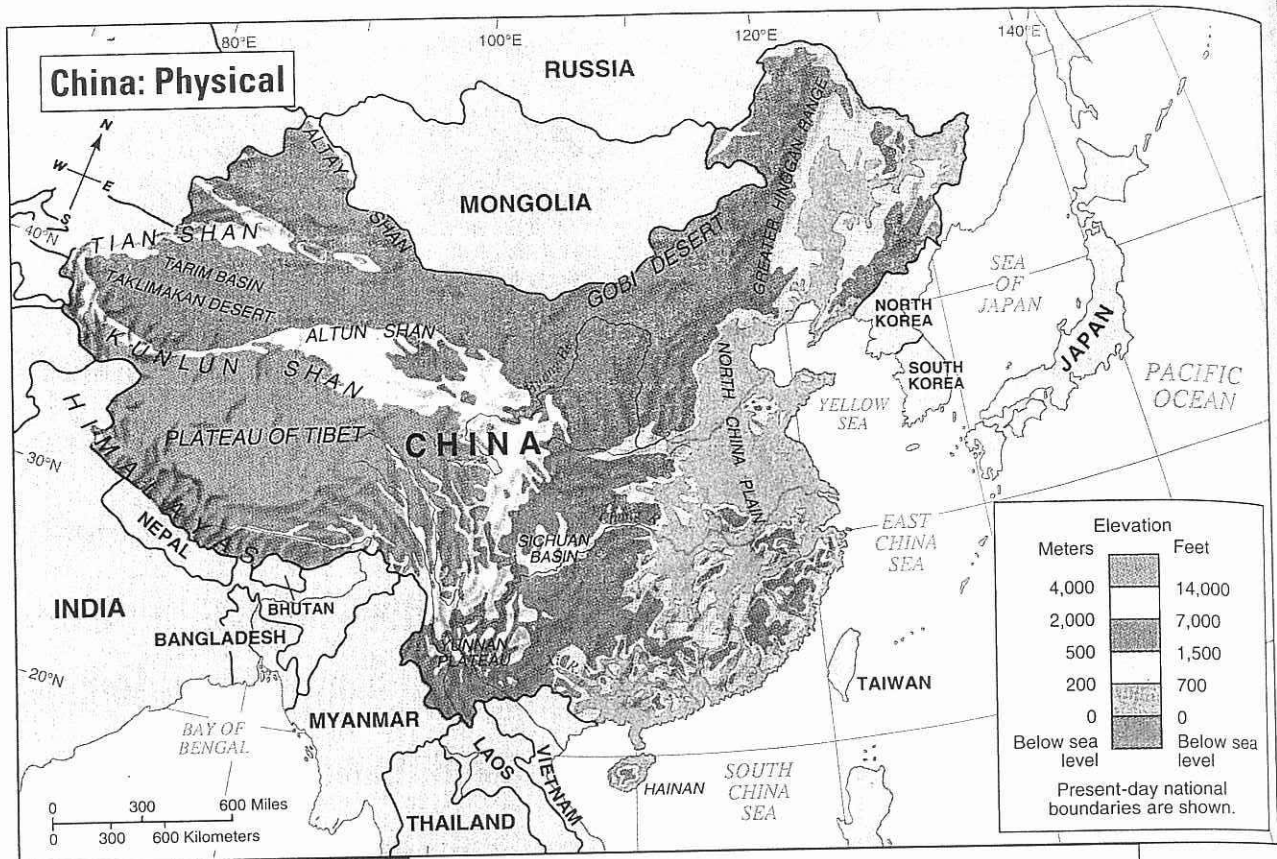
### Location

China's location helps to explain why the Chinese thought they lived at the center of the Earth. As the map on page 324 shows, China covers a huge area. Long ago, distance and physical barriers limited contact between China and other centers of civilization.

The physical barriers of China are varied. They include the vast Gobi Desert, the rugged Mongolian and Tibetan plateaus, and the towering Himalaya Mountains. Mountains

\* Most Chinese names in this book are spelled according to the Pinyin system established in China in 1979.





### MAP STUDY

China's vast landmass extends from the Pacific Ocean into the heart of Central Asia. China is the third largest nation in the world. Eighty percent of its land is mountains and plateaus.

- 1. Location** Identify and give the location of China's three main rivers.
- 2. Region** (a) Describe the relative location of the North China Plain. (b) What is the elevation of most of its land?
- 3. Understanding Causes and Effects** Why does most of China's population live in the eastern part of the nation?

and rain forests also separate China from Southeast Asia. To the east lies the Pacific Ocean.

Despite physical barriers, China did have some contact with other peoples. Trading caravans trekked great distances, carrying goods between China, India, and the Middle East. Buddhist missionaries carried their religion into China. Invaders, too, swept into China, helping to spread ideas and technologies.

Today, China is one of the largest nations in the world. Modern forms of transportation and communication link China to other parts of the world.

### Landforms

China is home to more than 1.2 billion people, or more than one fifth of the world's population. It covers a huge area—3.7 million square miles (9.6 million sq km). Yet most Chinese are crowded into the eastern third of the country. Why do most Chinese live in an area that is about half the size of the United States?

The answer lies in part with China's topography and in part with its economy. Today, as in the past, most Chinese are farmers. They live wherever they can find land that will support them.

Mountains and plateaus cover about 80 percent of China, including much of western China. Because of the rugged terrain and cold, dry climate, the highlands are not suited to farming. As a result, western China has a scattered population, and many people are nomadic herders.

About 20 percent of China is level land, including the coastal plain and the river valleys. Yet only about half of the level land is good for farming. Because there is so little arable land elsewhere, people crowd into eastern China.

To create more farmland, people have constructed terraces, or small, flat fields built into the sides of hills and mountains. The terraces hold the soil in place so that farmers can plant crops.

## Regions

China has six main regions. Two regions, which lie in densely populated eastern China, are known as the Chinese heartland. As you will read, the heartland was home to China's first civilization.

**The heartland.** The two regions of the heartland are North and South China. Together, they stretch from Beijing in the north to China's border with Vietnam in the south.

Because North China and South China have different climates, they produce different crops.

North China has warm or hot summers and cold winters. Rainfall varies greatly, and farmers never know how much to expect. Years of floods may alternate with years of severe drought. The chief food crops of North China are wheat and millet.

The cities of Beijing and Tianjin (tyehn jihn) are manufacturing centers in North China. As China's capital, Beijing has had a major impact on cultural and political affairs.

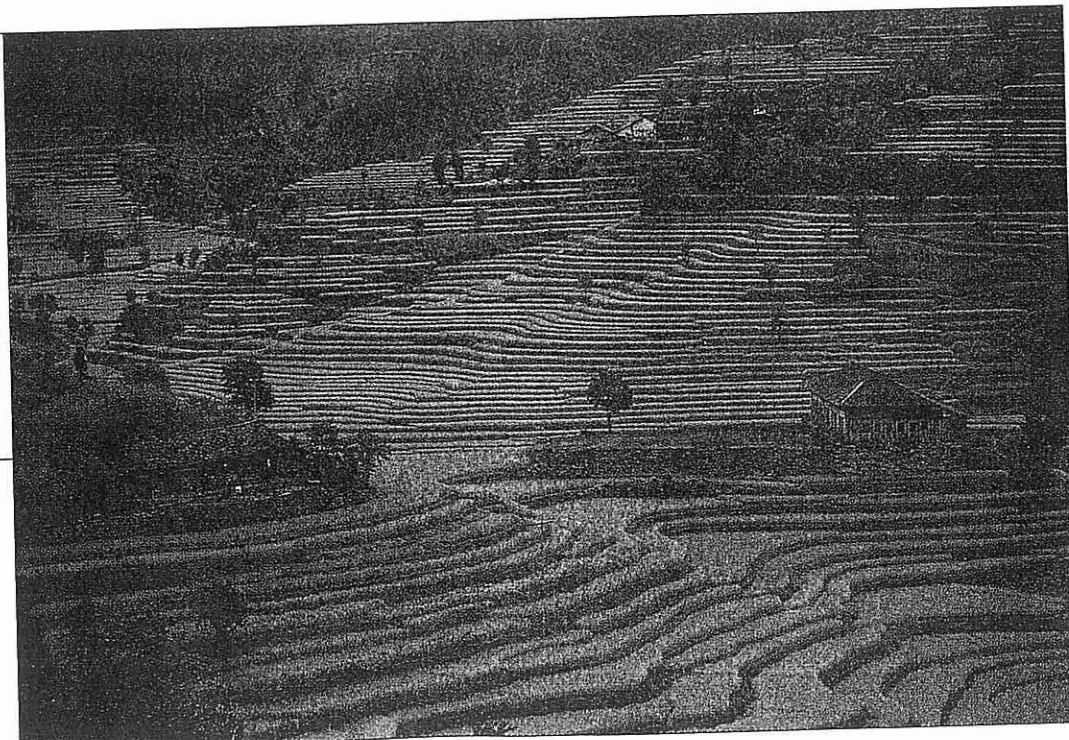
South China is a much richer farming and industrial region than North China. The mild, humid climate allows farmers to grow rice, cotton, tea, vegetables, and many other crops. Because much of South China is hilly, people are packed onto farmland in the river valleys and around lakes.

**Outlying regions.** Four regions lie beyond the heartland: the Northeast, Mongolia,\* Xinjiang (sheen jee ahng), and Xizang (shee dzahng). They are home to diverse ethnic groups. Some areas are rich in natural resources.

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\* One part of Mongolia is an independent country. The other part is under Chinese control.

**Terrace Farming**  
Chinese farmers began terracing hills and mountains at least 700 years ago. Terraces are still needed today because only 7 percent of China's land is arable.  
**Technology** Why must sloping land be terraced before crops can be grown on it?





The Northeast was once known as Manchuria. As you will read, the Manchu (man-choo) people who lived there conquered China during the 1600s. Today, the Chinese government is working to develop the region's many resources, including oil, iron, aluminum ore, coal, lead, and zinc. Because of its cold climate, the Northeast is sparsely populated. The government offers special rewards to attract people to the region.

Lying in the parched Gobi Desert, Mongolia, too, has a harsh climate. Summers are extremely hot, and winters are bitterly cold. The government has tried to improve irrigation and thereby promote farming.

The desert basin of Xinjiang is an important oil-producing region. If the government's plans for irrigation succeed, the region may also produce wheat and cotton. Xinjiang is home to many non-Chinese peoples, including Muslim Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kyrgyz. Although it has been isolated for a long time, Xinjiang is now linked to the heartland by railroads.

Xizang, also known as Tibet, sits among several mountain ranges, including the world's highest mountains—the Himalayas. Much of the region is barren and treeless, but farming is possible in some valleys. Since taking over Tibet in 1950, China has tried to

develop its rivers for hydroelectric power. The region may also have mineral wealth that could help China in the future.

## Rivers

Since ancient times, three rivers have held an important place in Chinese life: the Huang He (hwahng huh), Chang (jahng), and Xi (shee). Today, as in the past, these rivers serve as both transportation routes and sources of irrigation water.

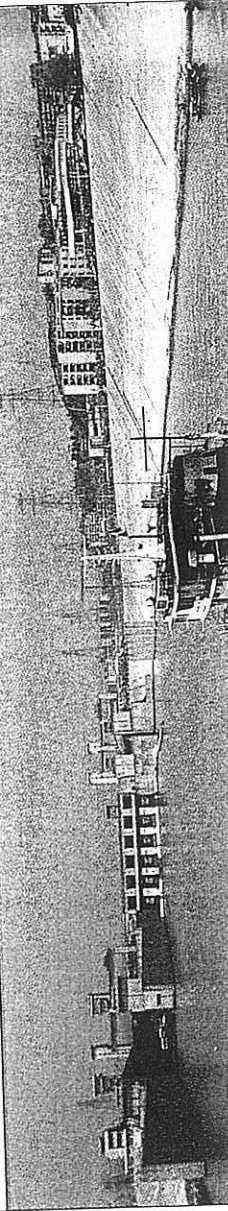
Despite the ever-present danger of flooding, hundreds of millions of Chinese work the fertile land in the river valleys. Earlier, the Chinese had developed the technology to build dikes and canals to help control floods.

**Huang He.** The Huang He (Yellow River) wanders for thousands of miles across North China before emptying into the Yellow Sea. Its name comes from the yellow-brown soil, called loess (loh ehs), that winds carry across the North China Plain and into the river. This windblown soil is quite fertile and enriches the land.

In China, the Huang He has earned the name "River of Sorrow" because it floods frequently, causing terrible destruction. In 1931, for example, a flood destroyed China's crops and almost 4 million people died of starvation.

Boat on the Chang Asia's longest river, the Chang, is also China's busiest shipping lane. It carries three fourths of the country's waterborne traffic. Dams like the one shown here help control the flow of the Chang and also provide hydroelectric power.

**Geography** Which river in China is known as the "River of Sorrow"? How did it get that name?



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## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Himalayas, (b) Gobi Desert, (c) Huang He, (d) Chang River, (e) Xi River.
- 2. Define:** loess.
- 3.** (a) Why did the Chinese call their land Zhongguo? (b) How did China's location contribute to Chinese ethnocentrism?
- 4.** (a) Describe the six regions of China. (b) Why do most people live in the Chinese heartland?
- 5.** (a) What are the three main rivers of China? (b) How have they influenced Chinese life?
- 6. Understanding Causes and Effects** How have topography and climate influenced population patterns in China?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Write a dialogue in which an American and a Chinese discuss how geography has affected contact between their nation and other civilizations.

Flooding occurs because loess clogs the riverbed. After heavy rains, the river overflows its banks. In Chinese writing, the character for "misfortune" is 灾. The symbol is a river with a barrier that causes flooding. Yet the flooding provides one important benefit to the Chinese. The flood waters leave behind a fertile layer of silt after they dry up.

**Chang River.** The Chang, also known as the Yangzi (yang zih), carries much of China's trade. For centuries, large ships have sailed hundreds of miles upriver. At the mouth of the Chang lies the busy port city of Shanghai, from which China ships many of its goods to countries overseas.

In recent years, the government has built dams to develop hydroelectric power along the Chang. However, the Three Gorges Dam has sparked furious debate. Government planners say the dam will produce such abundant electric power that the environmental damage it may cause will be acceptable. Critics point out that it will flood farmland and force more than 1 million people to leave their homes.

**Xi River.** China's third major waterway is the Xi Jiang, or West River, which flows through South China. Oceangoing vessels can navigate this river to reach Guangzhou (Canton). From this major port, China ships the riches of its southlands to the world.

Tens of millions of Chinese are crowded into the Xi delta. There, ample water, a favorable climate, and good soil enable farmers to produce two or even three crops a year.

### People

About 95 percent of the people who make up China's huge population are Han, or ethnic Chinese. Ethnic minorities such as the Mongols, Tibetans, and Tajiks live in the remote regions of the interior.

Even though most people who live in China are Chinese, they speak different dialects, or regional forms, of Chinese. Dialects differ so much that Chinese from one area cannot understand people from other areas. To promote unity, the government has made Mandarin, which is spoken in North China, the country's official language.

## 2

### ENDURING TRADITIONS

#### FIND OUT

What were the achievements of the Shang civilization?

How did the Mandate of Heaven explain changes in dynasties?

What three schools of thought emerged in China?

How did the Chinese adapt Buddhism to their own society?

**Vocabulary** ideograph, dynastic cycle, filial piety

In a great flood, begins a Chinese legend, the waters of the Huang He swirled across the North China Plain. The flood lasted for seven years. Finally, a young man named Yu set out to master the waters.



For 13 years, Yu dug canals and planted trees along the river. Not once did he stop working, even to visit his family. In the end, Yu calmed the Huang He, which did not flood again for 1,600 years. As a reward for his labors, Yu became the founder of the Xia (shee ah) dynasty, or ruling family.

The story of Yu may be a legend, but it shows the standard by which the Chinese judged their rulers. A ruler who worked hard to provide good government, including relief from floods, deserved the support of the people.

## China's Earliest Civilization

Archaeologists have not yet found any proof that the emperor Yu or the Xia dynasty actually existed. They have, however, uncovered a great deal of evidence about early civilization in China.

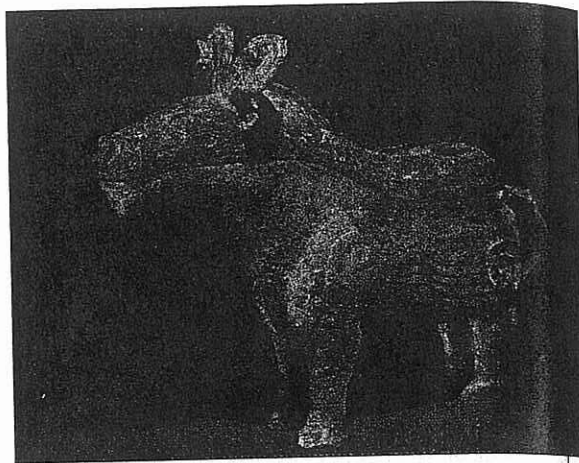
In China, as elsewhere, the agricultural revolution led to the rise of civilization. (See Chapter 2.) Using hoes and digging sticks, early farmers planted crops in the rich loess of the Huang He Valley. By about 1650 B.C., strong rulers had extended their power over a number of farming villages by defeating their rivals. They set up the Shang dynasty.

Under the Shang dynasty, Chinese civilization took shape. Ideas evolved that would influence later Chinese history. The idea of dynastic rule, for example, lasted until 1911—more than 3,500 years.

**Government.** At Anyang, the Shang dynasty capital, archaeologists have found palaces, temples, and royal burial sites. With a well-organized army of nobles, peasants, and slaves, the Shang battled nomadic invaders. Nobles fought from wheeled chariots, an invention that may have come to China from the Middle East.

Shang rulers supervised irrigation and flood control projects. Because these projects benefited the people, they helped to strengthen the ruler's power.

**Religion.** An important duty of the king was performing rituals to please the gods. The Chinese believed that heaven was the home of many gods and spirits. Shang Di was



**Shang Bronze Figure** This vessel, cast from a mold, was probably used to make ritual offerings of wine. The animal's feathered hind legs, which face backward, are those of an owl. A dragon coils along the animal's back, raising its head above the ears.

**Fine Art** Why do you think the artist created an animal that does not exist in real life?

the chief god. If the gods were pleased, they sent good harvests and victory in war. If they were not, they could cause floods and famine.

Through his ancestors, the king—the Son of Heaven—served as the link between heaven and Earth. To find out the gods' will, the king consulted the spirits of his ancestors. After offering the correct sacrifices, he asked them questions about problems he faced.

Priests used "oracle bones" to consult the ancestors. (An oracle is a person or agency that communicates with the gods.) Priests wrote the ruler's questions on the bones of sheep or goats. A typical question might be, "Will the royal baby be a boy?" or "Will the king succeed in battle today?" After heating the bones, the priests interpreted the cracks that appeared as answers from the gods.

**Achievements.** By the time of the Shang dynasty, the Chinese had developed their own form of writing. As with other early people, Chinese writing was based on pictographs, or pictures of objects such as trees, animals, and weapons. The Chinese also used ideographs, or symbols, to express ideas such as beauty, joy, and justice. Through conquest, trade, and

other contacts, the Chinese system of writing spread to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

The Shang used about 3,000 characters in their system of writing. As their civilization advanced, the Chinese added more characters. In later times, students had to memorize at least 10,000 characters to be literate. Because the writing system was so complex, only the children of wealthy families had the time to learn to read and write.

Under the Shang, the Chinese made advances in many other areas. By carefully recording their observations of the heavens, priests developed an accurate calendar. This knowledge was essential to farming people, who needed to know when to plant and harvest their crops.

Chinese craftworkers improved the art of bronze making. Out of bronze, they created weapons, vessels for religious rituals, and everyday objects such as cooking pots. Craftworkers also developed methods of making silk and pottery. Much later, Chinese potters perfected their methods and produced the fine chinaware that is so valued by foreigners.

## Ideas About Government and Society

In 1027 B.C., the Zhou (joh) people invaded from the northwest and overthrew the Shang dynasty. The Zhou dynasty ruled China for almost 800 years. During this long period, ideas emerged that would shape many of China's basic traditions.

**The Mandate of Heaven.** One key idea was the Mandate of Heaven. The Chinese believed that heaven granted a ruler the mandate, or right, to rule. The people, in turn, owed the ruler complete loyalty and obedience.

The Mandate of Heaven linked power and responsibility. In exchange for their loyalty, the people had the right to expect good government. If a ruler failed to maintain harmony and order, the people had the right to rebel. War, floods, and famine were signs that the ruler had lost the Mandate of Heaven.

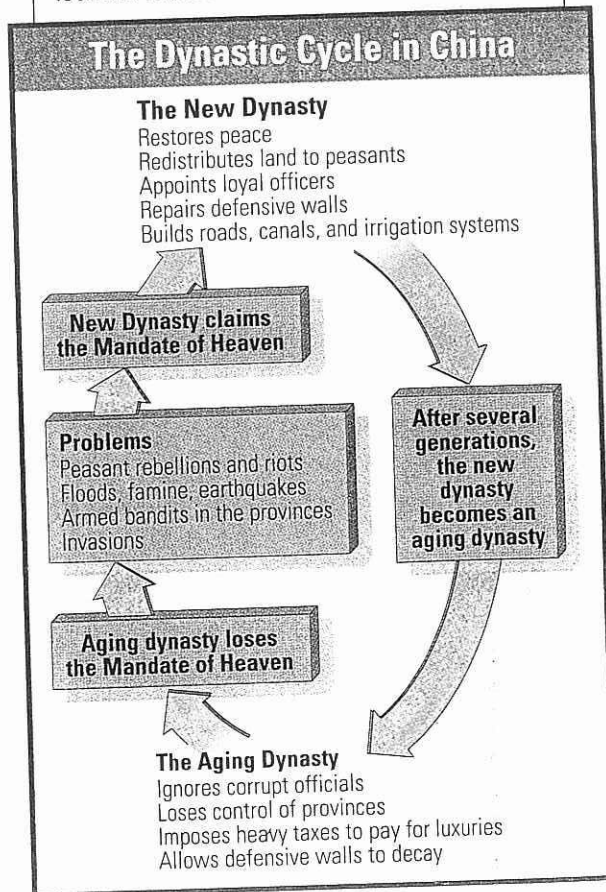
The Zhou used the Mandate of Heaven to justify their rise to power. The last Shang

ruler, they said, was wicked and corrupt. "Our kings of Zhou . . . treated the people well and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous government." Heaven, therefore, had "made choice of them to rule over many regions."

During its long history, China had many ruling dynasties. The Mandate of Heaven helped to explain the dynastic cycle, or the rise and fall of ruling families. (See the diagram below.)

**Three schools of thought.** After about 700 B.C., the Zhou had little control over powerful

**Graph Skills** The Chinese believed that their emperor had received the Mandate of Heaven to rule his people. However, they also believed that the emperor must govern wisely and preserve order in China.  
▶ According to this flow chart, what events or developments showed that a dynasty had lost the Mandate of Heaven?





lords who set up their own independent states. Rival states constantly battled for power.

Some of China's greatest thinkers lived during those centuries of chaos and uncertainty. They developed three philosophies, or schools of thought: Confucianism, Daoism, and Legalism.

Each philosophy differed from the others, but all of them had a similar concern: What principles should guide human conduct and ensure order in society? The answers to this question have guided Chinese life to the present.

### Teachings of Confucius

Confucius (kuhn FYOO shuhs),\* China's best-known philosopher, was born in about 551 B.C. The disorder and suffering caused by constant warfare disturbed Confucius. He developed ideas about how to restore peace and ensure harmony.

\* When Europeans reached China, they heard about the thinker Kong Zi (kuhng dzuh), or Master Kong. They pronounced the name Confucius.

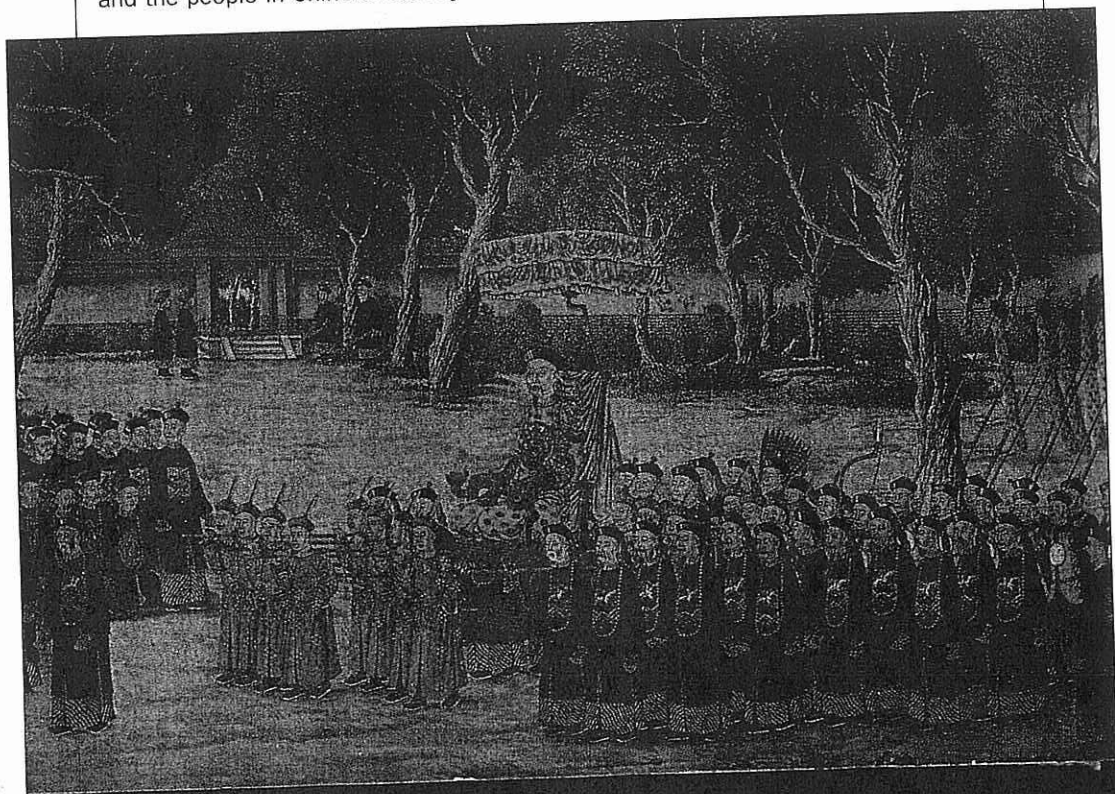
Confucius visited the courts of various princes, hoping to convince them to put his ideas into practice. Disappointed, he returned home, where he taught a small but loyal group of followers. After his death, his followers collected his teachings in the *Analects*.

**Five relationships.** To restore order, Confucius taught that five relationships must govern human society. They are the relationships between ruler and ruled, father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. In all but the last relationship, one person has authority over another. In each, said Confucius, the superior person should set an example for the inferior one.

“If a ruler himself is upright, all will go well without orders. But if he himself is not upright, even though he gives orders, they will not be obeyed.”

According to Confucius, the superior person is also responsible for the well-being

**A Chinese Emperor** The emperor was the supreme ruler of Chinese society. Although he had great power, this power was based on Confucian principles. In practice, this meant that Confucian advisers helped the emperor rule and also served as a check on his actions. **Political System** What were the obligations of the ruler and the people in Chinese society?



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of the inferior person. A supporter of the Mandate of Heaven, he said that the ruler must provide good government for his subjects. The ruler's subjects, in turn, owed the ruler loyalty and obedience.

To Confucius, relationships involving the family are the key to an orderly society. One of those relationships—the relationship between father and son—is very much like that between the ruler and the ruled.

Like a ruler, the father must set an example for his son and look after his family. The father takes the credit—or blame—for his children's actions. The son, in turn, is expected to honor and obey his father. Confucius stressed this idea of filial piety, the duty and respect that children owe their parents.

**Influence.** Confucius created a guide to proper behavior based on ethical, or moral, principles. In his teachings, he placed the family and the good of society above the interests of the individual. He also stressed loyalty, courtesy, hard work, and service.

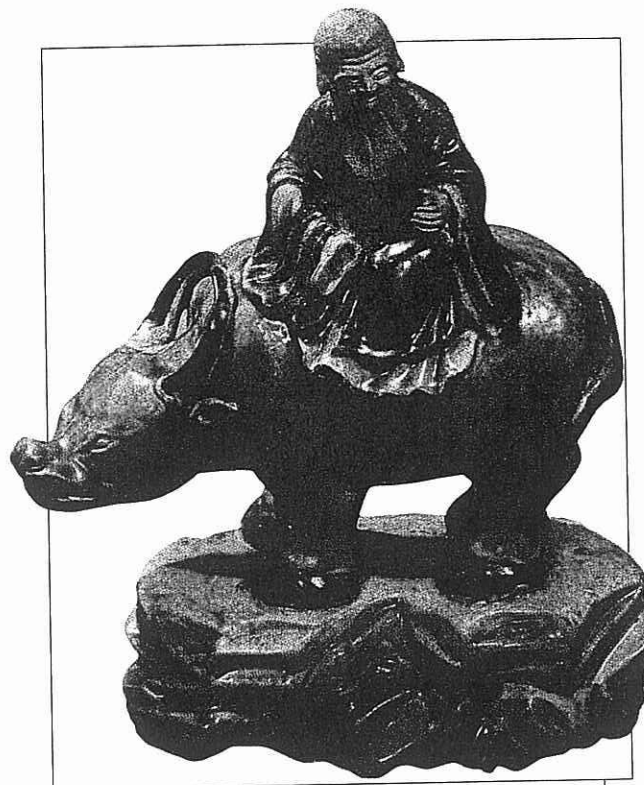
Confucius placed great emphasis on education. "By nature, men are pretty much alike," he said. "It is learning and practice that set them apart." The importance of education as well as other Confucian ideas would shape Chinese government, as you will read.

In time, Confucian ideas came to dominate Chinese society. As China expanded across Asia, Confucianism influenced the cultures of Korea, Japan, and Vietnam as well.

## Daoism

Like Confucius, the philosopher Lao Zi (low dzuh) studied human society. He, too, searched for ways to establish an orderly society. The founder of Daoism, however, emphasized the link between people and nature rather than the importance of proper behavior. Lao Zi's thoughts are contained in *The Way of Virtue*.

**The natural way.** Daoists believed that the best way to live was the natural way. In Chinese, the word *dao* means "the way." Daoists did not define "the way," however. It is said, "Those who know the Dao do not



**Lao Zi on a Water Buffalo** Scholars know little about Lao Zi, the founder of Daoism. For centuries, Chinese artists have depicted him as a kindly sage who embodies the ideal at the heart of Daoism. "Reveal thy simple self, embrace thy original nature, check thy selfishness, curtail thy desires," he advised. **Diversity** How does Daoism differ from Confucianism?

speak of it; those who speak of it do not know it."

To Daoists, Confucian rules for society were useless. A society with rules was an artificial creation that disturbed the natural order. People should do nothing that was contrary to nature.

“ The duck's legs are short, but if we try to lengthen them, the duck will feel pain. The crane's legs are long, but if we try to shorten them, the crane will feel grief. Therefore we are not to cut off what is by nature long, nor to lengthen what is by nature short. ”

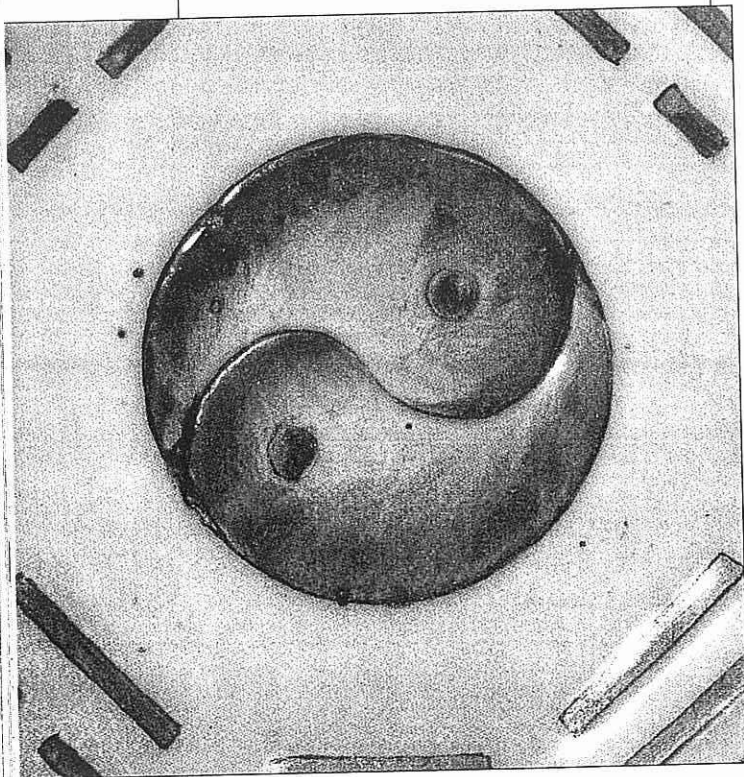


Daoists believed that the best government was the one that had the fewest rules and laws. They valued simplicity. "The wise man," said Lao Zi, "keeps to the deed that consists in taking no action and practices the teaching that uses no words."

**Influence.** From their study of nature, Daoists made advances in science and technology. By recording the movement of the planets, they increased their knowledge of astronomy. They may have developed the magnetic compass to determine favorable places for graves. Their observations of natural forces led to discoveries in chemistry and biology. Some scholars think Daoists invented gunpowder, which they used to frighten ghosts.

**Yin and Yang Symbol** The concept of yin and yang has shaped Chinese thinking for more than 2,000 years. Yin and yang are the forces in nature that are thought to balance each other. Yin (here in blue) is regarded as female, passive, and earthly. Yang (in red) is considered to be male, active, and heavenly.

**Culture** Why might both Confucianists and Daoists accept the yin-yang principle?



Daoism developed links with folk religion. Peasants believed that gods and spirits controlled the unseen but powerful forces in nature. To find out what would please the spirits, they turned to Daoist priests for help. Priests used all kinds of magic to determine lucky days for weddings and the best placement of graves.

Daoist ideas influenced the arts of China, as you will read. In Chinese painting and poetry, for example, nature dominates. The individual has only a small role.

## Legalism

A third school of thought, Legalism, shaped China's early history. The most famous Legalist writer was Han Feizi (hahn fay zuh). In his book, *Han Feizi*, he rejected Confucian ideas about proper behavior. He believed that people acted out of self-interest. They would respond to rewards and punishments, not to good examples.

To Legalists, only harsh laws imposed by a strong ruler would ensure order in society. "The ruler alone possesses power," noted Han Feizi, "wielding it like lightning or like thunder." In 221 B.C., the Qin (chihn) emperor Shi Huangdi (sher hwang dee) used Legalist ideas to unite China.

## Buddhism

During the first century A.D., Buddhism reached China from India. Buddhism was one of the few foreign influences that had a deep impact on Chinese life. It spread along caravan trade routes that linked India to China. Later, Buddhism—and the culture of China—was taken to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

**Appeal.** The Chinese found a great deal of comfort in Buddhism. The three Chinese schools of thought—Confucianism, Daoism, and Legalism—dealt with life on Earth. Buddhism was a religion that offered an escape from the suffering of earthly life. It promised salvation for the good—those who lived moral lives—and punishment for the wicked. It stressed mercy and compassion. Buddhist monks and nuns built hospitals and helped the poor.

When Buddhism first reached China, many Chinese saw it as a foreign religion. They could not understand the vague concept of nirvana. Also, they criticized people who abandoned their families to become monks and nuns.

In time, Buddhism blended with Chinese beliefs and values. Nirvana became the Western Heaven, reflecting Chinese ideas about the afterlife. Chinese Buddhists emphasized Confucian ideas of proper behavior and respect for family and ancestors. They also absorbed Daoist views of nature. ( See Connections With Literature, page 806, "Poems by Wang Wei.")

**Diverse beliefs.** The Chinese could accept diverse ideas. As a result, many Chinese followed Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian beliefs at the same time. Confucianism and Daoism were concerned with ethics and living in harmony with nature, including the gods and spirits that were believed to be everywhere. Although temples and ceremonies developed around both schools of thought, neither of them was a true religion as Buddhism was.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Mandate of Heaven, (b) Lao Zi, (c) Han Feizi.
- 2. Define:** (a) ideograph, (b) dynastic cycle, (c) filial piety.
- 3.** What were three achievements of the Shang civilization?
- 4.** How did the Mandate of Heaven explain the rise of the Zhou?
- 5.** (a) What were the three main schools of thought that developed in China? (b) What values did each school emphasize?
- 6.** Why did Buddhism appeal to the Chinese?
- 7. Synthesizing Information** How is the spread of Buddhism to China an example of cultural diffusion?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a dialogue in which the speakers debate whether Confucian ideas would support American democracy.

## 3

### PATTERNS OF LIFE

#### FIND OUT

- What factors affected a person's status in Chinese society?
- How did the lives of gentry and peasants differ?
- What values did Chinese families teach?
- What attitudes did the Chinese have toward women?

“**W**ork, work—from the rising sun  
Till sunset comes and the day is done  
I plow the sod  
And break up the clod,  
And meat and drink both come to me  
So what care I for the powers that  
be? ”

This folk verse suggests the gulf that separated China's rulers from the peasants. For peasants, survival was a constant struggle. They worked very hard to make a living from the land. Wars, famine, earthquakes, and taxes added to their hardships. When those hardships became unbearable, the peasants rose in revolt.

In general, Chinese peasants were self-sufficient and self-reliant. They had little contact with distant rulers. “Heaven is high and the emperor is far away,” was a common saying. Peasants relied on their families rather than their rulers to solve the problems of survival.

### Social Classes

In traditional Chinese society, all people were not equal. According to Confucian ideas, a person's age, sex, education, and occupation all affected his or her place in society.



Young people had to respect their elders. Women were inferior to men. Scholars held the highest positions in society. Peasants who worked the land were more valuable than people who simply traded goods or fought China's battles.

These beliefs shaped the social system of traditional China. At the top of China's society were the gentry, followed by the peasants. Below them were the artisans and merchants. Soldiers had very low status in this society.

**Gentry.** The gentry were wealthy landowners who had been educated in the Confucian classics. They were the leisure class, and they looked down on those who did physical labor. To show that they did not have to work with their hands, the gentry allowed their fingernails to grow very long.

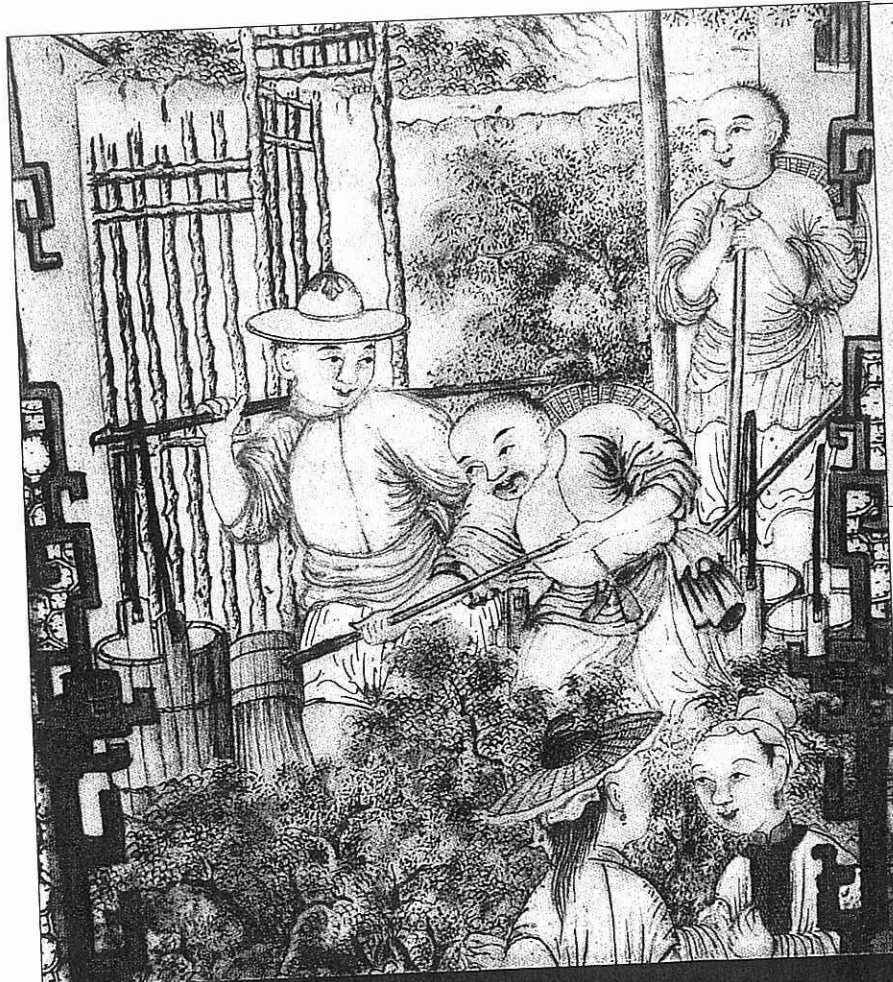
The gentry produced most of the scholars, who became government officials. They collected taxes, kept the peace, and advised the emperor. In theory, if not always in practice, the scholar officials admired the Confu-

cian virtues of respect, obedience, and service to the state.

The gentry had the time and wealth to support the arts. They often painted or composed poems. In lavish ceremonies, they carried out the traditional rituals required to honor their ancestors.

**Peasants.** The vast majority of people were peasants. Some owned and worked small plots of land, and a few were comparatively rich. Others were tenant farmers who had to pay part of each harvest to the landowners. Still others were landless laborers. Besides working the land, many peasants made and sold simple tools, furniture, and cloth.

Peasants lived in villages surrounded by farmland. Most of the time, the emperor's officials did not interfere with their affairs. The village headman, together with heads of families, kept order and resolved disputes. Most peasants paid their taxes but otherwise avoided contact with the imperial government. They feared its harsh system of justice and punishment.



**Tea Farmers** In this vase painting, women and men are tending tea plants. Tea cultivation probably began in China and then spread to Japan and Southeast Asia. The first description of tea appears in a Chinese dictionary of the 300s B.C. Buddhist priests encouraged people to drink tea instead of alcoholic drinks.


**Interdependence** How might the use of tea have been spread from China to other lands?

Despite the hardships of their lives, peasants did have some leisure. They celebrated festivals such as the New Year and enjoyed tales told by wandering storytellers. Events such as marriages, funerals, and religious festivals also enlivened country life.

**Social mobility.** Although they had low status in Confucian society, artisans and merchants played an important role in China. They produced the goods demanded by both the wealthy and foreign traders. Sometimes, they gained great wealth.

Artisans, merchants, and even peasant families could move up in society. To do so, they used their wealth to educate their sons. If these young men passed the examinations, they might become government officials. Sometimes a village supported an intelligent young boy so that he could get an education. In this way, lower-class families could rise in society.

## Family Life

In the *Analects*, Confucius stressed the importance of family, respect for elders, duty, and harmony. These values reflected China's needs as a farming society. Only by working together could a Chinese family produce what it needed to survive. To help the family, younger members had to respect their elders, and women had to obey men. Although women had an inferior position, they deserved the loyalty and respect of their children. (  See Connections With Literature, page 806, "The Analects.")

**Joint family.** The joint family was the ideal in China. It included many generations. The oldest male had the most authority. Few families achieved the ideal, however. Poor families lost many people to death and disease, and many children died young. Only the strongest family members survived to old age.

Among the gentry, families might include several generations. When the head of the family died, his sons and their wives often moved away to set up their own households.

**Filial piety.** From birth, children learned to put the family's interests before their own wishes. Parents expected complete obedience

and respect. "The bamboo stick makes a good child," advised an old saying.

Folktales supported the ideal of filial piety. One story records the actions of a dutiful son, Koh Ku. During a famine, Koh Ku is willing to let his child starve in order to feed his mother. "We may yet have another child," he said, "but never another mother." The story has a happy ending, however. Pleased with Koh Ku's filial piety, the gods reward him with a pot of gold.

**Respect for ancestors.** Filial piety included reverence for the family's ancestors. In memorial services, the Chinese paid respect to their ancestors. Westerners who did not understand the practice called it ancestor worship.

People believed that the extended family included the living, the dead, and all future generations. Ancestors lived in another world but depended on their descendants to provide them with food and clothing. Without these necessities, the ancestors would become ghosts and their descendants would suffer. Throughout the year, the family offered food and clothing to their ancestors. A family must have sons to carry on such rituals.

**Marriage.** In traditional China, as elsewhere around the world, parents arranged marriages for their children. Through marriage, the gentry strengthened their position in society. A boy's family would examine the resources of a possible bride's family. Among peasants, a man looked for a woman who could work hard and bear him many children.

Before a marriage took place, the families consulted their ancestors for approval of their choice. A go-between worked out the details of the marriage, such as the dowry that the bridegroom would pay the bride's family. Priests studied the birth dates of the girl and boy to determine a marriage day that would bring good fortune.

## Role of Women

The Chinese believed that women were inferior to men. They valued girls for their work and for the children they would bear. They did not celebrate the birth of a daughter,





#### A Chinese Wedding

A bride and groom often met for the first time at their wedding. Usually, their parents had made all the arrangements. A Chinese proverb, using buildings to symbolize families, sums up this tradition in these words: "When doorways match and houses pair, a marriage may be settled there." **Culture** How did arranged marriages suit the ideals of Chinese family life?

however. When she married, she left the family and became a part of her husband's family.

A young bride had to obey her husband's mother. Under the guidance of her mother-in-law, she learned the ways of her new home. If she gave birth to a son, she gained respect. Some mothers-in-law were harsh and cruel to their sons' wives. Because of filial piety, neither a son nor his wife could criticize his mother's behavior. In time, however, a woman became the head of her own household.

Sometime in about A.D. 950, the Chinese adopted the practice of binding women's feet to keep them small. The custom probably began at court, but it spread to many parts of China. Peasants also accepted the custom, even though it limited their freedom of movement.

Only women with bound feet were thought to be beautiful. Parents knew that foot-binding caused pain. However, they feared that they would not be able to find a husband for a daughter who had large feet.

### SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. What were the main social classes in traditional China?
2. Describe three ways in which the life of the gentry differed from that of the peasants.
3. (a) List three values of the traditional Chinese family. (b) How did these values reflect the needs of a farming society?
4. How did the Chinese show respect for their ancestors?
5. What role did a young bride play in her husband's family?
6. **Analyzing Information** "In education there are no class distinctions." How does this statement by Confucius reflect Chinese attitudes about social class and education?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** The folktale about Koh Ku supported the Chinese ideal of filial piety. Write a story that supports an American ideal of family life.

# 4

## POWERFUL EMPIRES

### FIND OUT

- How did the First Emperor unite China?
- What were some achievements of Chinese civilization?
- What contacts did China have with other cultures?

“Let me tell you next of stones that burn like logs,” wrote Marco Polo, a European who spent 17 years in China during the late 1200s. The stone, he said, was dug “out of the mountains, where it runs in veins. When lighted, it burns . . . and retains the fire much better than wood.” The stones were coal, a fuel that was unknown to Europeans at the time.

In *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Marco Polo described the wondrous sights of China. He told of the emperor’s huge palaces and great wealth. His reports that the Chinese used paper money and bathed frequently were especially shocking to Europeans. Both of these practices were unheard of in Europe at that time.

Most Europeans refused to believe any of Polo’s stories. Yet in 1276, China probably had the richest and most advanced civilization in the world. By then, the Chinese civilization was already 3,000 years old.

### The First Empire

China owed its success in part to energetic and ruthless leaders who made it a strong, unified empire. Under the Zhou dynasty, you will recall, China broke up into warring states. By 221 B.C., the ruler of the state of Qin had conquered his neighbors and overthrown the Zhou dynasty. He then

took the name Shi Huangdi (sher hwang dee), or “First Emperor.”

Shi Huangdi believed in Legalist principles. He used harsh means to centralize power in his own hands. In doing so, he laid foundations for Chinese rule that would last until 1911.

**Uniting China.** To unite the empire, Shi Huangdi imposed several measures. Among them were a single law code, uniform standards for weights and measures, and currency regulations. To improve transportation, he forced peasants to build roads across the empire. Good roads allowed him to move troops quickly to any trouble spot.

The First Emperor also took steps to control knowledge and ideas. He banned all books except Legalist works, and he persecuted Confucian scholars. Qin officials collected and burned books of Confucian teachings. Only books on medicine, agriculture, and technology were spared.

**The Great Wall.** Shi Huangdi extended Chinese power to the south and west. Using forced labor, he built the Great Wall. In the past, local lords had built walls to defend their lands against nomadic invaders. Shi Huangdi joined and extended these walls across northern China.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants labored under brutal conditions to build the Great Wall. “Every stone cost a human life,” wrote a later Chinese historian.

The Great Wall extended 1,500 miles (2,414 km) from east to west. It seldom kept invaders from attacking. It did, however, become a symbol to the Chinese. South of the wall lived the “civilized” farming people of China. North of it lived the nomadic “barbarians.”

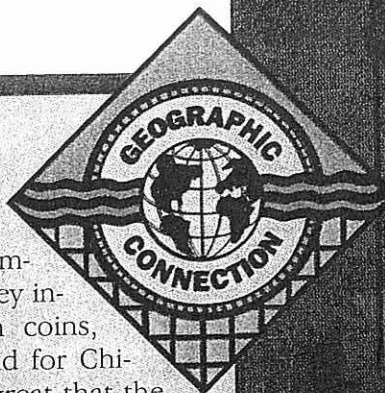
### Expansion Under the Han

Shi Huangdi wanted his dynasty to rule forever, but his harsh policies sparked deep anger. When he died, revolts broke out. Within eight years, Liu Bang (lyoh bong), a peasant leader, had overthrown the Qin and set up a new dynasty, the Han.

Under the Han dynasty, which ruled from 206 B.C. to A.D. 220, China expanded across



# The Silk Road



Along the ancient highway flowed riches of the great empires of the East and West. They included Roman glass, Persian coins, and Chinese silk. The demand for Chinese silk in the West was so great that the route was called "The Silk Road."

The great Silk Road stretched halfway across Asia and linked East Asia and the Mediterranean world. For thousands of years, camel caravans plodded for months on end across shifting desert sands and over icy, barren mountains. A Chinese historian described travel on the desert:

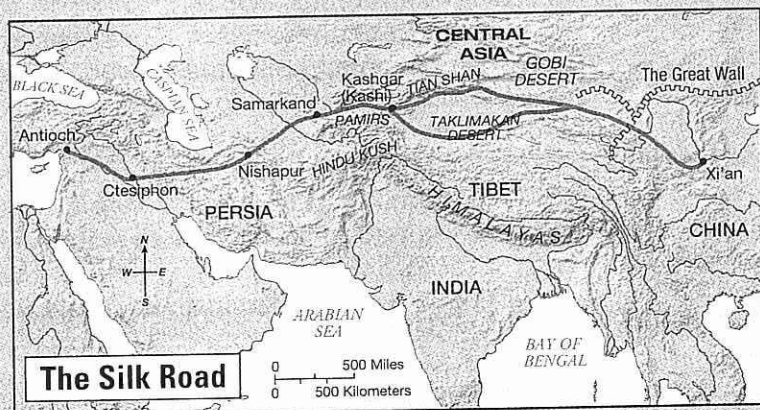
“You see nothing in any direction but the sky and the sands, without the slightest trace of a road, and travelers find nothing to guide them but the bones of men and beasts and the droppings of camels. . . . You hear sounds, sometimes of singing; and it has often happened that travelers going aside to see what these sounds

might be have strayed from their course and been entirely lost.”

In addition to the menace of natural forces, bands of raiders lurked along the route, ready to descend on careless travelers.

Despite the dangers, traders and travelers moved along the Silk Road. They brought new products to China, such as oranges, peaches, and pears. The wheel, writing, weaving, gunpowder, religions, paper, and printing were among the inventions and ideas that spread along the Silk Road.

Throughout its history, China sought to keep peace along the eastern half of the Silk Road, which extended about 4,000 miles (6,400 km) from Xian (SHEE ahn) to Persia. However, local rulers often asserted their independence. Still, the good profits from trade lured people to risk the journey.



1. Why was the Silk Road more than a highway for trade?
2. **Forecasting** How do you think the European discovery of sea routes to Asia affected the Silk Road?

Asia. Powerful emperors used their armies to keep the peace and protect trade. During this period, caravans plodded the length of the Silk Road. They carried Chinese jade, bronzes, and silk westward in exchange for the goods

of India and the Mediterranean world. (See the feature above.)

Chinese travelers returned home with new seeds such as grape and alfalfa. Trade within China expanded, and tea growing

spread from the south to other parts of China. Travelers and merchants also introduced new ideas, such as Buddhism, into China.

**Civil service system.** Han rulers continued the First Emperor's policy of central control, but they restored Confucian learning. Under the Han, the Chinese developed the idea of a government run by the most talented and learned men.

The Chinese set up an examination system to choose civil servants, or government officials. To pass the exam, candidates for office had to know Confucian teachings as well as Chinese law, history, and traditions. The government set up a university to train scholars for the highest offices. By A.D. 100, about 3,000 students were studying at the university.

The civil service system strengthened China. Under the system, officials gained jobs through merit, not by birth or wealth. Also, the Confucian-educated officials shared the same values and traditions. The common bond helped to unite the vast empire and hold it together as dynasties changed. This system of choosing officials lasted until the early 1900s.

## Up Close

### Exam Time

The doors are sealed. Soldiers stand guard from watchtowers. Trembling men, young and old, sit in their cells and read the themes the examiners have selected:

“He who is sincere will be intelligent, and the intelligent man will be faithful.

In carrying out benevolence, there are no rules. 99

The fate of the men depends on the answers they compose for such essay topics.

For more than 2,000 years, scholars endured the agony of the civil service exams. People from any class could take the exams,

but only the cleverest and best-educated succeeded.

Candidates had to pass grueling exams at the local and the provincial levels before they could take the imperial civil service test. To pass, they had to know the more than 400,000 characters in the Confucian texts by heart. They also had to be able to compose elegant poetic essays on the exam themes.

At exam time, candidates gathered in the “examination hall,” which was actually rows and rows of mud-brick cells. Each cell was barely the height of an average-size man. Candidates brought their own bedding as well as enough food and fuel for the three-day ordeal.

Before candidates entered their cells, guards searched them and their belongings. Day and night, soldiers remained on the lookout for cheating. A cheater brought dishonor not only on himself but also on his family and his tutor.

Was it worth it? One scholar, Ye Shih, wrote of his feelings:

**Examination Cells** During the 1870s, students took their civil service exams in these huts. Historians believe that only about 1 percent of the students who studied so long and hard for these difficult tests passed them. Those who did pass the exams became respected lifetime civil servants known as mandarins. **Culture** How did the civil service system strengthen China?





“Beginning with childhood, all of a man’s study is centered on one aim alone: to emerge successfully from the three days’ examinations, and all he has in his mind is what success can bring to him in terms of power, influence, and prestige.”

Although Ye Shih was critical of the exams, most candidates accepted them. Those who failed returned again and again. One candidate finally succeeded at the age of 83. ■

## Achievements of the Han

Under the Han, Chinese civilization advanced on many fronts. Han astronomers improved the calendar. Other scientists invented a seismograph, or a machine that records the direction of earthquakes.

Medical colleges flourished. Doctors made advances in medical treatment. For example, doctors began to time a patient’s pulse to diagnose illnesses. They developed acupuncture. In this medical treatment, the doctor uses needles inserted under the skin to relieve pain and cure various illnesses. Also, doctors wrote about typhoid fever and the use of anesthetics.

In farming, the Chinese used complex flood control systems, fertilized the soil to increase crop yields, and planted drought-resistant rice. They developed practical tools such as the wheelbarrow, mill wheel, water clock, and sundial.

In addition, the Chinese improved on ideas from other civilizations. For example, they developed the foot stirrup, an advance over stirrups brought from India. They also learned to make paper, an invention that would not reach Europe for another 1,000 years.

## Golden Ages in China

Invaders helped to destroy the Han Empire. For the next 1,000 years, various dynasties reunited China. Under the Tang dynasty (618–907) and the Song dynasty (960–1279), China enjoyed long periods of peace. During

these golden ages, the economy prospered and the arts flourished.

**Expanding horizons.** Under the Tang and Song dynasties, China’s trade increased. Chinese goods and ideas traveled to India and the Persian Empire. Trade brought new goods to China, including cotton, pepper, and dates.

To protect its trade, the Song dynasty built a navy, making China a great sea power. Chinese ships used the sternpost rudder and the magnetic compass. These two inventions would later reach Europe by way of Arab traders.

Foreign merchants and missionaries settled in China’s busy cities. They included Muslims from Persia and Arabia, along with Jews and Christians.

During this time, the Chinese conquered Vietnam. The conquerors carried Chinese ideas about government and society as well as inventions such as printing. Chinese influence also spread to Korea and Japan.

**Literature.** The Chinese invented block printing and later movable type. The new technology led to greater literacy and an outpouring of books. Poetry was especially popular.

The Tang poet Li Bo (lee bwaw) is one of China’s best-known writers. Li Bo served as court poet for a time. He later spent many years wandering about China. During his travels, he absorbed Daoist teachings about the value of nonaction and detachment from life. In “Fighting South of the Ramparts,” he captures the sadness of war.

“Last year we were fighting at the source of the Sang-kan;  
This year we are fighting on the Onion River road. . . .

Where the house of Qin built the Great Wall that was to keep away the Tartars [invaders],  
There, in its turn, the House of Han lit beacons of war.  
The beacons are always alight,  
fighting and marching never stop.  
Men die in the field, slashing sword to sword;

The horses of the conquered neigh  
piteously to Heaven . . .

Know therefore that the sword is a  
cursed thing  
Which the wise man uses only if he  
must. 99

**Painting.** Many paintings illustrated a line or thought from a poem. Artists also used nature as subjects and perfected the art of landscape painting. In works of great beauty, Song artists celebrated the grandeur of nature.

Steeped in Daoist traditions, an artist might study a scene in nature for hours or days. Then, with a few strokes of the brush, the artist would suggest the essence, or meaning, of the scene. Artists also painted just a single element of nature, such as a flower or the branch of a tree.

## Mongol Conquest

The Song dynasty battled constantly to protect China's borders from invaders. During the early 1200s, Song rulers faced a powerful new threat when the Mongols burst onto the world scene.

Under their fierce leader Genghiz Khan (GEHNG gihs kahn), the Mongols conquered a vast empire. It extended from the Pacific Ocean to the Danube River in Europe. After the death of Genghiz Khan, the huge Mongol Empire was divided among his sons and grandsons.

**China under foreign rule.** By 1279, Kublai Khan (KOO bli kahn), grandson of Genghiz Khan, had extended Mongol power over all of China. At first, the Mongols tried to reduce the role of Confucian scholars and preserve their own culture. For example, Kublai Khan appointed only Mongols and other foreigners to positions of power.

Kublai Khan could not resist powerful Chinese influences, however. In the end, he gave his dynasty a Chinese name, the Yuan (yoo ahn). Also, he left Confucian officials in lower-level jobs.

**Mongol achievements.** During the reign of Kublai Khan, Marco Polo visited China. For



**The Poet Li Bo** One poem by Li Bo, shown here, begins: "My friend is lodging in the Eastern Range,/Dearly loving the beauty of valleys and hills./A pine-tree wind dusts his sleeves and coat;/A pebbly stream cleans his heart and ears." This famous poet, a great traveler, wrote many verses about the beauties of nature. **Choice** Why might a writer be especially interested in travel?

many years, Polo worked as an official of the Mongol ruler. As you have read, Europeans found Polo's stories about Chinese wealth and practices hard to believe.

Polo described, for example, the efficient transportation system the Mongols had set up to unite their empire. From Beijing, they built roads to every province. A system of relay riders allowed messengers to carry news across China.

Along the roads flowed trade goods and technical information. Much useful knowledge moved west, including such Chinese



inventions as the magnetic compass, stern-post rudder, mechanical clock, gunpowder, and printing.

## Chinese Revival

Marco Polo described Mongol rule at its height. As the Yuan dynasty declined, Chinese resentment against foreign rule led to revolts.

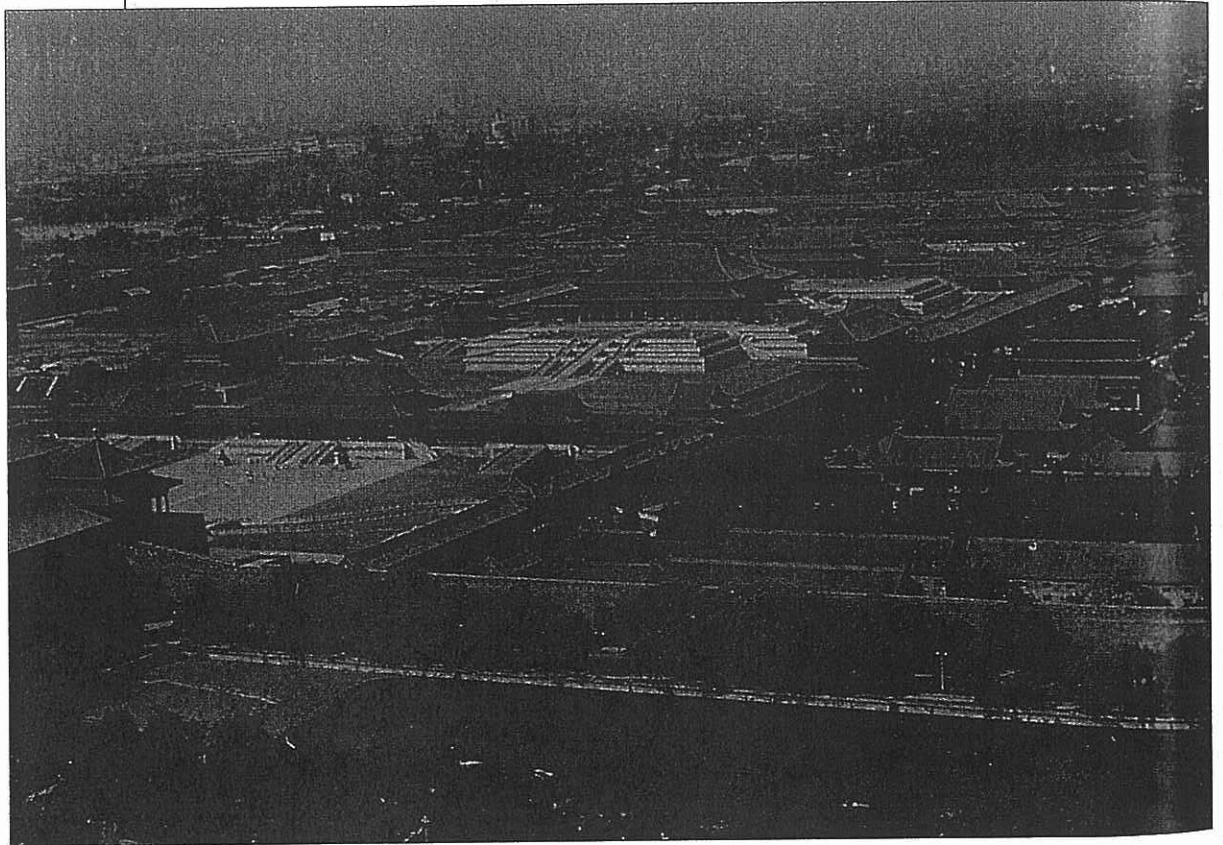
The Chinese finally found a leader in a poor peasant, Zhu Yuanzhang (joo yoo ahn jahng). He drove the Mongols from South China and in 1368 captured Beijing. The peasant general then claimed the Mandate of Heaven. He called himself Ming Hung Wu and set up the Ming dynasty.

The Ming dynasty ruled China from 1368 to 1644. Ming emperors wanted to restore China to the greatness it had achieved under the Tang and Song dynasties. The Ming revived Confucian learning and expanded the civil service. They built a new imperial palace called the Forbidden City in Beijing.

**Voyages overseas.** Between 1405 and 1433, the Ming dynasty sent several huge fleets to restore Chinese authority at sea and to renew trading ties. Ming ships explored Southeast Asia, India, and the coast of East Africa.

Suddenly, the Ming voyages ended. Historians are not sure why this happened. Perhaps some officials were jealous of the Ming

**The Forbidden City** The Ming dynasty's complex of palaces and government buildings in Beijing was called the Forbidden City. Only members of the imperial household were allowed to enter it. At the center of this photograph is the Hall of Great Harmony, where the emperor received visitors. **Political System** How did Ming rulers isolate China from the world after the 1430s?



admirals. Perhaps the emperor needed the money to fight invaders. At the same time, the Chinese cut off contact with the outside world. They placed limits on foreigners and stopped Chinese citizens from traveling abroad.

**Isolation.** The Ming dynasty isolated China at a time when Europeans were beginning to develop new technologies and explore other lands. As the Chinese turned inward, Europeans slowly advanced and posed a threat to the Middle Kingdom.

### Invaders From the Northeast

In 1644, China once again fell under foreign rule. This time, the invaders swept in from Manchuria. The Manchus set up the Qing (chihng) dynasty, which ruled China until 1911. The Qing claimed authority over many states, including Burma, Thailand, Laos, Nepal, Vietnam, and Korea.

Like the Mongols, the Manchus did not want to be absorbed into Chinese civilization. They passed laws forbidding Manchus to marry Chinese people or wear Chinese clothing. Unlike the Mongols, however, Manchu rulers kept Confucian ideas. The Manchus also accepted that the Chinese wished to limit contact with foreigners.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) Shi Huangdi, (b) Great Wall, (c) Li Bo, (d) Kublai Khan.
2. Describe three ways in which the First Emperor united China.
3. How did Chinese civilization advance under the Han?
4. Why are the Tang and Song dynasties considered to be China's golden ages?
5. How did Mongol rule affect China?
6. **Drawing Conclusions** What effect did political unity have on the Chinese civilization?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write three history questions each for a civil service exam taken in China and in the United States.

## 5

### ROOTS OF REVOLUTION

#### FIND OUT

How did China's relations with the West change in the 1800s?

Why were European nations able to gain influence in China?

What were the causes and effects of the "revolution" of 1911?

**Vocabulary** kowtow, extraterritoriality, sphere of influence

“**A**s your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange and ingenious and have no use for your country's manufactures.” With these words, the emperor Qianlong firmly turned down Britain's request for more trading rights in China in the 1700s.

The Chinese felt satisfied that their civilization was superior to any other. After all, their neighbors had adopted Chinese culture. Foreigners were seeking to buy silk, tea, porcelain, and other Chinese goods. Secure in their own world, what did the Chinese need from the “barbarians”?

Qianlong's refusal to end trade restrictions came at a critical moment. By the late 1700s, powerful nations were emerging in Europe. They would soon challenge China's proud image of itself.

### A Position of Strength

By the 1500s, the Portuguese had reached India and Southeast Asia. They then sailed on to China, hoping to expand their trading empire.

In China, the powerful Ming emperors placed strict limits on foreign traders. They allowed foreign ships to unload cargoes only at



the ports of Macao and Guangzhou. Traders could sell their goods only to certain Chinese merchants. The Ming and later the Qing were strong enough to enforce these laws.

By the late 1700s, two developments were underway that would have major effects on China's relations with the West. First, the Qing dynasty entered a long period of decline. Burdened with high taxes and limited land, the increasing peasant population had a hard time growing enough food to survive. When floods and droughts caused famine, peasant revolts broke out.

A second development was the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe. The Industrial Revolution increased the military power of European nations. With modern fleets, these strong nations could reach distant places. The

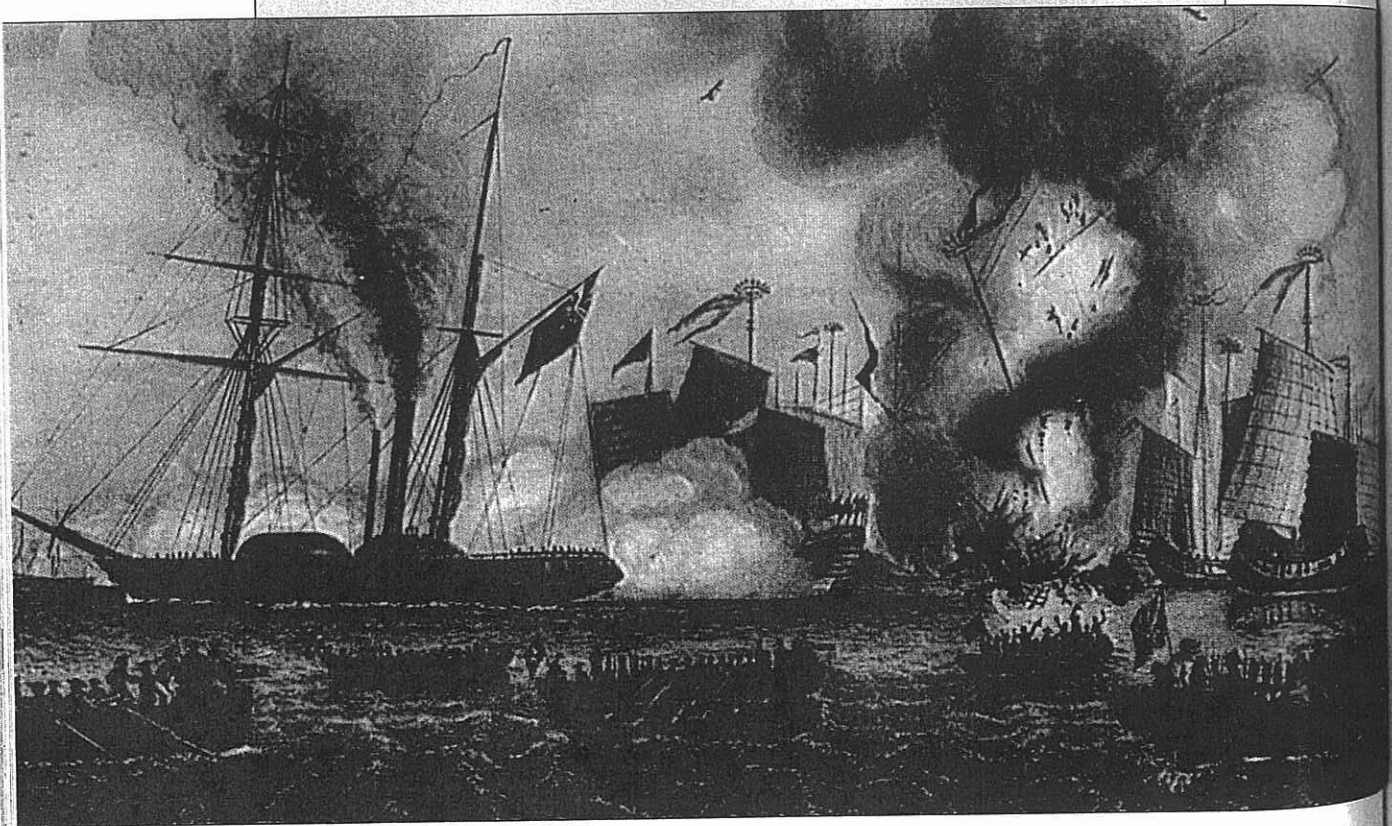
British used their military strength to back their demands for expanded trading rights with China.

### European Imperialism

By the late 1700s, Europeans refused to kowtow, or bow low, to the Chinese emperor. The kowtow was a symbol which showed that foreigners accepted their inferior status. Also, Europeans resented being restricted to Macao and Guangzhou. They wanted to be accepted as equal partners in trade, and they demanded the right to trade at other Chinese ports.

**Opium War.** When diplomacy failed to bring change, the British resorted to other means. During the late 1700s, Britain began to sell opium that was grown in India to

**A Sea Battle in the Opium War** In this clash, a British warship (at left) destroys a fleet of junks, as Chinese sailing ships were called. China's only weapons in this unequal conflict were burning rafts, which the Chinese sent against the British fleet.  
**Power** How did the war show that the Qings had lost the Mandate of Heaven?



China. Other western nations also entered the opium trade. By the early 1800s, many Chinese had become addicted to the drug. The opium trade also drained China's supply of silver, which was used to pay for the drug.

The Chinese government tried to stop the illegal drug trade by passing harsh laws. Users and smugglers who were caught faced the death penalty. In 1839, the Chinese destroyed a British shipment of opium, and war broke out.

In the Opium War, the Chinese were no match for the British. Even though the Chinese had invented gunpowder and cannons, their weapons were outdated. Also, they lacked modern warships. With their superior military technology, the British soon defeated the Chinese.

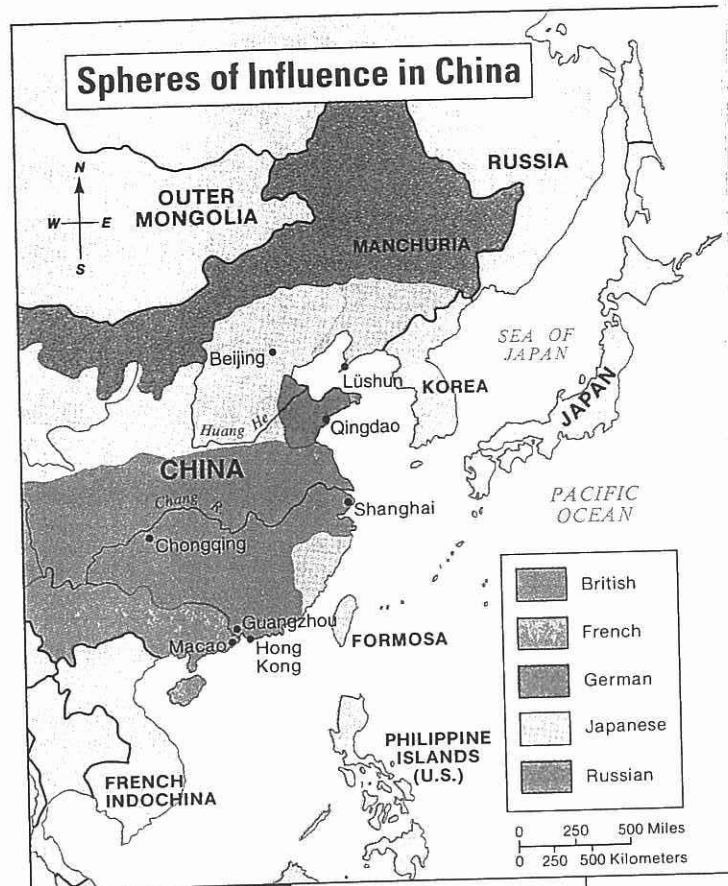
**The unequal treaties.** The Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the Opium War, was the first of many "unequal treaties." In it, the Chinese had to accept British terms for peace. The emperor agreed to pay for the opium that had been destroyed. He also agreed to give Britain the island of Hong Kong and to open other ports to British trade.

The Treaty of Nanjing showed that the Chinese could no longer set the terms of trade. Before long, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States concluded similar treaties with the Qing emperor.

Westerners also won the right to extraterritoriality. Under this authority, westerners accused of a crime in China could be tried in their own courts instead of in Chinese courts.

**Increased foreign influence.** By the late 1800s, the western powers had carved up China into spheres of influence. (See the map at right.) A *sphere of influence* is an area in which a foreign nation has special economic privileges, such as the right to build railroads and factories. Economic rights also gave westerners political influence.

Japan, too, expanded into China. During the late 1800s, Japan adopted western technology and modernized its industries. By 1895, a strong Japan was able to defeat China in the Sino-Japanese War. As a result, Japan



### MAP STUDY

Foreign nations began to force China to open its ports to their trade in the mid-1800s. By the late 1800s, foreign powers had carved up large parts of China into spheres of influence.

- 1. Region** Which nation of East Asia established a sphere of influence in China?
- 2. Interaction** Identify major Chinese ports that were controlled by foreign nations. Explain why these cities became the centers of their spheres of influence.
- 3. Comparing** Compare the role of foreign nations in China and in Africa during the Age of Imperialism. (a) In what ways were their policies similar in both places? (b) In what ways were their policies different?

won Formosa (present-day Taiwan) and also extended its influence over Korea.

**Open Door policy.** The United States feared that European nations might set up colonies in China. To prevent this outcome, it called on European nations to support



an "Open Door" policy in China. Under this policy, all nations were supposed to have equal access to trade with China. Although this policy failed, the United States used it to protect its own trade with China.

## Unrest and Revolution

The loss of territory to foreigners was one sign of China's weakness under the decaying Qing dynasty. A series of peasant revolts also erupted at this time.

The most serious peasant uprising was the Taiping Rebellion. It began in 1851 and lasted for 14 years. More than 20 million people were killed in this struggle. Even though the Qing crushed the rebels, the fighting further weakened the dynasty.

**Efforts at reform.** The Taiping Rebellion marked the beginning of a long, slow revolution in China. After the rebellion, some Chinese called for reforms in government and society.

Reformers wanted to introduce modern technology to China. "Learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians," they declared. Although the reformers saw the need for western technology, they also wanted to preserve Confucian culture.

Under pressure, the government began a series of reforms. It set up factories and dockyards to produce modern weapons and ships. It sent young men abroad to study. In 1898, the young emperor Guang Xi (gwahng shee) supported the Hundred Days of Reforms. He issued laws to update the civil service exam, organize western-style schools, and promote economic changes.

Led by Ci Xi (tsuh shee), the widow of a former emperor, conservatives opposed the reforms. They believed that the changes threatened the traditional Confucian order. In 1898, Ci Xi seized power as empress and ended the influence of the moderate reformers. More radical reformers, however, stepped up their demands for an end to the Qing dynasty.

**Boxer Rebellion.** While the reform effort was underway, a growing number of foreign missionaries and business people were set-

ting in China. The Chinese people's hostility to foreigners and to the Qing increased.

Anti-foreign Chinese soon took strong action. They formed the Fists of Righteous Harmony, called Boxers by westerners, to expel all foreigners. Empress Ci Xi secretly encouraged the Boxers. In 1900, the Boxers attacked and killed many Chinese Christians and foreigners. Boxer forces surrounded the foreign diplomatic quarter in Beijing.

The western powers then quickly organized an international army, which crushed the Boxers. As a result of the Boxer Rebellion, China was forced to allow foreign troops on Chinese soil and foreign warships in Chinese waters.

**Revolution of 1911.** Ci Xi remained in power after the uprising, but the Qing dynasty collapsed soon after her death. In 1911, China declared itself a republic, ending the ancient system of imperial rule.

In 1911, China had no well-organized government to replace the Qing dynasty. From 1911 to 1928, the country seemed ready to break into many pieces. Civil war raged, with many people claiming the right to rule China.

## Struggles of the Republic

For a brief time in 1911, Dr. Sun Yatsen (soon yaht sehn) served as president of the new republic. Sun had helped to organize the Guomindang (gwoh mihn dang), or Nationalist party, and had struggled against the Qing dynasty. When the Qing dynasty collapsed, Sun was living in the United States. He returned to China at once.

Sun Yatsen set out his goals for China in "Three Principles of the People." First, he called for nationalism, which meant making China a unified nation and ending foreign domination. Second, he supported democracy, or representative government. Third, he spoke of "livelihood," or ensuring a decent living for all Chinese.

Sun had little chance to achieve his goals, however. A powerful general, Yuan Shikai, forced Sun out of office in 1912. Soon warlords, or regional leaders with their own armies, were battling for power in China.

**The Boxer Rebellion** To show their hatred of all things from foreign lands, the Boxers burned trains and railroad stations, destroyed telephone lines, and wrecked factories. This drawing of a captured foreigner kneeling before a group of Boxers suggests their deep resentment of westerners.

**Change** What were two important results of the Boxer Rebellion?



## Nationalists and Communists

During the years of turmoil, Sun Yatsen rallied followers to his Three Principles. From his base in Guangzhou, he organized an army to restore unity.

Sun appointed Chiang Kai-shek, an energetic young officer, to command the Nationalist army. When Sun died in 1925, Chiang took over as the leader of the Nationalist party. By 1928, Chiang had brought China under his control.

**Attack on the Communists.** The Nationalists faced challenges to their authority. Most Chinese felt strong ties to their own families but had little loyalty to a national state. China had no experience with representative government, and the nation's economy was badly depressed.

Chiang was especially concerned about the Chinese Communist party (CCP), which a group of young Chinese had formed in 1921. The CCP joined forces with the Nationalists to expel foreigners and fight the warlords. They hoped to win control of the Nationalist party by working from within.

In 1927, Chiang moved against the Communists. He expelled them from the Guomindang and killed thousands of their supporters. The Communists who survived fled to the mountains of southeastern China.

**Long March.** During the late 1920s and the 1930s, Mao Zedong (mow dzoo doong) emerged as the leader of the Chinese Communists. Mao believed that the Communists would succeed in China only by winning the support of the peasants. (See Chapter 16.) He insisted, therefore, that Communist forces treat the peasants fairly and politely. Unlike other Chinese armies, the Communists paid peasants for the food their forces required. With the support of the peasants, Mao's army grew in numbers.

Chiang launched a fierce campaign against the Communists. Greatly outnumbered, the Communists fled from Chiang's armies in 1934. Led by Mao, they trekked more than 6,000 miles (9,656 km) from southeastern China to the remote northwestern province of Shaanxi. The chase lasted more than a year.





**The Long March** Mao Zedong, shown here on horseback, spent years in Shaanxi training his forces and developing theories about revolution. The peasants, Mao predicted, would “rise like a tornado or a tempest” and become a force so powerful that no one could suppress them. **Political System** How did Mao’s Communists win the peasants’ support for their cause?

About 90,000 Communists with their families set out on the dangerous “Long March.” Only about 7,000 survived. The Long March became a symbol of the bitter hardships the Communists would endure before they finally gained power in 1949.

**Japanese invasion.** While Chiang battled the Communists, the Japanese pushed into China. In 1931, the Japanese seized Manchuria. Many Chinese called on Chiang and Mao to set aside their differences and fight their common enemy.

In 1937, the Japanese launched an all-out war against China. Japanese planes bombed Chinese cities, and Japan’s armies overran the most heavily populated regions of China. During World War II, Nationalists and Communists joined together to battle the Japanese. At the same time, each side kept a close watch on the other.

With the defeat of Japan in 1945, Mao’s forces held much of northern China, while the Guomindang ruled in the south. Both sides then prepared to renew their struggle for power, as you will read in Chapter 16.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Guangzhou, (b) Hong Kong, (c) Japan.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Taiping Rebellion, (b) Hundred Days of Reforms, (c) Ci Xi, (d) Boxer Rebellion, (e) Guomindang, (f) Three Principles of the People, (g) Chiang Kai-shek, (h) Mao Zedong, (i) Long March.
- 3. Define:** (a) kowtow, (b) extraterritoriality, (c) sphere of influence.
- 4.** What two developments of the late 1700s affected China’s relations with the West?
- 5.** (a) What was the outcome of the Opium War? (b) What did Britain gain in the Treaty of Nanjing?
- 6.** Why did civil war break out after the Revolution of 1911?
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** What steps toward reform did the Chinese take as a result of western imperialism?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a newspaper editorial to persuade American readers that an Open Door policy in China would benefit the United States.

# CHAPTER 15 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. loess               | a. authority under which foreigners accused of a crime can be tried in their own nation's courts |
| 2. ideograph           | b. rise and fall of ruling families  |
| 3. dynastic cycle      | c. yellow-brown fertile soil carried by winds  |
| 4. sphere of influence | d. symbol used to express an idea  |
| 5. extraterritoriality | e. area in which a foreign nation has special economic privileges                                |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) What are the physical barriers of China? (b) How did they affect China's contact with other ancient civilizations?
- (a) What five relationships did Confucius think should govern human society? (b) Describe the role of superior and inferior persons in these relationships.
- Describe the role of each of the following in family life: (a) joint family, (b) filial piety, (c) respect for ancestors.
- (a) What was the civil service system? (b) How did it strengthen China?
- (a) Why did unrest grow in China during the 1800s? (b) What reforms did the government undertake?
- (a) What were Nationalist goals for China? (b) What challenges did Nationalists face?

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

- Chinese civilization influenced East Asia for thousands of years. (a) What ideas, inventions, and achievements contributed to China's strength? (b) How did China influence Korea, Japan, and Vietnam?
- Traditions based on family and Confucian teachings helped to shape ancient China. Explain two ways in which these traditions and teachings affected the role of women.
- Chinese advances in science and technology later spread to other parts of the world.

Choose two of these achievements and describe their importance.

- About 200 years ago, China began a long process of revolutionary change. Describe the role of the following in that process: (a) Taiping Rebellion, (b) Qing dynasty, (c) Chiang Kai-shek, (d) Mao Zedong.

## Thinking Critically

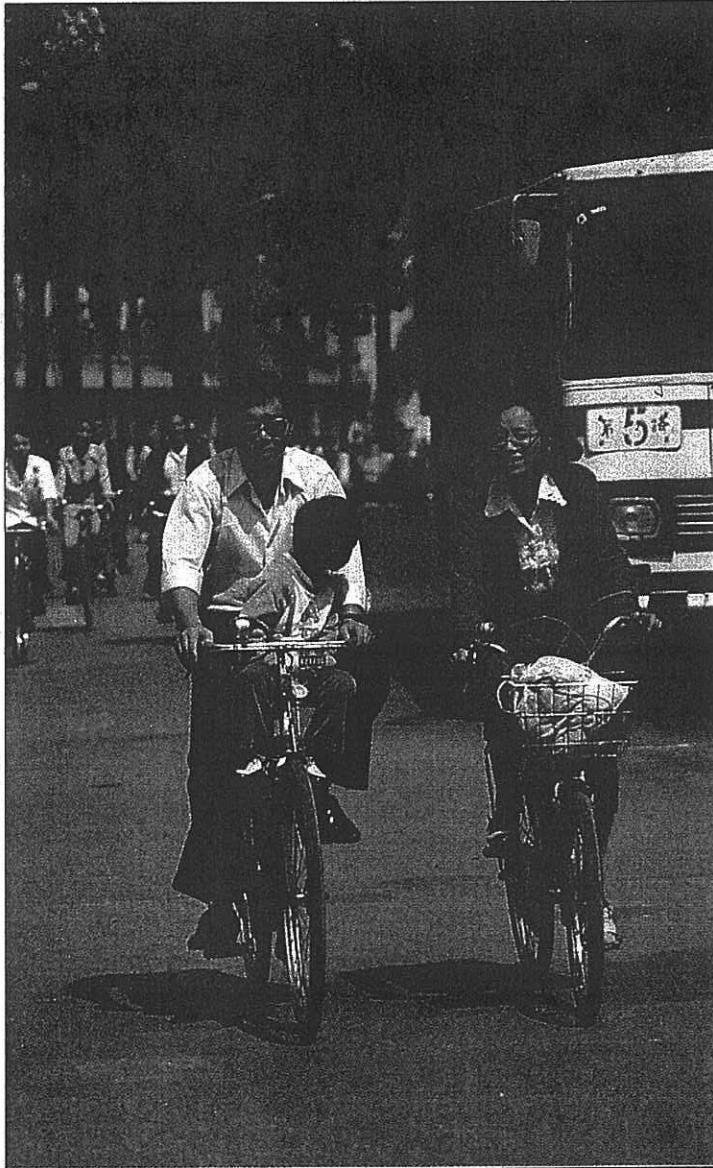
- Making Global Connections** Compare the latitudes and climates of North China and South China with those of the northeastern and southeastern United States.
- Analyzing Ideas** An ancient Chinese scholar wrote: "I am happy because I am . . . a Chinese, and not a barbarian." How does this statement reflect the view the Chinese had of their civilization?
- Synthesizing Information** Why were European powers able to carve up China?

## Applying Your Skills

- Analyzing a Quotation** "The goodness of the superior man is like the wind and the goodness of the people is like the grass. The grass bends in the same direction as the wind blows." Which Chinese philosophy does this statement reflect? Give reasons for your answer.
- Making a Review Chart** Make a chart listing the names, dates, and achievements of four Chinese dynasties.



# CHINA TODAY



**The Changing Face of China** This scene dramatizes some of the great changes that are transforming China. China is becoming urbanized, women enjoy greater equality, and families are now smaller in size. Even the sea of bicycles conveys this sense of rapid change.

**Change** What features of traditional Chinese society do you think might hinder these changes?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The People's Republic of China
- 2 Economic Development
- 3 Changing Patterns of Life
- 4 China and the World
- 5 Literature and the Arts

**A**fter years of struggle, Happy Boy had finally saved enough money to buy a rickshaw. Now he could earn a living by pulling passengers through the streets of Beijing.

Happy Boy's joy did not last. Soldiers kidnapped him and forced him to transport them through the mountains. Everything he had was lost.

“The more Happy Boy thought of what had already gone by, the more he hated the soldiers who had taken him. They had robbed him of his clothes, his shoes, his hat, his rickshaw, and even of the strip of cloth that he wound around his waist as a belt. They had left him nothing but black and blue bruises.”

In *Rickshaw Boy*, Lao She tells the tragic tale of a young Chinese

during the 1930s. Happy Boy's sufferings were not unique. Between 1911 and 1949, China experienced civil war and foreign invasion. For most Chinese, the turmoil led to hunger and injustice.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

In 1949, the Chinese Communists won power by promising a new order. In the years that followed, they introduced changes that completely transformed China's political, economic, and social life.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ The Chinese Communists set out to revolutionize government, the economy, and society.
- ▶ During the 1950s, China tried to replace the old Confucian order with a new system of thought based on the teachings of Mao Zedong.
- ▶ After 1949, many obstacles stood in the way of China's becoming a modern world power.
- ▶ Because of its vast size and rapidly developing economy, China today ranks as a world leader.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

*Rickshaw Boy*, Lao She

*Quotations From Chairman Mao*

*Son of the Revolution*, Liang Heng

*Chinese Lives*, Zhang Xinxin and Sang Ye

*The People's Comic Book*

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

# 1

## THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

### FIND OUT

Why did many Chinese people support the Communists?

What ideas influenced Mao Zedong?

How did the Communists achieve order?

**Vocabulary** proletariat, totalitarian state, propaganda

“A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle,” wrote the Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong in 1927. “A revolution is an . . . act of violence by which one class overthrows another.”

During the 1930s and 1940s, Mao rallied supporters to free China from the forces of oppression—greedy landlords, corrupt officials, and foreign imperialists. By 1949, the Chinese Communists had gained control. They then built a powerful state to push through revolutionary changes.

### Communist Victory

Even before World War II ended, the Nationalists and Communists had resumed their bitter struggle for control of China. Backed by the United States, Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces battled the Communists, who were led by Mao Zedong.

Mao's peasant armies were highly disciplined. The Nationalists, on the other hand, suffered from low morale. Soldiers were poorly paid and underfed. Massive corruption among Chiang's officials further undermined the Nationalist cause.



By 1949, the Communists had swept into Beijing. To throngs of cheering supporters, Mao Zedong announced the birth of the People's Republic of China.

Chiang retreated with his forces to the island of Taiwan, off the coast of China. There, he set up a government and vowed to regain control of the mainland.

**Appeal of communism.** Why did the Communists succeed? Mao preached a philosophy that appealed to China's poor. He promised to end many years of oppression by landlords and government officials. The Communists, he said, would set up a "dictatorship of the people" and introduce land reform. He denounced imperialism and called for China to industrialize so that it could take its place as a leading world power.

The Communists also won the support of many educated and middle-class Chinese. They welcomed Mao's pledge to end China's humiliation at the hands of the imperial powers.

**Marxism and Maoism.** The writings of Karl Marx, a German philosopher, shaped Mao's ideas about class struggle. During the mid-1800s, Marx had predicted that the proletariat, or industrial working class, would rise up against the ruling class. The proletarian revolution would spread around the world and create a new, classless society.

Mao adapted Marxism to Chinese conditions. He put his faith in China's poor, landless peasants to carry out the revolution, because China had only a small industrial working class. The 1917 Communist revolution in Russia also inspired Mao. It showed him that a strong Communist party could lead the people. (See Chapter 33.)

### Creating a New Order

Once in power, the Chinese Communists wrote a new constitution. On paper, it set up a National People's Congress, permitted free elections, and protected other democratic rights. In practice, China became a one-party dictatorship.

Communist party members held all the important jobs and controlled the government and the economy. Supported by the

People's Liberation Army (PLA), the Communists silenced critics and enforced their own views. As head of the Chinese Communist party, Mao Zedong became chairman of the People's Republic of China.

The new Chinese leaders faced many pressing political and economic problems. Years of war had created chaos and caused much suffering. In both cities and rural areas, millions of people faced starvation. Beggars and criminal gangs roamed the land.

To restore order and achieve their revolutionary goals, the Communists turned China into a totalitarian state. In a totalitarian state, the government controls every aspect of citizens' lives through a single-party dictatorship.

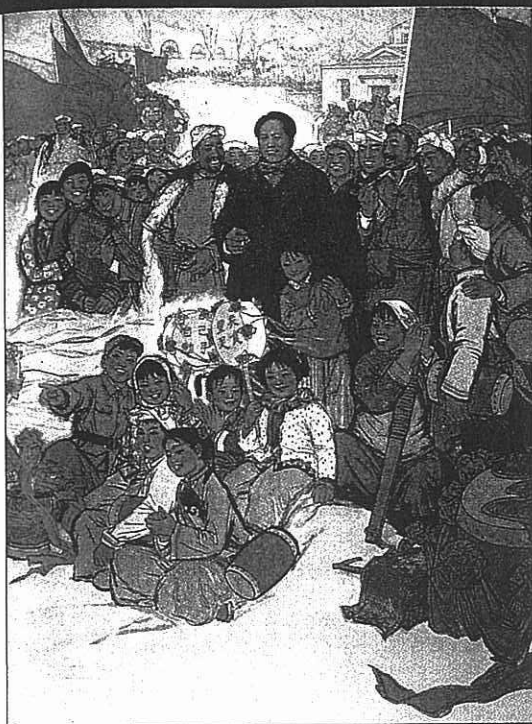
### Mao's Leadership

Through huge propaganda campaigns, the Communists made Mao Zedong a popular hero. Propaganda is the spread of ideas to promote a cause or damage an opposing cause. Children and adults were taught that Chairman Mao had all the answers to China's problems. They memorized his sayings from *Quotations From Chairman Mao*, better known as the Little Red Book.

In school, in the workplace, and at home, the Chinese learned obedience and loyalty to Mao. A three-year-old boy who ran away from a child-care center was scolded, "You are not Chairman Mao's good little boy. You haven't upheld revolutionary discipline." Years later, Liang Heng recalled how the scolding hurt:

“ I had been taught that Chairman Mao was like the sun itself. At home, ‘Mao’ had been my first word after ‘Mama,’ ‘Baba’ [father], and ‘Nai Nai’ [grandmother]. . . . Later I had learned to say, ‘I love Chairman Mao’ and ‘Long Live Chairman Mao.’ ”

Under Mao, China restored order and ended foreign influence. Mao insisted that China become self-sufficient. He promoted programs to increase food production and protect people from periodic famines. Under Mao's leadership, the Chinese built schools



**End of the Long March** This poster, made in 1973, shows Mao Zedong at the end of the Long March in 1936. It glorifies Mao and other revolutionary leaders who survived The Long March. Since most of the Chinese people were illiterate, the Communist government made wide use of colorful posters. **Political System** How might propaganda such as this strengthen Communist control?

and extended basic health care services to the huge population.

Mao launched massive drives to build a "New China." In Section 2, you will read about the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, Mao's programs to transform China's economic structure and social attitudes. Both programs had ambitious goals—and both ended in failure.

## New Directions

Despite the growing discontent with his policies, the Chinese continued to honor Chairman Mao until his death in 1976. Then, in the late 1970s, China's new leader, Deng Xiaoping (duhng syow ping), turned away from some of Mao's ideas. Deng eased some of the government's strict economic controls. He also sent Chinese students to study

abroad, and he welcomed foreign investment in China.

Encouraged by Deng's moderate policies, many of the better-educated Chinese, especially those living in the eastern coastal cities, pressed for democratic reforms. In early 1989, students in Beijing and elsewhere organized huge rallies to demand political freedom.

At first, China's leaders allowed students to gather in Tiananmen Square in central Beijing. Then, in June 1989, the government ordered the students to go home. When the protesters refused, the army opened fire, killing or wounding several thousand. In a harsh crackdown, the government arrested, tortured, and even executed leaders of the pro-democracy movement. The "Beijing massacre" showed that China's leaders would not allow their authority to be challenged.

During the 1990s, the Chinese government pushed ahead with economic reforms but kept a tight grip on political power.

**Tiananmen Square Protests** In June 1989, Chinese students brought a large "goddess of liberty" into Tiananmen Square during pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing. This figure, modeled on the Statue of Liberty, became a symbol of the demands for greater freedom in China. **Human Rights** What freedoms did the Chinese government deny by suppressing this protest?

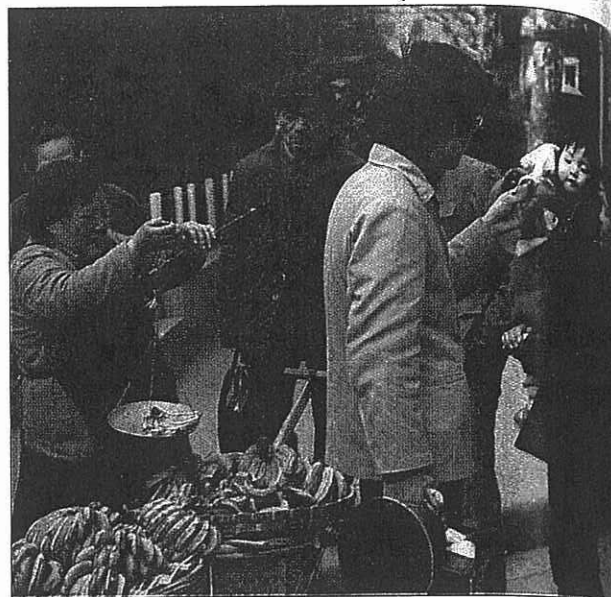




When supporters of democracy tried to organize political parties, they were arrested and jailed. Human rights groups criticized abuses in China. The government, however, rejected such pressure for change.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) Karl Marx, (b) People's Republic of China, (c) Deng Xiaoping.
2. **Define:** (a) proletariat, (b) totalitarian state, (c) propaganda.
3. (a) What goals did Mao support? (b) How did these goals appeal to different groups of Chinese?
4. Describe two ways in which the Communists restored order in China.
5. **Making Inferences** How did Communist propaganda about Mao Zedong help to unite China?
6. **Writing Across Cultures** List three examples of propaganda about a person or event that you have seen on television or in a newspaper or magazine.



**Free Enterprise in China** Under Deng Xiaoping, citizens were allowed to operate small businesses. Many Chinese earned extra income by selling products at city market stands such as this one. **Choice** Why might people prefer to buy things from private businesses?

## 2

# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### FIND OUT

What obstacles stood in the way of the modernization of China?

What were the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?

How did economic policies change after Mao's leadership ended?

**Vocabulary** collective farm, commune, capitalism

**F**rom a street stall, Shang Jinxi (shahng jeen shee) sells tea broth to people passing by. "These last couple of years, while the nation's

been trying to rev up the economy, I've retired," Shang explained. "I thought about it awhile, then dug out this big old kettle of mine. . . . I can make over 100 yuan [\$20] a month from it, on top of my pension. I've got it made."

Under Mao, the government ended private ownership of land and businesses. People like Shang Jinxi worked at government-owned farms, businesses, and factories. During the 1980s, however, Deng Xiaoping introduced new economic policies. Some private businesses such as Shang's tea stall were allowed to flourish once more.

### Revolutionary Goals

As you have read, Mao proclaimed three main goals for China's Communist revolution. He promised a better life for the poor. He called for development of a modern economy. He pledged to restore China's position as a major world power.

When the Communists took over in 1949, many obstacles prevented them from achieving these goals. China's huge population needed to be fed, clothed, housed, and educated. Yet years of war had destroyed China's few industries and disrupted its farming. China's geography, too, limited the amount of land that could be used to produce food. Floods, earthquakes, and droughts had further hampered its agriculture. As for modernization, China lacked the technology and capital to industrialize quickly. China's isolation from the world community added to its problems.

For the Communists, economic and political goals could not be separated. To build a strong economy, they believed, they had to destroy the old class system. In the past, landowners and other wealthy Chinese had controlled the means of production—that is, land, labor, and capital. The Communists wanted to place the means of production under central government control. In this way, they hoped to end inequality and increase output. As output increased, China could sell its goods on the world market and use the income to invest in industry.

## Reorganizing Agriculture

Once in power, the Communists quickly introduced land reform. They took land from large landowners and divided it among landless farm families. Many landlords faced harsh punishments for their past mistreatment of the peasants.

During the early 1950s, the government set up new programs, ending private ownership of land altogether. The government forced peasants to pool their land, tools, and labor to form **collective farms**. The members of collective farms worked for the state and received a share of the harvest. The rest of the harvest went to the government. The government believed that collective farms would be more efficient and result in greater food production.

**Great Leap Forward.** In 1958, Mao introduced another program. He called on the Chinese to make a superhuman effort to achieve modernization through one "Great Leap Forward." As part of this program, he divided China into **communes**. A typical commune included several villages, thousands of acres of land, and as many as 20,000 people.

**Working on a Commune** Under Mao, all Chinese farmers had to live and work in communes. More than 50,000 communes were established to produce the nation's crops. By the late 1970s, however, the government had begun to move away from commune farming. Peasant families were then allowed to lease farms. Farm output nearly doubled in value between 1978 and 1985. **Change** Why did communes fail to produce enough food?





The commune controlled the land and peasants' lives. At first, families were split up. Men, women, and children slept in separate dormitories and ate in large dining halls. The commune assigned jobs to each worker. In turn, it provided all workers with food, clothing, housing, medical care, child care, schooling, and even recreation.

The commune system was a way to mobilize the Chinese people to build bridges, dams, irrigation systems, and other projects needed for a modern China. Mao expected to increase food output through large-scale farming.

**Effects.** The Great Leap Forward led to disaster. Peasants resisted the commune system, sometimes even destroying crops. Food production fell because the government assigned millions of farm workers to projects such as building schools and roads. Since everyone was guaranteed a living, many workers did not work very hard.

Floods and droughts added to China's problems. Millions of people died in the famine that swept China from 1959 to 1961. Finally, during the early 1960s, Mao had to abandon the Great Leap Forward in favor of less ambitious plans.

## Cultural Revolution

Many Chinese blamed Mao for the disaster that followed the Great Leap Forward, and a power struggle broke out among the top Communist leaders. Mao grew concerned about factions, or rival groups, within the Communist party. He also believed that China's new generation had to experience revolution firsthand. In 1966, to renew the revolutionary spirit, he launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

**Methods.** Mao stressed the class struggle. He urged young people to root out "capitalist roaders," or followers of capitalism, as he called his critics. Capitalism is another term for a free market economy, in which the means of production are owned and operated by individuals for profit.

Students and young factory workers responded to Mao's call by organizing the Red

Guards. The Red Guards held mass rallies to support Mao. They traveled around China attacking government officials and others who did not fully support the chairman.

Quoting the Little Red Book, Red Guards heaped abuse on people with "bad class backgrounds"—those whose families had been landlords, rich peasants, or supporters of the Nationalists before 1949. In public "struggle meetings," they forced teachers, factory managers, and even Communist party members to confess to "crimes" against Mao. Victims of the abuse were then sent to distant rural areas to do manual labor.

**Effects.** The Cultural Revolution created chaos in China. Schools closed. In factories, disputes between rival factions slowed production. Finally, in 1969, the Chinese army restored order, sending millions of young Red Guards to work in faraway rural areas. The emphasis on political struggle continued, however, until Mao's death. The Cultural Revolution left deep wounds. Many people had been tortured, imprisoned, or killed. The lives of millions of young Chinese had been disrupted. They never completed school. Many lost faith in their hero, Mao Zedong, and in the Communist party.



### A Doctor's Story

"I was not a Communist [in 1949]," the elderly Chinese man told a visiting journalist, "but I admired what they were trying to do. Old China was so backward, so poor, and so corrupt, there were beggars who starved to death in the streets every day."

In 1949, the man returned to China from the United States, where he had graduated from Harvard Medical School. Full of hope, he took a job in a Shanghai hospital.

The young doctor's optimism faded in the 1950s. In 1957, Mao encouraged people to freely express their suggestions for improvement. The doctor suggested that doctors themselves, not Communist party officials, should run the hospital. "I took Mao at his

word, I thought he was sincere," he explained. Mao soon changed his policy about openness, and the doctor was harshly punished.

Dragged before his colleagues, the doctor was beaten and accused of crimes against the revolution. "They called it a 'self-help meeting,' to help me improve my attitude," he said. The doctor was then sent to a labor reform camp, where he spent his time breaking rocks in a quarry.

After nearly 10 years, the doctor was released just as Mao launched the Cultural Revolution. The doctor was arrested again. His family suffered, too. Red Guards forced his wife, who was also a doctor, to sweep floors and clean toilets. They made his son leave medical school to work in a remote peasant village. His young daughter was expelled from junior high school because of her father's past.

Life improved for the doctor after 1976. He returned to his old job, where he worked with the people who had attacked him in the past. To the journalist, he confided:

“It’s funny, some of them now fall asleep at political study sessions from boredom. For all of us, the revolution is over. What is left is doubt and disbelief. It is very sad for China.” ■

## Four Modernizations

After Mao's death in 1976, a power struggle took place. On one side was the "Gang of Four," Jiang Qing (jee ahng ching), Mao's widow, and her top supporters. They favored the radical policies of the Cultural Revolution. On the other side were moderate leaders. The moderates, who made up the vast majority, won. They had Jiang Qing and her supporters arrested and put on trial. ( See Connections With Literature, page 806, "Homecoming Stranger.")

By 1978, Deng Xiaoping had emerged as China's leader. Deng's goals were similar to Mao's—to help China achieve wealth and power. However, he stressed economic reform instead of class struggle as the way to achieve those goals. Deng named his program the Four Modernizations. It called for modernizing agriculture, expanding industry, developing science and technology, and upgrading China's defense forces.

Deng wanted to increase mechanization, or the use of machines, in farming. He also hoped to make China self-sufficient in food production. To help achieve these goals, Deng introduced the responsibility system. Under this system, each farm family was responsible for making its own living. The government leased land to peasant households.

**Study Groups** During the Cultural Revolution, people everywhere, in cities and on farms, had to attend meetings to study and discuss the benefits of communism. The government supplied the approved texts to teach correct Communist thinking. Here, groups discuss their "lesson."  
**Citizenship** How were study groups an effective means of propaganda?





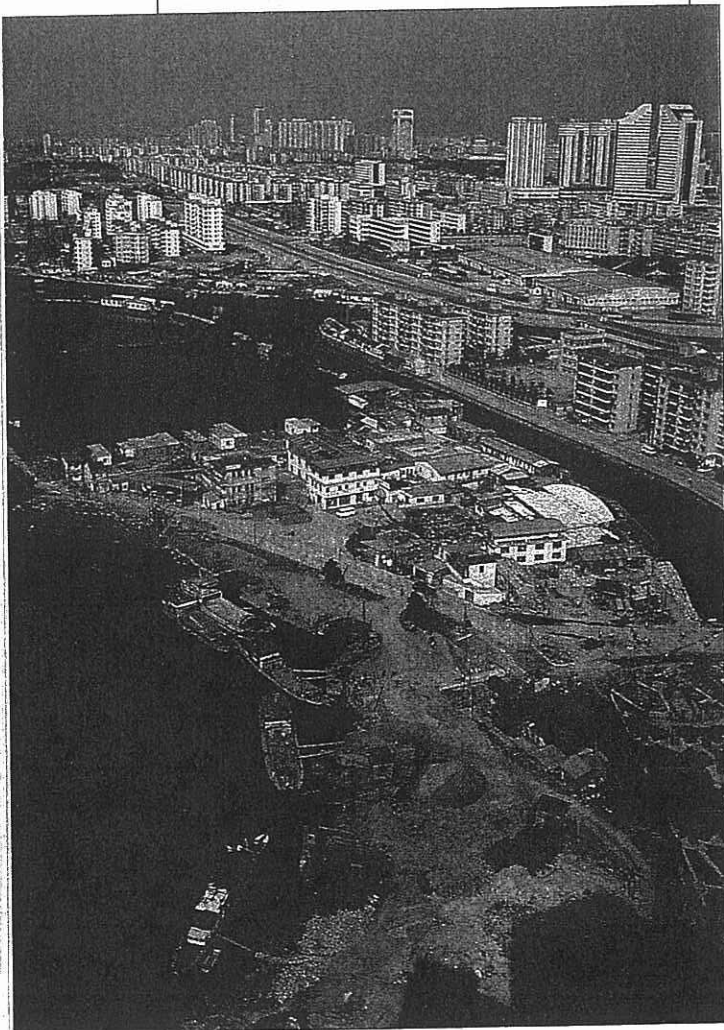
Each family raised crops and had to sell a portion of the harvest to the government at a set price. The rest could be sold for profit—on the open market.

Encouraged by the chance at profits, farmers produced larger crops. Farm output then grew rapidly, raising the standard of living in many areas.

While profit replaced Mao's emphasis on moral goals, China did not adopt capitalism.

**The City of Shenzhen** The Special Economic Zone (SEZ) at Shenzhen, the largest in China, covers more than 130 square miles (337 sq km) near Hong Kong. Shenzhen spurred China's economy by bringing in foreign businesses. These businesses have invested more than \$2 billion in Shenzhen.

**Interdependence** How does China encourage foreigners to build businesses in SEZs?



The government still controlled much of the economy. It also kept some collective farms because it feared that small farms could not produce enough food for all of China's people. The responsibility system was simply a new program to raise food production and increase government power.

Even as the government made economic reforms, it kept tight political control. Supporters of democracy were often harassed and jailed.

## Building Industry

Under Mao, China had poured resources into developing heavy industry, such as mining and military weapons. Mao had urged communes to set up factories to make tools and furniture. Products from these factories, however, were often poor because managers stressed quantity over quality. Many communes also built "backyard furnaces" to make steel, but most of it was of such poor quality that it could not be used.

Deng Xiaoping shifted emphasis to light industry, such as manufacturing consumer goods. To make factories more efficient, Deng extended the responsibility system to industry. Managers were allowed to make decisions about what to produce, but they were also held responsible for making a profit. Deng and his successor, Jiang Zemin (jahng zuh-min), also allowed private entrepreneurs to operate their own businesses.

Under the reforms, China's economy boomed and industrial output rose. China became one of the world's fastest developing countries. If its economy continues to expand, China will have the world's second largest economy by 2022.

As in other developing countries, rapid economic growth has brought new kinds of problems. Millions of rural people have crowded into towns and cities. As industry expands, air and water pollution have increased. China's crime rate has risen, and corruption has grown. Although the standard of living has risen for many people, large differences between rich and poor have also reappeared.

## Expanding Trade

Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin ended Mao's policy of isolating China from the rest of the world. They realized that China needed foreign technology and capital in order to modernize. Deng opened the door to foreign trade and investment. To attract foreign capital, he set up Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in southeastern China. Today, free enterprise thrives there. Once-sleepy fishing villages have been turned into modern cities with factories, hotels, and banks.

The growth of trade has brought new wealth to China, especially to areas along the east coast. At the same time, China is more affected than before by global economic swings. During a global downturn, demand for its exports fall.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Great Leap Forward, (b) Cultural Revolution, (c) Red Guards, (d) Jiang Qing, (e) Four Modernizations, (f) responsibility system.
- 2. Define:** (a) collective farm, (b) commune, (c) capitalism.
- 3.** (a) List two economic goals that China has pursued since 1949. (b) What problems has China faced in achieving those goals?
- 4.** (a) Describe two ways in which the economic policies of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were similar. (b) Describe two ways in which their policies were different.
- 5.** How are economic reforms changing China today?
- 6. Applying Information** Deng Xiaoping responded to critics of his economic reforms with this traditional saying: "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice." What did he mean by this?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Jot down some ideas about how the economy of the United States differs from that of China.

## 3

# CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

### FIND OUT

- How does Communist ideology differ from Confucianism?
- What social changes did the Communists introduce?
- What is China doing to limit population growth?
- What role does education play in China today?

“My main worry was getting into the Communist Youth League. It looks good if you can. . . . Universities will judge you by whether you're a member and whether you're a 'three-good' student. That means good health, good politics, and good marks.”

In China today, as in the past, education is the path to advancement. As 17-year-old Wu Liyao (woo lee ow) points out, getting into a university takes more than good grades. Coming from a family of good Communists and supporting the Communist party are also key requirements. For the Chinese, education is an opportunity to help China, not the individual to develop.

## A New Philosophy

When the Chinese Communists gained power, they tried to replace the old Confucian traditions with a new revolutionary philosophy. That philosophy combined the ideas of Marx and Mao.

The new ideology, or official way of thinking, emphasized the values and goals of China's new leaders. *Quotations From Chairman*





**In a Shanghai Park** This group is practicing an ancient Chinese discipline called *tai chi*. Using tai chi, people combine slow, graceful body movements with silent meditation. The goal of those who practice tai chi is to increase and direct the flow of their natural energy to improve their health and well-being. **Culture** Why might a student like Wu Liyao practice tai chi?

*Mao* took the place of the Confucian classics. Instead of filial piety, the Communists called for loyalty and service to China. "Serve the People," declared posters and loudspeakers throughout the land. By stressing this idea, the Communists encouraged a sense of national unity.

China's new heroes were workers like Wang Qinxu, the head of an oil-drilling team who risked his life to limit the damage to an oil rig after an explosion. Children learned to admire the four-year-old boy who gave up his playtime to gather fertilizer for the commune vegetable fields. Traditional fairy tales were rewritten to teach the value of physical labor rather than riches.

## Social Changes

The Communists set out to build a classless society in which everyone was equal. They did away with the landowning class and mocked the scholars who had once ruled China. "Learn from the peasants," declared Mao.

The government tried to ensure equality by outlawing private property. In theory, everyone had equal access to education, health care, housing, and jobs. In practice, a new elite emerged. Communist party members and leaders of the People's Liberation Army lived in the best apartments. They had cars and drivers to take them to work and could buy hard-to-find consumer goods. Their chil-

dren won places in the universities and got good jobs.

By the 1980s, Deng's economic reforms were creating new differences in wealth. Some peasants and business people were making profits from private enterprise. With the money they earned, they bought luxuries such as refrigerators, television sets, and motorbikes.

Under Deng, the old division between rural and urban China also has deepened. Cities in eastern China modernized and adopted western technology and ideas. In remote rural areas, peasants had fewer opportunities to make money and move ahead. These areas remained less developed than the urban areas.

### Family Life

After 1949, China's leaders tried to weaken the influence of the family. They reversed the Confucian teaching of respect for elders and put their faith in young people. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao encouraged children to criticize their parents for clinging to the old ways. Today, institutions outside the family, such as day-care centers and schools, have great influence on the young.

The Communists also tried to destroy the traditional reverence for ancestors. To get more farmland, communes took over grave sites. Officials forbade families to hold traditional funerals or make offerings to their ancestors. During the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards ransacked homes and destroyed family shrines. Even having a list of one's ancestors was considered a crime.

**Traditions survive.** Despite such attacks, respect for elders and other traditions survived, especially in rural areas. Families still scraped together enough money to bury their dead in expensive coffins. Although the old religions were banned, people hired Daoist priests to perform the required ceremonies. Even Communist party leaders sometimes held lavish funerals or memorial services for their parents or grandparents. Today, family members still get together to celebrate the Spring Festival, the traditional time for honoring their ancestors.

**Marriage.** In 1950, China passed a marriage law that provided for freedom of choice in marriages. Under the law, women and men were equal. In the family, therefore, the man was no longer dominant.

Young people no longer had to accept the marriage partner chosen by their parents. However, most young Chinese still rely on a third party, such as a co-worker or a family friend, to help them find a mate. (See the feature on page 362.)

**Family size.** China's huge population is a major threat to modernization. In the years of Communist rule, the population has doubled. The government has taken strong measures to limit population growth. As part of its program, the government has encouraged young women and men to delay marriage until they reach their mid- or late twenties. It has also adopted a one-child-per-family policy. To enforce the policy, the government mixes penalties and rewards. Families that accept the one-child limit receive wage raises and other benefits, such as first chance at scarce apartments. Those who insist on having more than one child are fined or receive only limited food rations for the second child.

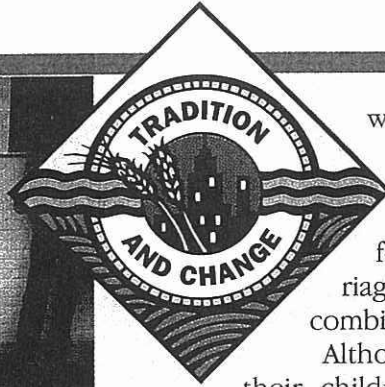
China's family planning program has had mixed success. In cities, where housing is scarce, many families follow the government's strict guidelines. In rural areas, however, peasant families still want large families. They can use the extra labor. Also, if the first child is a daughter, many parents will try again, hoping for a son.

"I've borne nine children," admitted one peasant woman in 1987. "The first was a boy, but he died. Then I had seven girls. . . . Only the ninth time did heaven send another son." She paid increasingly large fines for each child.

### A Changing Role for Women

Before 1949, women were considered inferior to men. They could not own property, and were expected to serve and obey their husbands and to remain secluded inside the home. Few received an education. "An ignorant woman is virtuous," advised an old saying.





## Chinese Marriage Customs

The wedding took place during the 1980s, but the wedding feast in the village of Maoping (mow ping) continued traditions that had been part of Chinese culture for centuries. Round balls of sweetened rice symbolized a life of harmony. Pieces of sugarcane stood for a sweet future. Fish signified abundance, and date soup meant hope for the early birth of a son.

After taking power in 1949, Chinese Communist leaders tried to end many traditional customs. They outlawed the binding of women's feet and encouraged women to work outside the home. They also tried to do away with religious rituals. Marriages, for example,

were performed in government offices or in the commune.

The Chinese, especially in rural areas, have resisted efforts to change traditional marriage feasts. Today, rural Chinese combine the old and new ways.

Although parents no longer arrange their children's marriages, most matches are still arranged with the help of friends or relatives. For example, the young couple in Maoping met at work and decided to marry. Still, they wanted the approval of the woman's mother. In accordance with custom, they hired a go-between to get the mother's permission.

The Chinese government has tried to convince people to be thrifty in planning weddings. Despite these efforts, the groom in Maoping spent about five years' income on the wedding arrangements. The couple were married first in a government ceremony. Then they held a traditional wedding ceremony and feast in their native village. In addition to the traditional foods, the groom provided cash, sweets, and other gifts for the members of the bride's family.

1. What changes did the Communists try to make in Chinese marriage customs?
2. **Evaluating Information** Why do you think the Chinese government has been unable to end many traditional customs?

Under China's 1950 constitution, the Communists introduced major changes for women. The constitution declared, "Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social, and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work." China's marriage law also gave women the right to own property and to keep their family name.

Today, Chinese women have become more independent. Almost all women work

outside the home, and many hold high-level jobs in the Communist party or as factory managers. The government has set up day-care centers and nurseries so that young mothers can be free to work outside the home.

Although the law states that women and men are equal, most women do a greater share of housework as well as most of the shopping and cooking. An equal number of girls and boys attend elementary school,

but far fewer girls complete high school and enter college. Also, despite the law, men are usually paid more than women for the same job.

## Education and Technology

Since 1949, China's Communist leaders have emphasized literacy. They saw the need for educated workers in a modern industrial society. The government opened schools throughout China. It also set up adult education centers to teach older men and women to read and write. Through education, the government tried to mold people's beliefs. In political study classes, for example, students learn correct Communist thinking.

The government made Mandarin China's official language. It also took steps to make Chinese script easier to learn. Traditionally, each Chinese character was made up of a number of strokes. To become literate, a person had to memorize at least 3,000 characters, compared to 26 letters in the English alphabet. To promote literacy, the government

simplified 2,000 of the most commonly used characters.

The quality of schools varies throughout China. Schools in eastern cities are generally better than elsewhere. Students must take competitive exams to win places in the universities. Because they receive better training, city dwellers pass the exams more easily. Uneven education tends to widen the gap between China's rural and urban areas.

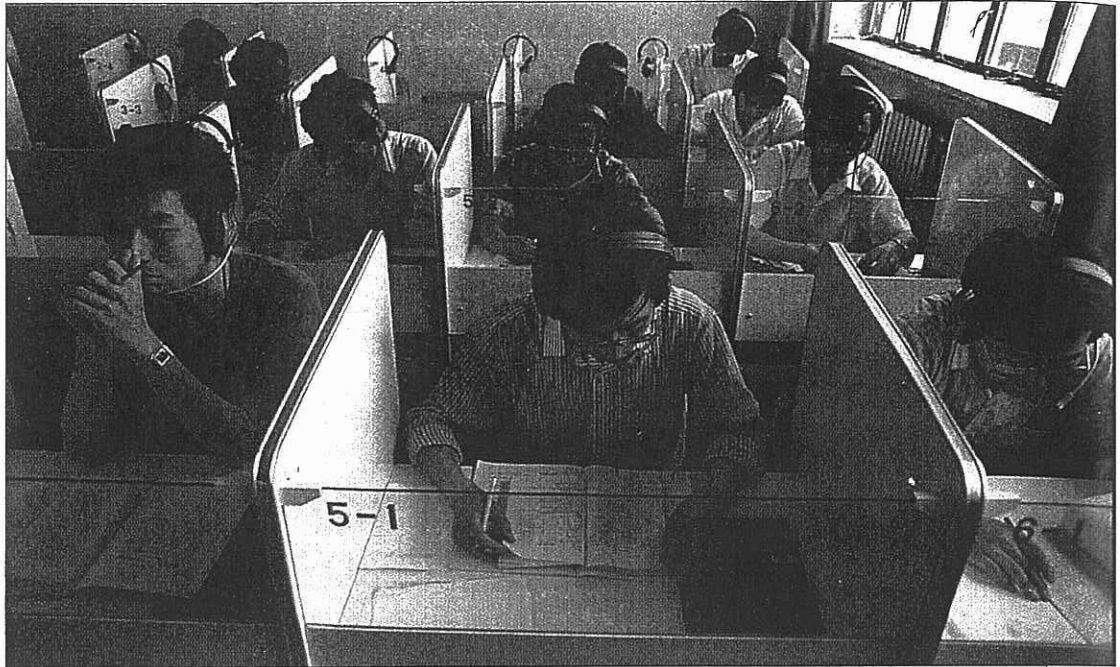
**Science and technology.** Throughout its long history, China has achieved an impressive record of inventions and scientific advances. (See Chapter 15.) Many of these Chinese ideas were later adopted by the rest of the world. By the 1700s, China fell behind the West technologically. Today, however, it is again putting great resources into scientific research.

The Chinese stress practical uses for science. For example, Chinese engineers have designed a small "walking tractor" that looks like a giant lawn mower. The "grasshopper," as it is called, is better suited to China's small fields and terraced farmland than are large tractors.

**Operating a "Grasshopper"** This handy machine, called a "grasshopper," is widely used in Chinese farming. Its chassis, or body, can also be separated and used as a form of transportation. China now manufactures 1 million of these machines each year. It exports many of them to Southeast Asia and Latin America. **Technology**  
Why might Chinese farmers prefer this machine to a full-size tractor?







**Studying a Foreign Language** Students like these at Beijing University use technology to study English and other foreign languages. However, only about 1 percent of all Chinese students attend college or receive higher education. Moreover, nearly 20 percent of all adults still cannot read or write. **Interdependence** Why is education so important in China as it prepares for the world of the next century?

### SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. (a) What actions did the Communists take to create a classless society? (b) Were they successful? Explain.
2. How has the Communists' effort to replace Chinese traditions met with mixed success?
3. (a) Why has China adopted a one-child-per-family policy? (b) How does the government enforce this policy?
4. (a) Why have the Communists stressed literacy? (b) What steps have they taken to make it easier to write Chinese script?
5. **Comparing** Describe two similarities and two differences between Confucianism and Communist ideology.
6. **Writing Across Cultures** On a sheet of paper, jot down one fact from Section 3 about each of the following: social classes, women, marriage, family, and education in China. Then, next to each item, jot down one fact about each in the United States.

## 4

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

### FIND OUT

How has China's role in the world changed since 1949?

Why did China regard itself as a model for developing nations?

What policies has China adopted toward its neighbors?

**H**erds of Asian elephants, sheep, and buffaloes graze peacefully in the fields. Nearby, spectacular palaces and temples dot the land. The herds are mechanical, not real, while the palaces and temples are tiny copies of the

originals. All are part of a 100-acre park called Splendid China in Shenzhen.

In a joint venture with western companies, the Chinese developed this center to attract tourists. It features 20 villages that represent the cultures of ethnic groups from all over China. In addition, it displays—in miniature—the splendid monuments of China's past.

Shenzhen lies in one of the Special Economic Zones set up under Deng Xiaoping. In these SEZs, more than elsewhere, China's new "open door" policy is evident. Since

1949, China has moved from a policy of strict isolation to one of active involvement in the global economy. Because of its size, resources, and rapidly developing economy, China is emerging as a major power both among nations of the Pacific Rim and in the world.

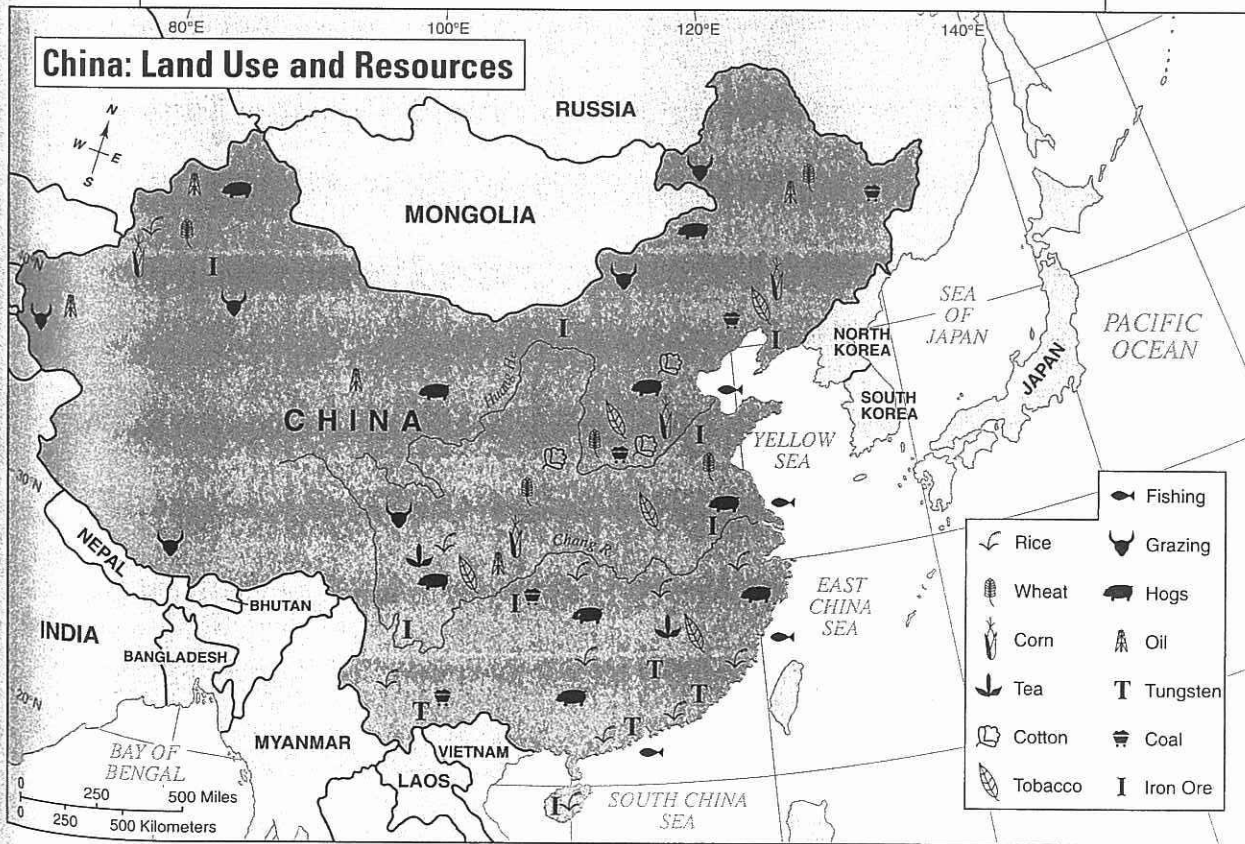
### Relations With the Soviet Union

During the 1950s, the Soviet Union was the chief ally of the People's Republic of China. The Soviets had provided training and

#### MAP STUDY

Despite its rapidly developing economy, China remains a largely agricultural nation. It produces several major food crops. China also has important natural resources that strengthen its economy.

- 1. Region** (a) Name a food crop that is grown in many regions of China. (b) Where is most rice grown?
- 2. Location** What important food source is provided by China's location along the Pacific Ocean?
- 3. Analyzing Information** Give evidence to support this generalization: China has the natural resources needed to build basic industries.





weapons to the Chinese Communists during the civil war. After 1949, they helped China with loans and technical advice.

In the 1950s, the alliance soured—in large part because China and the Soviet Union became rivals for power in Asia. By the late 1950s, China had expelled its Soviet advisors. Border disputes almost led to war. However, relations improved after the deaths of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin in 1953 and again after Mao Zedong's death in 1976.

When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, it formed a number of ethnic republics. This created a problem for China. Some ethnic groups in China's northern and western regions also began demanding independence. The ethnic groups in these regions are related to peoples who live in the neighboring republics.

Both China and Russia are also troubled by the rise of militant Islamic movements on their borders in Central Asia. They have cooperated to develop an anti-terrorist policy.

In 2001, China and Russia signed a treaty of friendship. It resolved disputed borders and allowed for trade in energy and other raw materials.

## China and the West

For decades, the Cold War shaped relations between China and the West. Mao condemned the imperialist nations and called for the overthrow of capitalism. Led by the United States, most western nations refused to recognize the People's Republic of China. Instead, they supported the Nationalist government of Taiwan.

**Influence in the developing world.** Western nations were especially worried about China's attempt to lead the developing nations. China backed anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa and helped to arm and train guerrillas fighting there.

**Isolation ends.** In time, China's policies moderated and its isolation eased. The United Nations recognized the People's Republic of China in 1971. The next year, President Richard Nixon of the United States visited China. This opened the way for the two countries

to begin trade. In 1979, the United States officially recognized China.

Since then, China has encouraged foreign investment and vastly increased trade with the West and with Japan. Today, China has the seventh largest economy in terms of world trade.

**Human rights.** Human rights issues, however, have hurt its relations with western nations. The massacre of student protesters at Tiananmen Square in 1989 shocked people around the world and damaged relations with some nations.

Human rights violations remain widespread in China. The government maintains tight control over the legal system. Opponents are sometimes imprisoned without trial. Minor political offenses are punished harshly, and political prisoners often face brutal jail conditions.

**World Trade Organization.** Despite such issues, China has recently achieved two big goals. It won the right to hold the 2008 Olympics and it joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) after a 15-year quest. The WTO is an international agency that regulates global trade. Membership meant that China was seen as a growing economic power.

To gain admission to the WTO, China had to agree to make major economic reforms. It was willing to do this because it expected benefits such as a role in making trade rules. Other nations accepted it into the WTO because they were eager to enter the Chinese market.

## China and Its Neighbors

By the 1990s, the nations of East and Southeast Asia were emerging as a force in the global economy. Relations between China and its neighbors will shape events in this region for years to come.

**Hong Kong.** In 1997, China regained control of Hong Kong, which Britain had acquired after the Opium War. This colonial outpost had long been a bitter reminder of western imperialism in China. Many Hong Kong Chinese welcomed an end to colonial rule. Yet, they were also uneasy about the future.

Under British rule, Hong Kong had grown into a center of finance, trade, manufacturing,

and shipping. It had a booming free enterprise economy. China promised not to change Hong Kong's economy for at least 50 years. Despite that assurance, many wealthy Hong Kong Chinese moved to other countries. Most of Hong Kong's 6 million people could not afford to move. In general, China has honored its vow, although it has moved forcefully to exert its influence.

**Japan.** Japan's invasion and occupation of China during the 1930s and 1940s left bitter memories with the Chinese. Since the 1970s, however, China and Japan have improved relations and developed many economic ties.

Trade has benefited both nations. Through Japan, China gains access to advanced science and technology. In return, China is a huge market for Japanese manufacturers and a source of much-needed raw materials for Japanese factories.

China, though, may soon pose a challenge to Japan's economic power in Asia. Thanks to its rapid industrial growth, China has begun to compete with Japan in many markets.

**Vietnam.** China's relations with Vietnam have often been strained. Centuries ago, China conquered much of present-day Vietnam. Many Chinese settled there, and Chinese cultural influences were strong.

During the Vietnam War, China supplied North Vietnam with weapons and other goods. After the war, old conflicts surfaced, including a bitter border dispute. Many people of Chinese descent fled Vietnam to escape persecution by the Vietnamese government.

Relations have improved in recent years. The two countries settled the border issue. However, they have remained at odds over fishing rights.

**Taiwan.** Since 1949, the people of Taiwan have feared invasion by China. Although tensions have eased, China still claims Taiwan as part of its territory.

Taiwan has made itself into an economic and industrial power. Today, it is one of the world's largest trading nations. It exports



**Chinese Flag Over Hong Kong** While under British rule, Hong Kong became one of Asia's economic leaders. Then, in 1997, Britain returned the city to China. Many Hong Kong residents worried about the impact of Chinese Communist rule. Others, however, celebrated their reunion with China after 155 years. **Human Rights** Why did some people feel threatened by the return of Hong Kong to China?

goods worldwide and has achieved a high standard of living for the Taiwanese.

Economic success has increased the desire of many people on Taiwan to remain free of Chinese control. Taiwan recently added that goal to its constitution. Beijing, though, insists that there is only "one China," and





**China and Vietnam** China blamed Vietnam for numerous border clashes during the 1970s. In 1979, Chinese troops pushed 30 miles (48 km) into Vietnam. Two weeks later, China pulled back its troops, declaring that it had taught Vietnam “a lesson.”

**Power** How did China’s action in 1979 recall its earlier relationship with Vietnam?

it includes Taiwan. Periodically, it issues threats to invade the island if Taiwan declares independence and conducts military exercises near the island.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

- 1. Locate** (a) Taiwan, (b) Hong Kong, (c) Japan, (d) Vietnam.
- 2. Identify:** World Trade Organization.
- After 1949, why did China offer itself as a model to developing nations?
- Trace the history of relations between China and the Soviet Union (and then Russia) since the 1950s. What led relations to improve after 1953?
- How have relations between China and the West changed since the 1970s?
- Why do the Chinese regard Hong Kong as an important symbol?
- 7. Synthesizing** List three adjectives that describe China’s relations with its neighbors. Explain why you chose each adjective.
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Some Americans believe that the United States should not trade with China until the Chinese government ends human rights abuses. Express your view in an editorial.

5

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

### FIND OUT

How have political changes affected the arts?

What traditions remain strong in the arts?

How do the Communists use the arts to teach values?

“Although Lei Feng’s life is over, his spirit continues to shine forth undiminished. Rivers have their source, trees their roots. The source and the roots of Lei Feng’s spirit lie in Mao Zedong’s thought. Let us forever remember Comrade Lei Feng’s promises: to study for the people, to serve the people, and to fight for the people to the end.”

During the Cultural Revolution, millions of Chinese read the stirring story of Lei Feng in a comic book. As a child, Lei Feng was

cruelly beaten by the wife of a landlord. The Japanese killed his father during World War II. His brother died of starvation. By studying the thoughts of Chairman Mao, however, Lei Feng overcame his bitterness about the past. A truck driver in the army, this soldier-hero was killed while serving the people.

*Lei Feng* is propaganda literature. It shows how the Chinese Communist government used the arts to further promote their revolutionary goals.

## Old and New Traditions

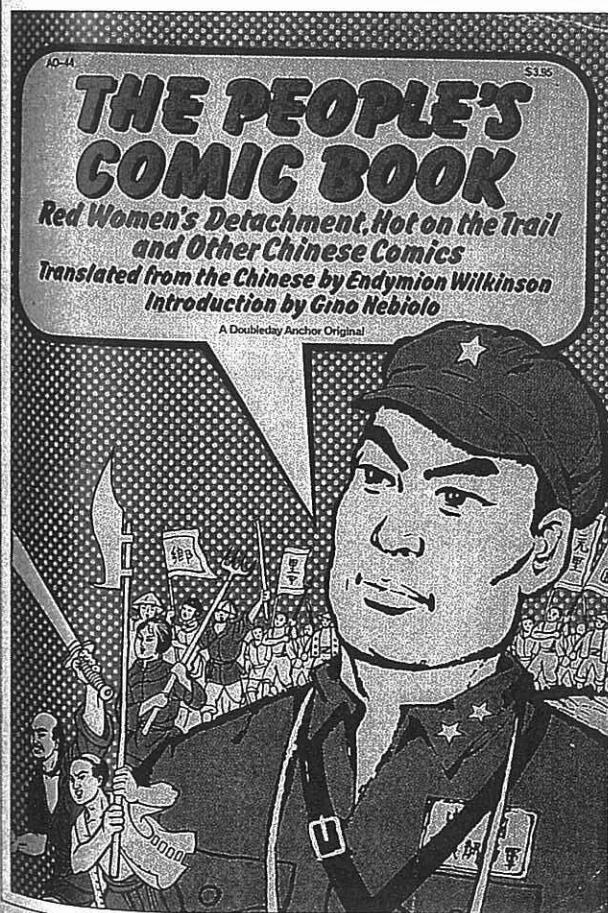
The Chinese have excelled in the arts, sciences, and technology for thousands of years. As you read in Chapter 15, several

traditions, including Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, influenced the arts and sciences in the past. During the 1800s and 1900s, the Chinese absorbed ideas from the West that produced new traditions. For example, to help modernize China, they adopted western approaches to science and technology.

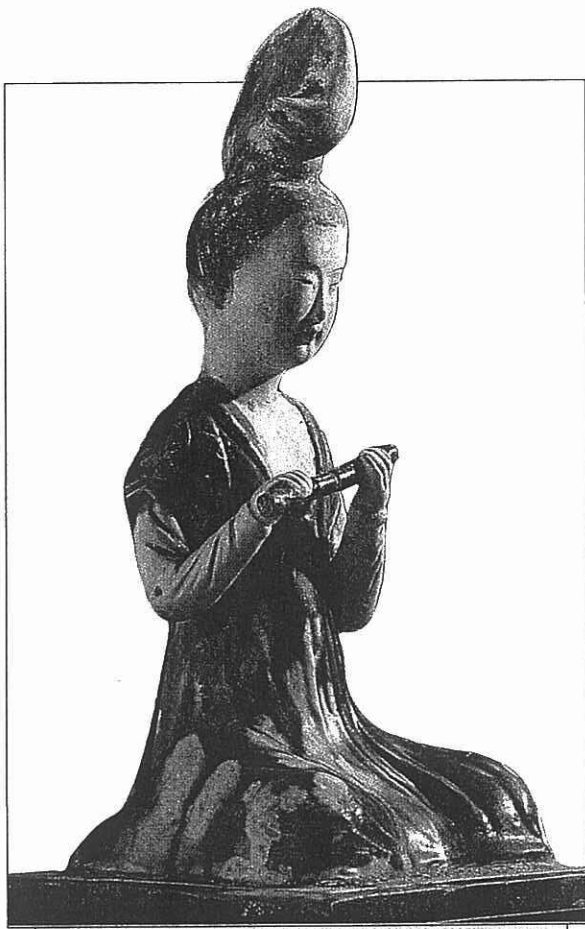
After 1949, the Communists set out to reform the arts. "All art is politics," declared Mao. He believed that the government must control painting, literature, and music and make the arts serve the people. He rejected much of China's cultural heritage because it reflected the old society, which was based on classes.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards smashed temples, statues, and other

**Serious Comic Books** Chinese of all ages like to read about heroes like Lei Feng. Although Lei Feng died in 1962, his memory lives on. After the Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989, the government issued 300,000 copies of Lei's diary in order to encourage "a new upsurge in learning from Lei Feng." **Citizenship** What aspects of Lei's life make him a good propaganda hero?







**Porcelain From the Tang Dynasty** A kneeling woman at the imperial court holds a bamboo flute. Most of the ceramic art from the Tang dynasty has been found in tombs, some as far away as the Middle East. An Arab traveler in China during the A.D. 800s described the porcelain he saw as "vessels of clay as transparent as glass." **Fine Art** What does this figure suggest about China during the Tang dynasty?

works of art from the past. They burned books and family records. They did not destroy China's ancient culture, however. Interest in the past remained. In the arts and sciences today, the Chinese are seeking to create a new identity that blends old and new traditions.

### Visual Arts

Today, as in the past, the arts reflect how people see the world and their place in it. You have read that Shang craftworkers produced fine bronze vessels. The bronzes

were used to hold offerings of food or drink for the spirits of respected ancestors. Some of these bronzes were richly decorated. Among the most common decorations are monsters with curled tails and gaping jaws, tigers, snakes, birds, and elephants.

**Porcelain.** By the Tang dynasty, Chinese artisans had perfected the art of making porcelain. Porcelain is a hard, smooth, shiny pottery. Its special qualities are the result of mixing a pure white clay called kaolin with petuntse, a mineral found only in China. Objects made of the clay mixture are then baked at high temperatures. Tang artists made lovely porcelain figures of servants, musicians, dancers, camels, and horses. They colored these figures with distinctive yellow, green, and blue glazes.

Chinese porcelains were in great demand as articles of trade. Archaeologists have found Chinese pottery from Southeast Asia to East Africa. During the Ming dynasty, the Chinese produced the blue-and-white porcelains that later became popular in Europe and the United States.

**Painting.** In traditional China, painting was an art of the gentry class. They treasured works painted in ink on silk or paper scrolls. The scrolls were rolled up for storage and safekeeping. The wealthy brought out and unrolled their scrolls when they had time to study them at leisure.

Chinese landscape paintings reflected Daoist ideas. Many paintings showed rugged mountains and rushing rivers. In them, the artists conveyed the vastness of the universe and the harmony of nature. Painters used a wide variety of symbols. The plum blossom in winter, for example, suggested the hope of spring.

Under western influence, Chinese artists began to paint scenes that included realistic human figures. After the Communists won power, the government encouraged artists to use their works to promote the goals of the revolution. Painters depicted life on communes and in factories. Some artists still drew on scenes from nature, but in these paintings nature was simply a background for soldier-heroes and model workers. Such heroes, the

Communist party believed, would stir the masses to great deeds.

Modern Chinese artists use symbols from the past and the present. Red has long been a symbol of joy in China. Today, many paintings include a red sun rising to celebrate the victory of communism in China. (In the western world, red was a symbol of communism.)

## Literature

Confucianism influenced traditional Chinese literature. Among the educated, scholars wrote poetry that followed strict literary forms. The common people preferred legends and folktales recited by wandering storytellers. These tales of emperors, scholars, gods, demons, and magicians taught strict moral lessons. The disobedient son is always punished, and the good son is always rewarded. Many stories also carried the Buddhist message that people should accept their fate.

**Early novels.** For the most part, the Chinese have always regarded fiction as inferior to poetry. Despite this attitude, the Chinese have produced a number of notable novels.

An outstanding early novel was Wu Chengen's *Journey to the West*, written during the 1500s. In English, it is known as *Monkey*. A

fabulous and funny adventure story, it describes the pilgrimage of a Buddhist monk to India during the A.D. 600s. Monkey, the spirit guardian who protects the monk during the journey, is one of the most popular figures in Chinese literature.

Among the most famous Chinese novels is *A Dream of the Red Chamber*, written in the 1750s by Cao Xueqin (tsow shweh cheen). This popular novel describes the tragic decline of a large and wealthy family.

**Modern writing.** During the late 1800s, Chinese writers adapted western forms of literature to their own uses. Modern writers, such as Lao She in *Rickshaw Boy*, use novels to criticize society and call for change.\* Lu Xun's widely read *The True Story of Ah Q*, published in 1921, ridicules people who still accepted Confucian values.

After 1949, Chinese writers emphasized new themes such as the dignity and strength of the common people. Their stories told of the superhuman efforts of peasants and

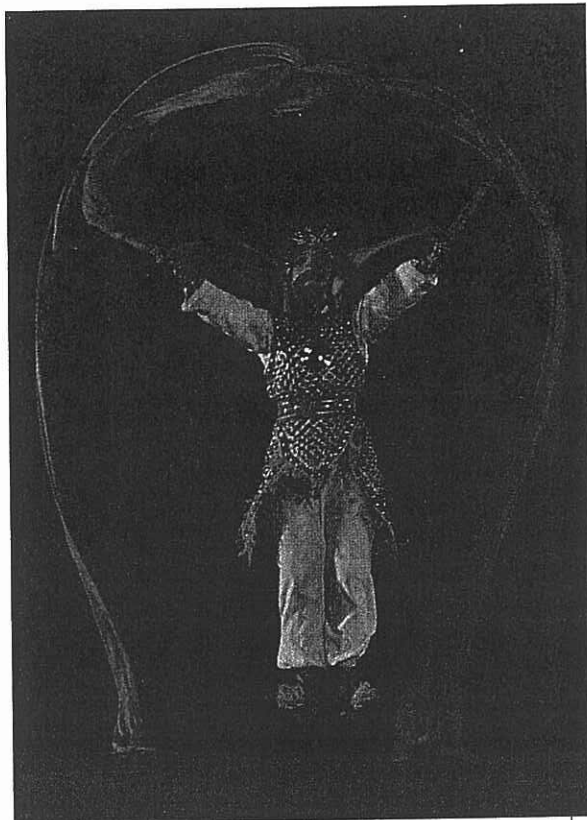
\* At first, the Communists praised the works of Lao She and encouraged people to read them. During the Cultural Revolution, however, the Red Guards drowned him in a lake.

### Peasant Painter at Work

Peasant painting emerged as a new form of art during the years of the Great Leap Forward. Mao strongly supported it, saying, "Everyone may participate in artistic creation." Peasant paintings, like those shown here, use bright colors and are highly stylized. **Political System** Why might the Chinese Communist government encourage peasant art?







**Classical Chinese Dance** China's most popular form of drama is opera, which combines singing, dancing, and the use of symbolic movements. This performer at the Beijing Opera is dancing while moving long ribbons of silk cloth to form constantly changing patterns. **Culture** Why do you think opera is popular in China?

workers who triumphed over evil. Using stories like that of Lei Feng, the government created positive role models and glorified the values of the Communist system.

### Performing Arts

China has a long tradition of opera, dance, theater, and other performing arts. In classical Chinese theater, elaborate traditions governed performances. Each movement of a dancer's head, hand, or arm expressed a particular action or suggested an emotion or attitude.

In Confucian China, actors and other performers had low status. They formed wander-

ing troupes that were regarded as rootless and lacking in family ties. Desperately poor families sometimes sold their children to acting troupes.

During the 1950s, China set new standards for performing artists. Actors, singers, dancers, and composers carried the message of revolution to audiences. The ballet *The Red Detachment of Women*, for example, shows the courage and cooperation of women soldiers during China's civil war. In operas like *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, the Communists rewrote traditional stories. They set them in the modern period and used them to teach Communist ideology.

Chinese movies also build on colorful traditions from the past. They illustrate themes such as the conflict between good heroes and evil villains. Movies often portray rural life.

Government policy toward the arts has alternated between relative freedom and strict censorship. Recently, China entered the movie *Ju Dou*, about a family conflict, in an international film festival. The government later tried to withdraw the movie because it presented a negative view of Chinese life.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Lei Feng, (b) porcelain, (c) *Monkey*, (d) Lao She, (e) *Red Detachment of Women*.
- (a) What Confucian traditions influenced Chinese arts in the past? (b) How do Communist values affect the arts today?
- Why did Mao reject China's old culture?
- How did Chinese artists promote the goals of the revolution in their work?
- 5. Applying Information** Mao Zedong once said, "Weed through the old to bring forth the new, and make things foreign serve things Chinese." Explain how China has applied Mao's advice to the arts.
- 6. Writing Across Cultures** Write the text for a story in comic book form that expresses an important value of American society. When you have finished writing, illustrate the comic book story.

# CHAPTER 16 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. proletariat        | a. market economy   |
| 2. totalitarian state | b. nation where the government controls every aspect of life      |
| 3. propaganda         | c. large state-run farm   |
| 4. collective farm    | d. spread of ideas to promote a cause or damage an opposing cause |
| 5. capitalism         | e. working class  |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

1. Why were the Communists able to defeat the Nationalists in 1949?
2. (a) What steps did Mao take to modernize China's economy? (b) How have Mao's successors modified his policies?
3. Describe the goals and results of the Cultural Revolution.
4. How did the government respond to the call for democracy in 1989?
5. How did policies toward women change under the Communists?
6. (a) What values does traditional Chinese literature express? (b) What values does Communist literature promote?

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

1. The Communists set out to transform China. Describe one change they made in each of the following areas: (a) government, (b) economy, (c) society, (d) the arts.
2. The Communists' efforts to create an orderly society in China differed greatly from those of the Confucianists. (a) Describe three ways in which the Communists tried to establish order. (b) Describe how the two philosophies differ.
3. Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin sponsored economic reforms to achieve certain goals. (a) Describe the main goals of Deng's Four Modernizations program. (b) Discuss some successes and some problems created by China's economic reforms.

4. China has moved from a policy emphasizing self-sufficiency to one of interdependence. (a) What steps has China taken to end its isolation? (b) How do China's policies reflect its acceptance of global interdependence?

## Thinking Critically

1. **Making Global Connections** In 1957, Mao noted: "There is a Chinese saying, 'Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind.' I believe . . . that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind." (a) What did Mao mean by this statement? (b) Do events today support this view? Explain.
2. **Solving Problems** Why are the performing arts a good way for a government to spread its message to the people?

## Applying Your Skills

1. **Using Your Vocabulary** Use each of the following terms in a sentence about the economy and politics of modern China: *command economy*, *modernization*, *elite*, *land reform*. See the Glossary, pages 794–803, to review the meaning of the terms.
2. **Analyzing a Painting** Study the painting on page 353. Based on the painting, what conclusions can you draw about how the government wanted the people to view the Communist revolution? (See Skill Lesson 9, page 428.)



# China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response



## THE **CHOICES** PROGRAM

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# CHOICES for the 21st Century Education Program

May 2010

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Michael Kennedy  
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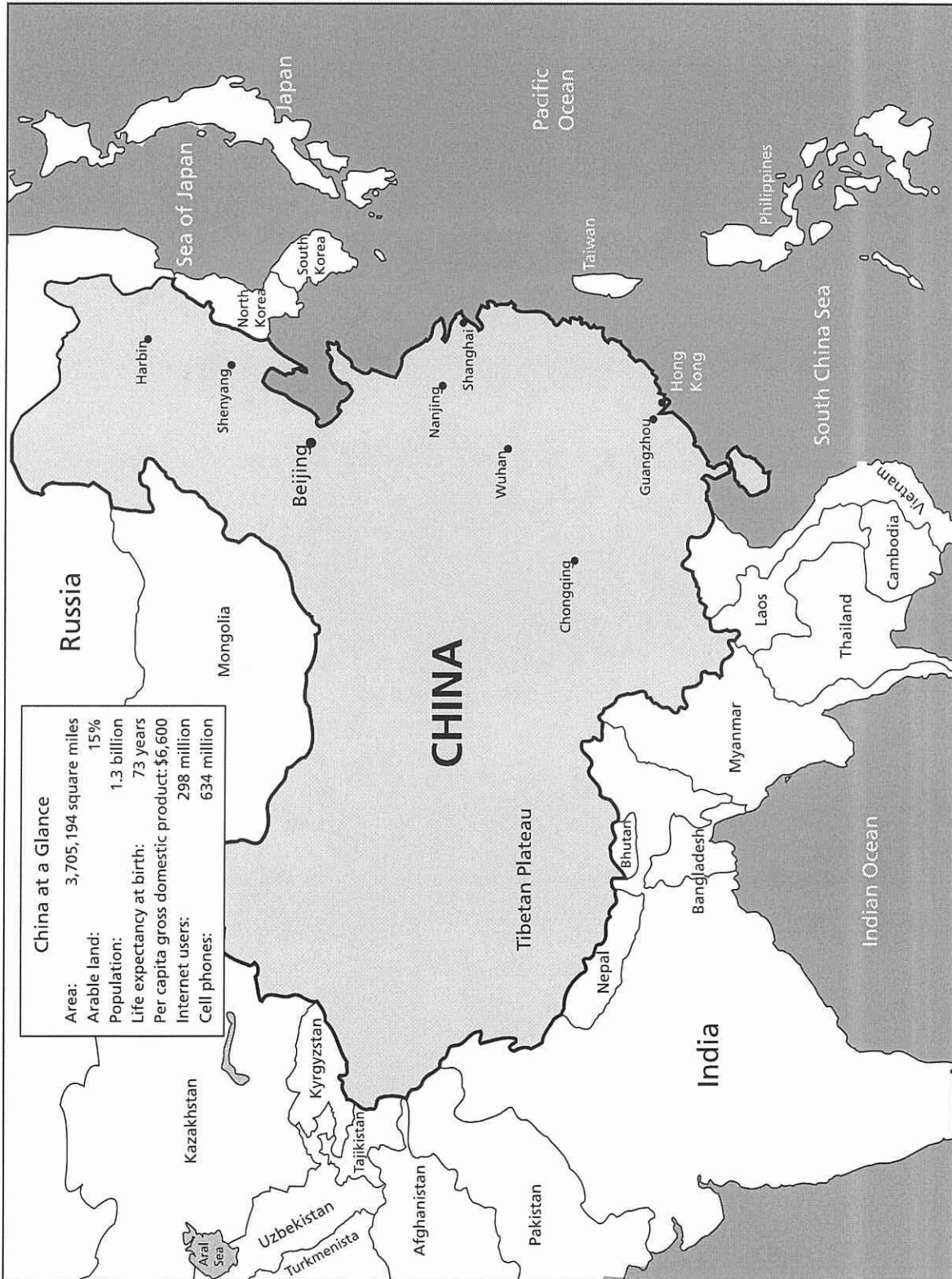
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# Contemporary China





## Introduction: China in the Twenty-First Century

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In the late 1970s, China emerged from three decades of economic isolation imposed by Mao Zedong, the leader of China's communist revolution. Mao's policies had produced a society that valued equality and uniformity. China was able to feed and clothe its population, the largest in the world, but there were few opportunities for individual advancement.

At the time of Mao's death in 1976, Li Xiaohua was a peasant working on a state-run wheat farm in northern China. Like millions of his countrymen, Li closely followed the struggle for power among China's political elite that followed Mao's death. He was pleased when Deng Xiaoping emerged at the head of China's Communist Party, and he supported Deng's program of economic reform.

Today, Li is one symbol of China's transformation. He has become a multi-millionaire businessman, and drives around Beijing, China's capital, in a red Ferrari. He was the first person in China to own one. Under Mao, private cars were unheard of. As late as 1981, only twenty people in Beijing owned their own vehicles. The China that Deng and Li helped to create now has annual vehicle sales that approach four million.

But there are difficulties with China's growth too. Zhang Feifei used to work in a low-skilled job at a factory in a large town. She lost her job in 2006, and discovered she could not get another one without paying a bribe she could not afford. She was forced to turn to prostitution to survive.

Today's China offers some citizens opportunities for huge financial success, but many others are struggling. Although wealth is not distributed equally among China's 1.3 billion people, the pace of economic reform has turned China into an economic giant. China's economy has surpassed even Japan's, placing it second in the world. (The U.S. economy is the largest.) Since the late 1970s, China's economic growth has averaged between 8 and 9 percent annually. No major country in modern times has grown so fast for such a long period.

This speedy growth has brought many out of poverty but threatens to increase inflation, government debt, and environmental destruction.

China's transformation is changing international relations almost as fast as it is changing the lives of the Chinese people. For much of human history, China was the richest, most powerful country in the world. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, foreign countries dominated China. Today, China is again reasserting its influence in world affairs. Just as the 1900s have been referred to as the "American century," the year 2001 may have marked the beginning of the "Chinese century."

The implications for the United States are enormous. China has become the United States's second-largest trading partner. At the same time, disputes over China's failure to accept some international trade standards and the country's poor human rights record have frequently threatened to turn into a trade war.

China's place on the world stage is perhaps of even greater significance for the future. China has worked to modernize its military, including its nuclear arsenal. In recent years, it has also taken on a more assertive role in international politics. U.S. officials fear that the coming generation of Chinese leaders may seek to flex China's military muscle in East Asia and beyond.

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to reflect on the U.S. relationship with China, confronting the same questions U.S. policy makers consider. The optional reading reviews the early history of U.S. interactions with China. Part I explores the economic, social, and political transformation of China since the late 1970s. Part II introduces you to the issues that shape U.S. policy toward China today. Finally, you will have the opportunity to consider four options for the future of U.S.-Chinese relations.



## Optional Reading: The History of U.S.-China Relations

Historically, the Chinese have called their country the “Middle Kingdom” and have considered themselves at the center of civilization. Until the 1800s, their view of China’s five thousand-year history was largely justified. Chinese culture was unmatched in its continuity and sophistication. The Chinese system of government was remarkable for its ability to maintain order, manage an efficient bureaucracy, and build roads, bridges, and canals over a vast empire.

At the time Europeans were exploring the Americas, China seemed poised to move on to still greater accomplishments. The Chinese were responsible for many of the most important inventions of the modern age—the compass, printing press, and gunpowder among them. Chinese ships in the late fifteenth century were superior to those produced in Europe, and Chinese sea captains expanded trade ties throughout Asia. China’s unified empire stood in sharp contrast to the quarreling kingdoms of Europe.

### A Meeting of Opposites

As Europeans turned outward to conquer new territories and probe the frontiers of science, the Chinese turned inward. China remained a country of rich traditions and wealth, but the Chinese cut themselves off from the advances occurring in Western Europe.

#### *Why did Europeans begin selling opium to China?*

Led by the British and the French, European merchants began visiting China regularly in the 1700s. Chinese officials initially paid little attention to the traders. They viewed all outsiders as uncivilized barbarians and assumed that there was nothing the Chinese could learn from them.

*“The kings of the myriad nations come by land and sea with all sorts of*

*precious things. Consequently, there is nothing we lack.”*

—Emperor Qianlong, ruled from 1735-1796

Europe and the American colonies prized Chinese goods—silk, porcelain, furniture, artwork, and especially tea. The tea that American patriots dumped into the sea at the Boston Tea Party in 1773 was, in fact, from China. While the West (Europe and the United States) increased its demand for Chinese tea, China did not want most of what the Europeans had to offer in trade. Europeans spent their reserves of silver to pay for Chinese products and needed something to sell to the Chinese. In the early 1800s, they increasingly turned to



Foreign officials paying tribute to the Chinese emperor.

Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.



opium, an addictive drug produced in British colonies on the Indian subcontinent.

### ***How did the Opium Wars change China's relations with the West?***

Opium brought enormous profits to the European traders. By the end of the 1830s, millions of Chinese were addicted and China had a trade deficit with the West. Chinese authorities tried to stop the opium trade by force and rejected British appeals for negotiations. In response, British merchants called on their government to support them militarily.

The Opium War of 1839-42 shattered the illusion of Chinese superiority. British warships leveled Chinese coastal defenses and destroyed the Chinese southern fleet. British troops occupied several major trading cities, including Shanghai. The Chinese emperor had no choice but to open negotiations with the British.

Britain's victory turned the tables on China's relationship with the West. Under the Treaty of Nanjing (or Nanking), signed in 1842, and another treaty the following year, the British imposed a new set of rules for international commerce. The treaties forced China to lower its tariffs (taxes on imported goods) to 5 percent, so that European goods would be cheaper for Chinese to buy. (U.S. tariffs were around 30 percent at the time.) It also forced China to open five additional ports to foreign trade and hand over the island of Hong Kong to Britain. Additionally, Westerners accused of crimes in China were to be tried according to Western laws by officials from their home countries.

***“The empire of China is an old, crazy first rate man-of-war [warship].... She may, perhaps, not sink outright. She may drift some time as a wreck, and will then be dashed to pieces on the shore. But she can never be rebuilt on the old bottom.”***

—Lord Macartney, British envoy to China  
from 1793-1794

Like merchants of other countries, U.S. traders also benefited from the Treaty of Nanjing. A treaty between the United States and China in 1844 closely followed the terms laid down by the British. Other Western nations were quick to insist on the same conditions.

### ***How was China further weakened in the nineteenth century?***

Many members of the ruling Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) viewed China's defeat in the Opium War as an accident. They failed to understand that their empire was in desperate need of change. Much of the strain was due to the rapid population growth of the 1700s, a century of stability and prosperity in China. As China's population approached 300 million in the early 1800s, millions of peasants were forced to leave the countryside in search of work and food. Local officials were often unable to maintain order.

Frequent rebellions shook China in the nineteenth century. Most significant was the Taiping Rebellion, which raged from 1850 to 1864 and claimed at least twenty million lives. The leader of the Taiping (or “Heavenly Kingdom”) movement was Hong Xiuquan. Protestant missionaries in China had influenced Hong, who believed that he was the brother of Jesus Christ. By 1853, Hong had organized an army of more than one million soldiers and established his rule over six of China's richest provinces. The rebels sought to establish their own society and government based on their version of Christianity.

As the Taiping Rebellion continued, the Manchu dynasty entered a new round of fighting with the West. In 1856, Chinese forts along the Pearl River in southern China fired on U.S. ships without warning. U.S. naval forces responded by bombarding the Chinese defenses. A larger conflict, often known as the second Opium War, erupted in 1857 when the Chinese refused to consider revising the Treaty of Nanjing and its other agreements with Western countries.

The Westerners insisted that international law was on their side. According to



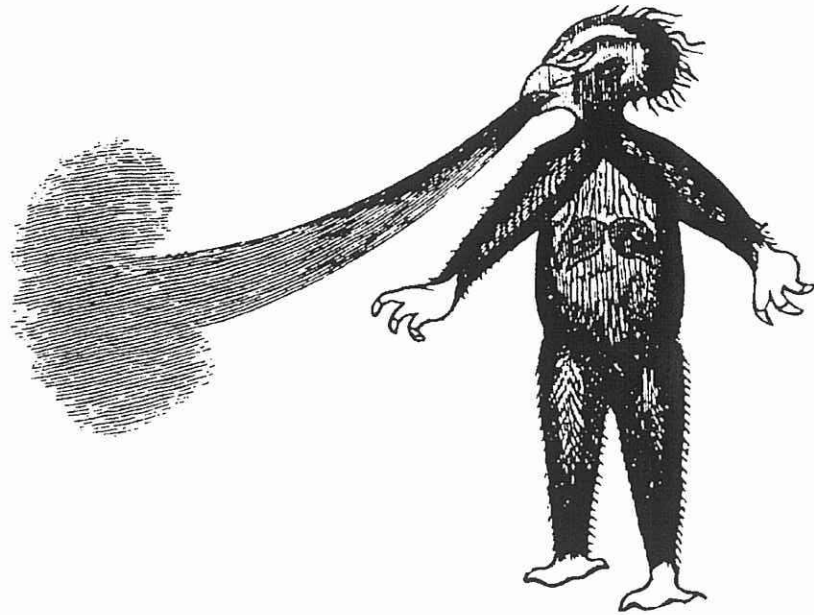
the U.S.-China treaty of 1844, the agreement was to be reviewed after twelve years. Meanwhile, the British, French, and Russians asserted that they were entitled to the same privileges granted to the United States. Led by the British, the four Western nations backed their claims with military might.

The results of the war left a deeper scar on the Chinese people than had the first Opium War. Although the Chinese put up a determined resistance, the Western forces fought their way to Beijing, burned and looted the Summer Palace, where the emperor lived, and forced the emperor to flee. The British captured Ye Mingchen, the emperor's adviser on foreign affairs, and exiled him to India.

**“The barbarians [Westerners] are superior in three ways: firstly, warships; secondly, firearms; and thirdly, methods of military training and discipline of soldiers.”**

—Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu, served from 1785-1850

The conditions the West imposed after the second Opium War broadened the advantages gained in the Treaty of Nanjing. The opium trade was legalized. Westerners were permitted to travel into China's interior and take up residence in Beijing. In addition, Christian missionaries and their converts were to be officially tolerated. Once the Chinese agreed to the new concessions, the West helped the Manchu dynasty extinguish the fading Taiping Rebellion.



Drawing of a “foreign devil” by a Chinese artist in 1839.

Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.

## The Expanding Role of the United States

The forces of modernization and industrialization led the United States and China in opposite directions in the nineteenth century. As China fell further behind the West, the United States rose to the status of a world power. In the decades after the U.S. Civil War, U.S. industry grew at a breakneck speed. By the turn of the century, the United States had surpassed Britain as the world's leading economic producer.

With economic progress the United States took a larger role overseas. The U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 left the United States in control of the Philippines and the island of Guam. The U.S. foothold in East Asia focused new attention on the U.S. position in China.

### **What did China's war with Japan demonstrate?**

At the same time, the Western powers' cooperation with each other on issues relating to China was breaking down. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Japan, Britain, France, Russia, and Germany scrambled for territorial





concessions (Chinese land that the imperialist powers hoped to control) and economic advantages in China. Each country sought to carve out a “sphere of influence” that it could control in order to regulate Chinese commerce. Although the United States wanted to make sure that it would not be shut out of trade with China, it was unwilling to commit troops and warships to join in the competition.

Japan’s challenge to Britain’s leadership role in China was especially critical. Like China, Japan did not previously welcome contact with the West. Four U.S. battleships under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry had forced the Japanese to open their country to foreign trade in 1853. After Perry’s visit, Japan’s leaders had launched their country on a crash course to catch up with the West.

The Japanese demonstrated their success in adapting Western industrial and military technology at the expense of the Chinese. In 1894, a war broke out between the two coun-

tries over their competing claims to territory on the Korean peninsula. Within six months, the Japanese had smashed China’s fleet and defeated the Chinese army.

**“If we continue to drift with an army untrained, our revenues disorganized, our scholars ignorant, and our artisans without technical training, how can we possibly hope to hold our own among the nations?”**

—Emperor Guangxu, ruled from 1875-1908

### ***How did the Open Door policy shape U.S. relations with China?***

Elsewhere in Asia and throughout Africa, Britain, France, and other imperialist powers had already staked out vast colonial empires. U.S. policy makers hoped to devise a strategy that would prevent a similar land grab in China. Among U.S. officials, Japan’s recent military success also stirred anxiety. In 1899, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent a note to the foreign powers in China requesting that they maintain an “open door” in their spheres of influence. The Open Door policy held that all countries doing business in China should compete on equal terms. (At the time, U.S. commerce with China amounted to about 1 percent of total U.S. trade.) Although no treaties were actually signed, the United States upheld the Open Door as the foundation of U.S. policy toward China for the next half century.

The Open Door policy signaled that the United States was prepared to become more involved in China. In 1900, several thousand U.S. soldiers joined the other imperialist powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing. The Boxers were drawn from secret societies of martial arts experts who believed they were invulnerable to firearms. In an effort to expel outsiders from China, they had laid siege to the area in Beijing that was set aside for foreign diplomats. They were armed and supported by China’s empress dowager (the emperor’s mother), Cixi.

Once the rebellion had been crushed, the foreign powers demanded that the Chi-



Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*.

Portrait of a participant in the Boxer Rebellion.



nese government pay \$300 million for the damage caused by the Boxers. The United States participated in the negotiations, but U.S. leaders were wary of the ambitions of the other powers. The United States presented itself as defender of China's independence and warned that the powers should not use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to acquire more territory in China. U.S. officials invested most of the \$25 million they received as compensation for the rebellion in the Chinese educational system.

**Why did nationalism in China strain relations with the United States?**

The United States was a source of both inspiration and resentment for a new generation of Chinese intellectuals who shaped the nationalist movement of the early 1900s. Chinese intellectuals admired the U.S. ideals of democracy and equal opportunity. When the Manchu dynasty undertook educational, governmental, and military reforms after the Boxer Rebellion, the institutions of the United States served as a model. At the same time, Chinese nationalists, who opposed the Manchu dynasty, recognized that many U.S. officials viewed them as backward and inferior. Moreover, they saw the bad treatment of Chinese immigrants in the United States as a reflection of U.S. attitudes.

In the mid-1800s, the United States had encouraged Chinese laborers to come to the United States to help build the railroads and work the mines of the U.S. West. By 1868, there were more than one hundred thousand Chinese immigrants in the United States, most of them young men intending to return to China. In Western frontier towns, the Chinese were often the targets of violent attacks. Twenty-eight Chinese miners were massacred in Wyoming in 1885. The Chinese presence also sparked the first significant U.S. legislation to

**Percentage of World Manufacturing Output**

	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
<b>China</b>	33%	33%	30%	20%	13%	6%
<b>Britain</b>	2%	4%	10%	20%	23%	19%
<b>U.S.</b>	0.10%	1%	2%	7%	15%	24%
<b>France</b>	4%	4%	5%	8%	8%	7%
<b>Russia</b>	5%	6%	6%	7%	8%	9%
<b>Japan</b>	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	2%
<b>Germany</b>	3%	4%	4%	5%	9%	13%

Data from: *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers.*

restrict immigration—the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1904, Congress banned Chinese immigration to the United States altogether. Chinese nationalists responded by boycotting U.S. products in China.

**How did nationalism lead to civil war in China?**

Although the boycott fizzled, Chinese nationalism gained a sharper focus in the early 1900s. The chief aim of the nationalists was to reassert Chinese authority over their country and overturn the “unequal treaties” with Western nations and companies that had begun with the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing. Nationalists viewed the Manchu rulers, descendants of a conquering tribe from the northeast of Manchuria, as outsiders. They also blamed the Manchus for allowing China to fall under the domination of the West and Japan.

Chinese nationalism helped spark a series of revolts that toppled the Manchu dynasty in 1911. But the nationalists lacked the strength to carry out their plans to form a constitutional republic. Instead, power revolved around military strongman Yuan Shikai and his officers. Yuan attempted to create a new dynasty with himself as emperor, but both the nationalists and many of his generals opposed him. By the time of his death in 1916, China was sinking into the chaos of civil war.





***Why did Chinese nationalists feel betrayed by President Wilson?***

China's weakness left it vulnerable to Japanese expansion during World War I (1914-18). In 1915, Japan took over the German sphere of influence in the Chinese province of Shantung and demanded new concessions from China.

Many Chinese nationalists looked with hope to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who offered a vision for a new international system to end the war. Wilson championed the principle of self-determination—the right of nations to govern themselves—and argued that justice and fair play should guide international relations. Wilson also proposed creating a new international organization, the League of Nations, to prevent future wars.

At the peace conference convened at the end of World War I, Wilson faced opposition. When he called for Japan to withdraw from Shantung, Japanese leaders threatened to walk out of the conference. The president feared that support for the League of Nations would be undermined if they left, so he gave in to the Japanese.

In China, many of the nationalists who had admired Wilson for his advocacy of self-determination were outraged. On May 4, 1919, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students demonstrated in China's major cities to protest the decision of the peace conference. What came to be known as the May 4th Movement prompted a boycott of Japanese goods and deepened Chinese anger toward foreign domination. The growing appeal of Chinese nationalism also helped fuel support for two political parties—the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists—parties that would shape Chinese politics in the coming decades.

***How did the Kuomintang become the ruling party in China?***

The Kuomintang (or Nationalist Party) was founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1912 and won the largest number of seats in the election for parliament in 1912-13. But it was difficult for the party to consolidate power because of the many different political and military groups in China at the time. Until his death in 1925,

Sun and the Kuomintang were caught up in a multi-sided struggle for control of China.

The Chinese Communist Party got its start in 1921 under the leadership of Mao Zedong. While the Kuomintang drew support largely from educated city dwellers, the communists sought to create a popular base among the peasants. From the outset, the communists looked to the newly formed Soviet Union for assistance.

Sun's death in 1925 brought a new leader and a new strategy to the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek, a military commander, built an army capable of unifying China. Over the next three years, he defeated warlords who challenged him, turned against the communists, and forced the Soviets, who had taken over some areas of China, out of the territory under his control. By 1928, Chiang was strong enough to declare himself the ruler of China.

***Why did the United States not respond to Japanese aggression in China?***

The United States recognized Chiang's government and granted China the authority to determine its import tariffs. This action reversed a key provision of the "unequal treaties" from the nineteenth century.

By the late 1920s, U.S. influence in China had grown. U.S. companies played a leading role in developing China's transportation and communications systems. Protestant missionaries operated a network of colleges that served to transmit U.S. values to China's elite.

But the bonds between the United States and China were not strong enough to withstand the general trend of U.S. foreign policy after World War I. In 1920, the Senate rejected U.S. participation in the League of Nations. For the next two decades, the United States tried to avoid becoming involved in another international conflict like World War I, which much of the U.S. public saw as a failure.

When Japan attacked China in 1931, the world was not prepared to stand up to the aggression. Japan's leaders considered the coal and iron ore reserves of Manchuria vital to their country's industrialized economy. By

1932, the Japanese had set up a puppet government in Manchuria, renaming the region “Manchukuo.”

U.S. diplomatic efforts to stop the Japanese attack failed. Although President Herbert Hoover sent a few U.S. warships and troops to China in 1932, the United States was unable to oppose Japan with a significant military force.

**“If she [China] lacks the strength to protect herself from aggression and exploitation, she cannot reasonably expect the other nations to do the job for her.”**

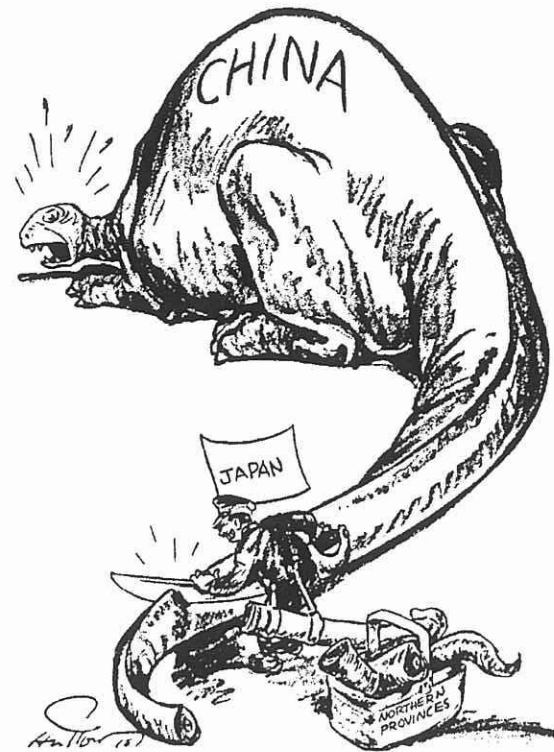
—Thomas Lamont (1870-1948),  
Wall Street banker

Other world leaders expressed their outrage while also avoiding conflict. The League of Nations turned away from this crucial challenge. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, facing the Great Depression, was even less inclined to defend China than Hoover.

### ***How did Japan’s aggression affect U.S. policy in China?***

In 1937, Japan plunged deeper into China’s heartland. By the end of the year, Japanese forces had taken Nanjing (also called “Nanking”), the capital of Chiang Kai-shek’s government. As hundreds of foreign residents watched, the Japanese unleashed a campaign of murder, rape, and looting against the civilian population. More than two hundred thousand Chinese were massacred and much of the city was burned to the ground.

The massacre at Nanking (re-labeled four years later as the “Rape of Nanking”) turned the U.S. public against Japan, but U.S. policy hardly budged. Part of the reason was that U.S. officials in China were reporting that Chiang’s army devoted more of its energy to fighting Mao Zedong’s communists than to fighting the Japanese. A few were even convinced that China would be better off under Japanese control.



Hugh Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

**“The Japanese imperialists attack us and even plan for our extinction. Owing to the existence of the communist bandits, we cannot offer unified, effective resistance to the aggressor.”**

—Chiang Kai-shek

Over the next few years, the Japanese tightened their hold over much of coastal China. Japan’s foreign policy ultimately changed the attitude of U.S. leaders. In September 1940, the Japanese formed an alliance with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The United States responded by offering aid to the Chinese and restricting exports to Japan. Japan’s surprise attack against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941 brought the United States into World War II.

### ***Why was China a low priority for the United States in World War II?***

World War II created new links between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek’s government. U.S. military advisers and equipment





strengthened the resistance of the Chinese army. As a sign of solidarity, the United States abandoned the remaining parts of the “unequal treaties” that were still in effect and lifted the ban against Chinese immigrants to the United States.

But the China front remained an area of low priority for U.S. military planners. The United States focused instead on defeating the Nazis in Europe and then smashing Japan’s island empire in the Pacific. The large-scale commitment of U.S. troops that Chiang lobbied for never arrived. Between ten and twenty million Chinese died during war, many the victims of Japanese brutality. At the end of World War II the Japanese army was still firmly entrenched in China.

## China After World War II

Among the chief goals of U.S. officials in China during World War II was to prevent a civil war between Chiang’s Kuomintang forces and the communists. Many people in the United States were disgusted by the corruption and indifference of Kuomintang bureaucrats, and praised the communists for putting up a more effective battle against Japan. Nonetheless, the United States made sure that Chiang’s government was given a prominent place in the postwar international system. In addition to the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France, China gained a seat on the Security Council at the founding meeting of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. As one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, China gained the right to veto any Security Council decision.

### *How did communists come to power in China?*

U.S. leaders also hoped to arrange a political compromise between the communists and the Kuomintang. Negotiations soon broke down, and Mao Zedong denounced the United States for aiding Chiang’s government. In 1946, the long-simmering civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists began in earnest. The communists gained the upper hand. In 1948, Mao’s forces swept south from their strongholds in northern China. Thousands

of Kuomintang troops defected or deserted, leaving behind most of their U.S.-supplied equipment.

In early 1949, Chiang began to transfer the government’s gold reserves to the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan). What remained of his army was in retreat in the months that followed. On October 1, Mao proclaimed the People’s Republic of China on the mainland, and Chiang left for Formosa.

### *How did the Cold War affect U.S.-Chinese relations?*

U.S. foreign policy underwent a dramatic shift after World War II. The United States emerged from the war as the world’s foremost military and economic power. At the same time, the war had strengthened the position of the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance gave way to hostility between the two superpowers. U.S. policy makers increasingly viewed Soviet communism as a global menace, especially after the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in September 1949.

In response to the Soviet threat, U.S. leaders redefined the U.S. role in the world. Most people in the United States came to agree that the country would need to make a determined effort to contain the expansion of Soviet communism.

George Kennan, a U.S. diplomat who conceived the “containment” strategy of limiting the spread of Soviet influence, was not particularly alarmed by the communist takeover in China. He focused U.S. policy largely on Europe. According to Kennan, China was decades away from developing the industrial strength needed to mount a military challenge to the United States. In addition, most U.S. officials were convinced that a long history of conflicting interests would prevent the Soviet Union and Chinese communists from reaching an effective alliance.

As Mao’s forces overran southern China in 1949, the U.S. administration of Harry Truman decided that further aid to Chiang Kai-shek was useless. Truman expected the communists would soon gain control over Formosa as

well. U.S. leaders were more concerned with preventing Mao and the Soviet Union from forming an alliance.

***How did the Korean War create more distrust between the United States and China?***

Communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950 changed U.S. policy in East Asia overnight. Concerned about communist expansion, President Truman sent U.S. warships to defend Formosa. The United States led a dozen other nations under the authority of the United Nations (UN) in an international effort to stop the North Koreans.

By September 1950, UN forces under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur pushed the North Korean army back to the original border along the 38th parallel. MacArthur wanted to defeat the communist regime in North Korea. But as his troops advanced beyond the 38th parallel, the communist Chinese army launched a massive counter-attack. China supported North Korea's efforts in order to counter U.S. involvement in East Asia.

Although the Chinese military was no match for the United States technologically, the Chinese had the advantage of numbers. Poorly armed Chinese soldiers threw themselves at U.S. positions in human-wave assaults. Roughly 250,000 Chinese and 54,000 U.S. soldiers died in the war. UN forces retreated deep into South Korea.

MacArthur favored attacking China itself, even using nuclear weapons, to turn the tide of the war. But Truman feared that MacArthur's recommendations would trigger World War III, and he replaced his top general. UN forces slowly retook South Korea in the first half of 1951. Inconclusive fighting continued along the 38th parallel for another two years before a truce was reached in 1953.

***Why did China and the United States view each other as enemies in the 1950s and 1960s?***

In the United States, attitudes toward China crystallized well before the cease-fire. People in the United States saw China as a tool of the Soviet campaign to spread communism

worldwide. U.S. diplomatic recognition of China was now out of the question. Moreover, the United States viewed the Kuomintang government on Taiwan as a critical ally against communism.

Mao contributed to the antagonism in U.S.-China relations. In the early 1950s, he drove out U.S. missionaries, foundations, and colleges still operating in China. Russian replaced English as the foreign language promoted by the government. People in the United States were also appalled by Chinese attempts to brainwash U.S. prisoners of war captured in Korea.

***“Power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”***

—Mao Zedong, 1938

During the 1950s, U.S. policy in East Asia concentrated on “containing” China. The United States signed defense treaties with most of China's neighbors and stationed thousands of soldiers in South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. In 1954 and 1958, the United States pledged to use force to counter Chinese threats to invade two small islands claimed by Taiwan. U.S. hostility angered China and continued even after the Chinese-Soviet alliance unraveled in the early 1960s.

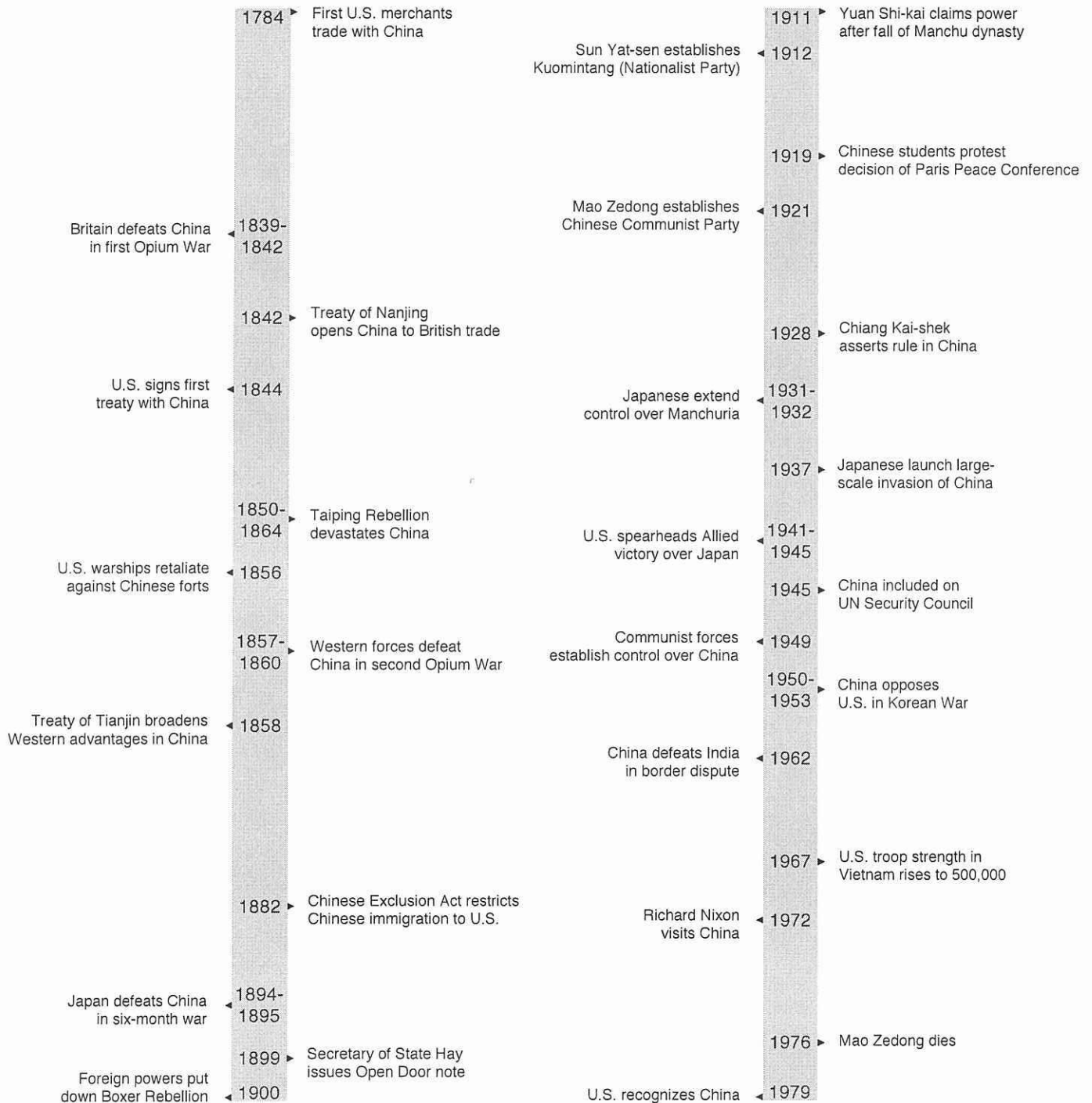
For many people in the United States, Mao's combative stance made China an even greater foreign policy concern than the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Chinese army quickly defeated India and occupied territory that had been in dispute along the border of the two countries. Two years later, China exploded its first atomic bomb. U.S. leaders explained the United States' growing involvement in the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s largely in terms of the threat posed by China.

As U.S. troop strength in Vietnam rose to five hundred thousand in 1967, Mao was leading his people down a still more radical path. Mao's Cultural Revolution, which took place from 1966 to 1969, was designed to overturn the traditional order of Chinese society. Mao sent millions of government officials and university professors to the countryside to





## Timeline of U.S.-China Relations From 1784-1979





work in the fields. Groups of students called Red Guards were given the authority to police the Revolution by destroying anything old or representative of China before Mao. Meanwhile, Chinese and Soviet troops engaged in two serious border clashes in 1969. The Soviet army marched into northwestern China to force the Chinese to negotiate a settlement to the dispute.

### ***How did U.S.-China relations improve in the 1970s and 1980s?***

Even as Mao veered toward extremism, U.S. policy makers in the late 1960s were rethinking U.S.-China relations. Ironically, the initiative came from President Richard Nixon, a political figure long known for his anti-communist stance. Nixon recognized that the United States and China shared a common mistrust of the Soviet Union. He was eager to realign the global balance of power at a time when Soviet influence seemed to be on the rise.

The first exploratory talks between the United States and China began in 1970. The following year, the United States lifted trade restrictions against China that dated from the Korean War. In the UN, the United States allowed a resolution that reassigned Taiwan's seats on the Security Council and in the General Assembly to China.

In 1972, Nixon visited Beijing. The president met with Mao, swapped toasts with top Chinese officials, and watched a ballet performance of *The Red Detachment of Women*. Nixon had achieved an important breakthrough in U.S. foreign policy.

For the next few years, political crises in both the United States and China prevented the relationship from developing. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon's resignation in



President Nixon met with Chinese leader Mao Zedong during his 1972 visit.

Reprinted with permission from the National Archives and Records Administration.

1974, while in China the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 set off a struggle for power.

The emergence of Deng Xiaoping as China's next leader signaled that further progress was possible. Deng was known as a moderate who sought to open China to the outside world. In January 1979, he visited the United States, touring factories and even wearing a cowboy hat at a Texas rodeo. Behind the scenes, he assured U.S. officials that China would not use force against Taiwan. The United States responded in March 1979 by officially recognizing China—and by withdrawing recognition from Taiwan.

At the same time, Congress was concerned about the future of U.S.-Taiwan relations and passed the Taiwan Relations Act, which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and provided U.S. assurances for its security. The future of Taiwan remained a sticking point in U.S.-China relations during much of the 1980s and does so to this day. At the same time, expanding trade and investment, as well as a surge in student, scientific, and cultural exchanges, were fast creating important links between the two countries. China was not a U.S. ally, but a new era in U.S.-China relations was clearly underway.





## Part I: China's Transformation

Like China itself in the twentieth century, the life of Deng Xiaoping was marked by struggle. Deng was an early member of the Chinese Communist Party and fought both Chiang Kai-shek's forces and the Japanese army during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1968, at the height of Mao's Cultural Revolution, he was forced to confess to being a counterrevolutionary and was driven out of Beijing. For six years, Deng was denied the position he had held in the Politburo, the ruling body of the Communist Party. He returned to the leadership ranks only to be attacked in 1976 as "the unrepentant capitalist-roader." For the next two years, Deng and his political opponents grappled for power as the fate of China hung in the balance.

Deng became leader of mainland China in 1978. Already seventy-four years old and still trying to secure his leadership as president, at the end of 1978 Deng took on the biggest struggle of his career: reforming the Chinese economy. Deng had long been known as a

realist within the Communist Party. He was especially critical of the radicals who stressed the need to follow strictly communist ideology. Instead, he advocated practical policies that would advance China's development.

Deng's practical approach made its mark on Chinese history. China's annual economic growth rate skyrocketed, earning Deng praise for his economic reforms. The uniformity and drabness that characterized Mao's China were replaced by an accent on individuality. At the same time, the changes that have occurred since Deng took power have torn at the fabric of Chinese society.

In this section, you will examine the economic, social, and political transformation of China that began with Deng and which his successors have carried on. As you will learn in the final part of the reading, what is happening in China profoundly affects the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

### Economic Reform

Deng took power with a clear memory of the economic mistakes that were made in the previous two decades. Mao had followed the path of the Soviet Union in creating a centrally planned command economy. (In a command economy, government planners decide what goods need to be produced.) Like the Soviets, communist officials in China harnessed the people and resources of their country to build roads, ports, dams, and other large-scale projects. They also committed horrendous blunders.

One mistake Mao made was implementing an economic revitalization plan called the Great Leap Forward. Introduced in the late 1950s, this plan aimed to propel China's economy forward by organizing China's peasants into huge "people's communes." Each commune contained tens of thousands of people and was designed to be self-sufficient in agriculture and industry, even to the point of producing its own steel. The experiment

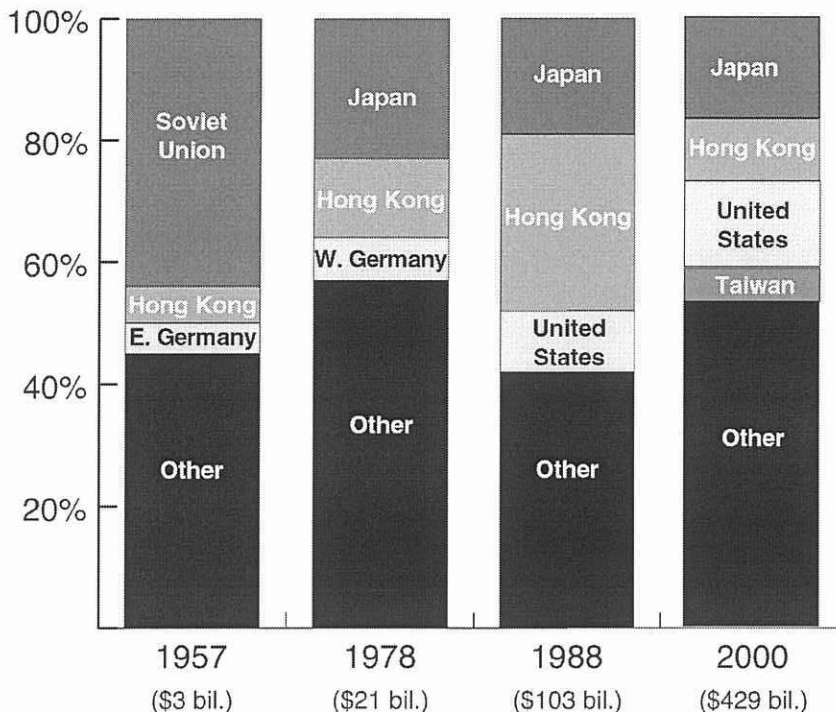


Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*.

The man rising from the coffin is Deng Xiaoping.



### China's Trading Partners in the Twentieth Century (percentage of total trade)



proved disastrous. Confusion, disorganization, and bad weather led to widespread crop failures. As many as thirty million Chinese people starved in the famine that resulted.

#### *How did Deng Xiaoping reform China's economy?*

Beginning in 1978, Deng gradually dismantled Mao's command economy. People in the countryside, who made up 70 percent of China's population, first felt the impact of his reforms. Under Deng, individual families had responsibility for working the land through long-term leases. Deng lifted price controls and allowed peasants to sell most of their crops in the marketplace. He loosened controls on housing, health care, education, and other necessities of life in the countryside. In addition, people in the countryside could open their own businesses outside of agriculture. Progress came quickly. Within seven years, output in rural areas had shot up by 48 percent. Deng's policies showed that the Chinese people could be productive without rigid gov-

ernment control. A famous quotation from Deng shows he thought outcomes were more important than the methods used to achieve them.

***“It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice.”***

—Deng Xiaoping, 1962

Success in agriculture encouraged Deng to extend his reforms to industry and commerce. Deng opened China up to foreign investment and greatly expanded international trade. The government created special economic zones along the southeastern coast that allowed Chinese entrepreneurs and foreign investors

to go into business with little government interference. The government promoted the export of goods. Central economic planners lost much of their authority to officials at the local and provincial levels. Across China, people established millions of new enterprises. Many were offshoots of state-run factories, universities, collective farms, or other institutions of the communist system.

The reforms went a long way toward bringing China into the global marketplace. Exports rose from \$14 billion in 1979 to \$1.19 trillion in 2009. China also led newly industrializing countries in attracting \$90 billion of foreign investment in 2009.

U.S. investors have played a leading role in China's economic boom, but in recent years investments from South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan have grown at an even faster pace. Many Hong Kong manufacturers, for example, now make their products in the neighboring Chinese province of Guangdong. (Hong Kong, while politically part of China since 1997, is

a “special administrative region” that has separate economic policies.)

***How is China’s economy a mix of socialism and capitalism?***

Deng labeled his country’s economic system “socialism with Chinese characteristics.” While the government party calls itself communist, most scholars characterize the Chinese political and economic system as socialist. Communism is a philosophical ideal state where social classes, property ownership, and even government do not exist. This has never actually been achieved in China or elsewhere in the twentieth century. Socialism, on the other hand, is a broader term used to describe systems of government ownership and management of goods. The Chinese government manages economic goods as well as social goods, such as health care and education.

In fact, China’s socialist system is rapidly changing. Neither economic analysts nor government regulators have been able to keep up with China’s economic transformation. In many respects, mainland China today is moving swiftly toward the free-market economic system in place in the United States, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Producers and consumers, not government planners, make most decisions about what goods to produce and how much they will cost.

In other ways, features of the socialist system continue in China. Most city workers, for example, obtain housing through their workplaces and pay very little rent. The government provides free health care in most cases and steps in to prevent sharp increases in food prices.



Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

This Starbucks in the Forbidden City, Beijing exemplifies the new mix between capitalism and socialism in China.

***How has China’s economy changed in recent years?***

Most important, the government still owns roughly 150,000 enterprises, employing millions of people. Many of them are outdated and inefficient, though some have seen high profits as China’s economy as a whole has grown in the past few years. Although several companies have streamlined their work forces, sending thousands of people into early retirement, others remain unwieldy. Under Mao, workers in the big state-owned factories were celebrated for propelling China toward industrialization. They were poor, but they were guaranteed the benefits of what was known as the “iron rice bowl”—a secure job, free housing, and health care. Today, not all of these companies can guarantee those benefits.

The government faces a dilemma in reforming state-owned enterprises. With at least 35 million Chinese unemployed, officials fear that cutting loose the millions of workers in the state sector would lead to widespread unrest. At the same time, they recognize that state firms need to be profitable and are working to reform the sector.



Unemployment would be much worse in China if not for the startling growth of the non-state sector of the economy. Most non-state enterprises fall into two categories. The privately owned sector most closely resembles businesses in the United States. It consists of enterprises under the ownership of Chinese entrepreneurs, foreign investors, or Chinese-foreign joint ventures. Most of these firms are located in southeastern China.

More difficult to grasp is the economic sector that belongs neither to the state nor to private entrepreneurs. Many villages and towns in the countryside, for example, have branched out into other businesses. In the cities, workers at state institutions are finding similar opportunities. Although in theory they are public enterprises, they are not managed or funded by the government.

For example, professors from the engineering department of a public university may decide to open a small factory producing machine parts. If their business prospers, they will likely take home profits that are many times above their university salaries. Millions of Chinese, especially older people or people who live in rural areas, suffer from poverty but the growth of the non-state sector has propelled other millions of Chinese into the middle class.

### ***How does China affect the global environment?***

China's economic growth has become an environmental issue. China has fueled its industrial expansion mainly with coal and oil. China today is the second largest consumer of oil, after the United States. The country burns more coal than the United States, Europe, and Japan combined. It is the largest emitter of carbon dioxide in the world and is responsible for about 20

percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. Scientists believe that the build-up of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will lead to climate change and severely affect the earth's environment.

Pollution in China's cities, a result primarily of increased traffic and burning coal plants, is among the worst in the world. Water pollution and water scarcity, other by-products of rapid growth and development, further threaten human and animal life.

China is also shaking up the international market for energy and food. Since the mid-1970s, China's population control program has substantially lowered the country's birth rate. Nonetheless, China's population of 1.3 billion continues to grow by more than 8 million a year. Meanwhile, China's new wealth has allowed the Chinese people to become more demanding consumers, turning China into an importer of oil and food.

Chinese officials are beginning to be concerned by both internal and external pressures to develop in more sustainable ways. Environmentalists and ordinary citizens are starting to complain about conditions to their local and national governments, and the in-



The city of Shanghai in southeastern China.

Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.



ternational community is pressuring China to accept limits on its carbon dioxide emissions. At the 2009 UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, China was unwilling to accept any limits on its carbon dioxide emissions that could hinder economic growth. At the same time, China invested more than \$34 billion in renewable energies in 2009, almost double the amount invested by the United States, which was the second largest investor. (The United States' renewable energy sector currently produces more energy than China's.)

The Chinese leadership knows it must do more to save the environment, but pressure from growing businesses and local governments that do not want to lose out on the economic growth have made it difficult to develop and enforce stringent measures.

***“We must adopt an enlightened approach to development that results in expanded production...and sound ecological...conditions. We need to correctly handle the major relationships between urban and rural development, economic and social development and man and nature.”***

—Chinese President Hu Jintao, 2007

## Society in a Whirlwind

Even with much of China's economy on unsteady ground, the impact of economic growth is clearly evident, especially in the cities. A generation ago, Chinese consumers aspired to own a bicycle, a wristwatch, and a radio. Today, Chinese set their sights on color televisions, MP3 players, and DVD players.

### ***How has economic reform changed Chinese society?***

Chinese in all walks of life, from teachers to doctors to tractor drivers, have decided to go into business, or as the Chinese say, “plunge into the sea.” Chinese society has turned its back on many of the guiding principles of socialism.

Under Mao, the communists strove to create a new value system. The government held up equality, self-sacrifice, and cooperation as the driving engines of the communist revolution. During the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, the communist authorities went so far as to try to restructure the family in the countryside. On some huge communal farms, husbands and wives were forced to live separately while their children were cared for in state-run nurseries.

Deng's policies marked a return to more traditional Chinese values. The family was restored to its central position in society, and Chinese can now engage in business and commerce. At the same time, China's economic boom has introduced a new emphasis on individualism and materialism in Chinese society.

***“To get rich is glorious.”***

—Deng Xiaoping, 1984

Corruption among government officials is widespread. The combination of dedication, discipline, and fear that served to restrain China's bureaucrats under Mao has largely broken down. Many of them resent the sudden wealth of the country's new entrepreneurs and have sought a piece of the action for themselves by demanding bribes for export licenses, building permits, and other government documents. Hundreds of thousands more have taken advantage of their authority to set up their own businesses. A few have embezzled millions of dollars in state funds and fled overseas.

Meanwhile, Chinese officials are losing the battle to control the minds of their citizens. The opening of China's economy has exposed the country to the forces of the information revolution. Cell phones, television satellite dishes, internet connections, and short-wave radios have linked China to the outside world. In addition, the influx of foreign business executives, tourists, and students has introduced millions of Chinese to life abroad. Most observers believe that Beijing's decrees to ban private satellite dishes, restrict internet access, and censor the reports of foreign news agencies have come too late to close the gates.



### ***Why has the government banned the Falun Gong?***

The government has also demonstrated its resolve to repress any group that it sees as a threat to its control of Chinese society. One example of this is its treatment of the Falun Gong, a religious sect that draws on the meditative tradition of Taoism and Buddhism and has followers that number in the tens of millions. Chinese officials have labeled the Falun Gong a cult. In the spring of 1999, when Falun Gong leaders asked the Chinese government for recognition during a public gathering of ten to twenty thousand in Beijing, the government banned the sect, detained thousands of its members, and issued an arrest warrant for its founder. Human rights groups claim that, in the last decade, the Chinese government has arrested tens of thousands and killed at least two thousand in its campaign against this group.

### ***How has this era of openness influenced China's youth?***

China's new economic openness has left the greatest impression on the outlook of the young. The generation of Chinese youth that has grown up since the late 1970s has faced a bewildering shift in values. Whereas communist slogans and portraits of Mao once held sway over city streets, customers in shops today are more likely to encounter posters of DVDs and video games for sale.

In 1987, the government launched the "anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign" to rid China of "spiritual pollution" from abroad. The tide of the information revolution soon forced the authorities to retreat on the cultural front, but they continued to hold the line against political reform.

In the spring of 1989, a loosely organized democracy movement led by university students critical of government corruption challenged government authority. The movement organized public protests that lasted for six weeks. By early June, the movement had taken the form of a mass demonstration in Tiananmen Square in the center of Beijing. Cui Jian, China's best-known rock performer

at the time, played before the crowd wearing a red blindfold. Students erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty to symbolize their quest for democracy. After sustained deliberation, the government decided to call in the army to break up the protest. Troops killed dozens of people in the square and hundreds of others in nearby streets. Thousands more were arrested.

The current generation of students in Chinese cities is less likely to become involved in politics. Many urban Chinese youth have embraced the technology and activities popular among urban youth around the world, such as blogging, frequent dinners out, and clubbing. Those with college degrees work in multinational firms, own their own businesses, or are otherwise participating in the economic boom that has given them far more opportunities than their parents had. Wealthy Chinese twenty-somethings talk of snowboarding and scuba diving vacations. Their economic success has made them less likely to criticize the government or seek change in the communist system.

### ***What new divisions strain Chinese society?***

China's generation gap is only one of the many divisions that have opened up in society since the late 1970s. More serious is the widening gulf between rich and poor. Chinese cities are home today to stark contrasts, just as they were before the communist revolution. Homeless beggars can be found outside the storefronts of millionaire businessmen. Expensive nightclubs have opened for the new elite while ordinary Chinese complain about the dramatic rise in violent crime, drug use, and prostitution.

In the countryside, Chinese peasants look to the cities with envy. Although farmers were the first to benefit from Deng's economic reforms, agricultural modernization has slowed since the mid-1980s. In many areas, the breakup of collective farms has undercut investment in roads, irrigation canals, and grain silos. Farmers are still not allowed to own land outright, which discourages them from spending on long-term improvements. In addition, crop prices have not kept up with





Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.

Students in a Chinese high school.

in the late 1800s. Young people looking for a factory job can expect to work long hours on an assembly line and to sleep in a crowded dormitory above the factory floor. Wages are as low as \$1 a day. Moreover, party officials often collect under-the-table fees of \$1,000 to arrange employment. Many of the young people who do not find a niche in the economy are sucked into China's growing underclass of criminals, drug addicts, and prostitutes.

the cost of manufactured goods. The average Chinese peasant earns only about one-third of the income of city dwellers, and this disparity is growing. Many Chinese villagers hang portraits of Mao in their homes to symbolize their discontent with the growing inequality in China.

***“No one likes the old days. But under his [Mao’s] leadership at least we all lived the same kind of life. Chairman Mao put the interests of us villagers first.”***

—Chinese peasant woman

Since the Chinese government gradually freed peasants from travel restrictions, millions of villagers have formed a new class of rootless migrants who either are without land to farm or are looking for opportunity. As many as 200 million of them have abandoned rural life, often floating from city to city. Downtown streets in major Chinese cities are full of “one-day mules”—young men available for day labor at low wages.

In southeastern China, the destination of most migrants from the countryside, conditions recall scenes from the sweatshops of New York or the slaughterhouses of Chicago

### ***How has President***

### ***Hu responded to economic troubles?***

The economic challenges facing China are formidable. Rapid growth has overheated the economy, triggering bursts of inflation. Sharp divisions have opened up in society, pitting the rich against the poor, city dwellers against farmers, and the prosperous southeastern coast against the struggling interior.

Chinese President Hu Jintao, who took office in 2003, supports China's economic growth. His government aims to quadruple the year 2000 levels of per capita GDP by 2020. Hu emphasizes that economic growth must benefit the Chinese people, not just government coffers or a few wealthy businessmen. President Hu is also committed to further opening up China's economy to the world while upholding certain socialist principles.

### **Political Uncertainty**

The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests shook the confidence of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The level of dissatisfaction among many of China's most gifted university students stunned top officials. Their order to send tanks and troops against the demonstrators left the impression that China's

communist rulers could hold onto power only through force.

### *How has China changed politically since the Mao era?*

China's economic transformation has brought the country to a political crossroads. The values of Mao Zedong no longer hold China together. The generation of influential elders that led the communist revolution is dying out. The generation that grew up after Mao has shelved the vision of a strong, self-reliant communist society.

Socialism served Mao's goals well. He was able to unify China following more than a century of fragmentation. Mao reasserted China's independence from Western influence and took measures to promote modern industry. He built a strong central government around the Communist Party.

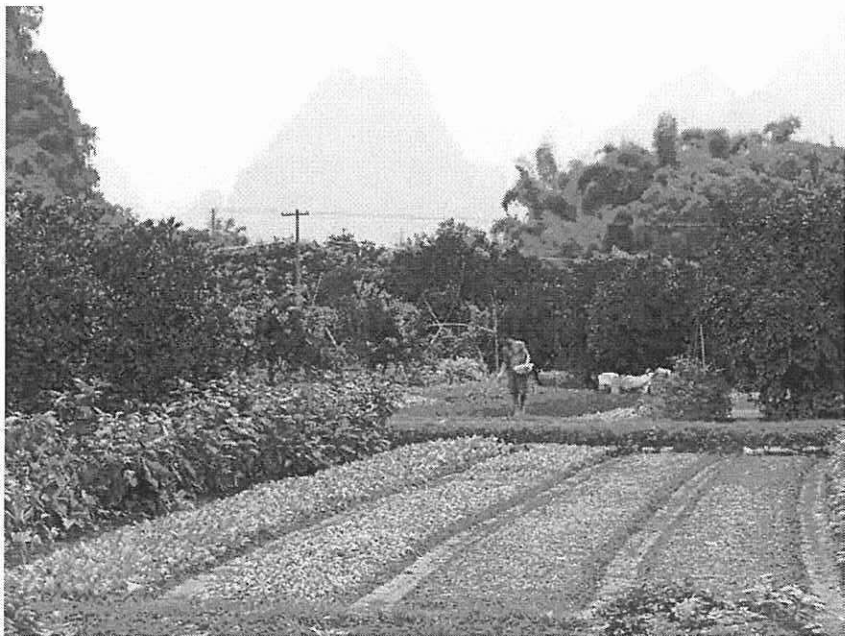
Today, the goals of Maoism no longer fit Beijing's strategy for economic reform. In the coming years, China's political system will face several challenges. If the experience of China's East Asian neighbors is any indication, pressure for democracy will build as economic progress draws more Chinese into the middle class. South Korea and Taiwan, for example, emerged as economic powerhouses under the rule of one-party dictatorships, but are now democracies.

In the short term, democracy on a national scale may be less threatening to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party than the increasing power of the provincial and local governments. For the time being, the Communist Party remains in control, but its ideology has faded and its authority at regional levels has waned. China's wealthy southeastern provinces, such as Guangdong,

hold onto almost all of their tax revenues and receive little from the central government in return. In a few cases, regional trade disputes have erupted, with provincial governments imposing tariffs on goods from neighboring provinces. Smuggling has frustrated Beijing's efforts to collect taxes.

Deng Xiaoping's death in 1997 added to the sense of political uncertainty in China. China historically has been a society ruled by individuals rather than by laws. After Deng's death, rivals for leadership in China sought to build support among top Communist Party officials, military generals, provincial leaders, and other powerful circles. Competing factions within the Communist Party continue to disagree about the direction of the country. Conservatives within the military, the party bureaucracy, and state-run industries favor slowing the pace of change and reasserting the authority of the party. They face opposition from regional leaders and business tycoons who are riding the wave of China's boom.

There is no clear political roadmap to guide China into the future. President Hu remains committed to reform, and wants to make the Communist Party more responsive to the Chinese public. He has talked about "intra-



A farmer near the city of Guilin in Guangxi Province tends his crops.

Courtesy of Mollie Hackett.



party democracy,” meaning more officials of the Communist Party would have a role in decision making. But Hu endorses only small changes in the political system. He does not plan to make any changes to one-party rule.

In the next section, you will read about how these internal changes in China have influenced its relations with other countries, particularly the United States.





## Part II: The U.S.-China Agenda

With about 20 percent of the world's population, the second-largest economy, and a nuclear arsenal undergoing modernization, China is poised to acquire the strength of a global superpower some time in this century. For policy makers in the United States and elsewhere, relations with Beijing are a leading focus.

What remains to be seen is what kind of China will take shape from today's uncertainty and what repercussions that will have for U.S.-Chinese relations. A strong, confident China could act as a force for peace and stability in East Asia and serve as an expanding market for high-tech U.S. exports. Or China could increasingly challenge the United States around the world, seeing U.S. interests in growing opposition to its own national interests. In contrast, a weak, unstable China presents another set of threats. An economic crisis in China could send shock waves throughout the global economy, especially in East Asia. Tens of millions of economic refugees could spill beyond China's borders, with millions of them headed for the United States. A collapse of political authority in China could create a disaster.

In the last twenty years, issues surrounding fair trade, human rights, nuclear weapons proliferation, and China's relationship with Hong Kong and Taiwan have been problems that have occasionally flared up, creating tensions in U.S.-China relations. After the terrorist attacks on September 11th, relations improved somewhat. The United States welcomed China's commitment to cooperation in the war on terror. Former President Jiang's immediate offer of condolence and assistance helped to smooth the waters between the two nations. Nevertheless, many issues remain.

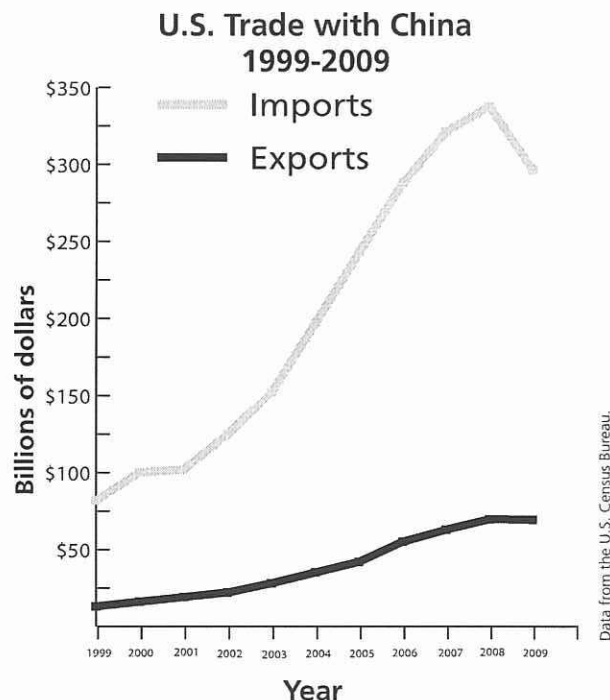
In this part of the reading, you will examine the issues that figure most prominently on the U.S.-China agenda.

### Trade Tensions and Human Rights

Economic issues currently dominate the U.S.-China agenda. Many of them are of very recent origin. Since the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, the economies of China and the United States have become more closely connected, primarily through trade. This increasingly close economic relationship has raised other questions for U.S. policy, such as whether the United States should use its trade policy to influence human rights in China.

#### *What is China's economic relationship with the United States?*

Today, the Chinese government is one of the two biggest foreign lenders to the U.S. government. (The other is Japan.) Because the U.S. government has a budget deficit—which means that it has been spending more than it earns—it must borrow money in order to fund its current level of spending. Experts estimate that China may be funding as much as 10 percent of the U.S. debt. Some worry that the





United States depends too much on money from China. They argue that China could use its position to influence U.S. policy, for example by threatening to withdraw its funding if the United States follows policies it does not agree with. While some economists fear that this would make it much more costly for the United States to borrow money in the future, others argue that this could actually help the U.S. economy.

The reason that the Chinese government has so much money to lend is because of the surge in Chinese exports in recent years. Today, China is the world's largest single-country exporter. U.S. consumers in 2009 bought nearly \$297 billion in Chinese products—about one-quarter of China's exports worldwide. Without access to the U.S. market, China would have registered a trade deficit.

Most of the Chinese-made goods are low-priced manufactured items, such as clothing, toys, shoes, telephones, and consumer electronics. The United States has a trade deficit with China, which means that it buys more goods from China than it sells to China. This deficit stood at \$226.8 billion in 2009—by far the largest trade imbalance of any U.S. trading partner.

U.S. exports to China have expanded rapidly as well, though not nearly enough to diminish the gap. Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and other aviation companies have recorded billions of dollars in aircraft sales to the Chinese in recent years. Communications giant AT&T views China—not the United States—as its fastest-growing market.

### ***How do U.S. and Chinese approaches to international trade differ?***

Even as U.S.-China trade ties multiply, the attitudes of the two countries toward international commerce remain sharply divided. Since World War II, U.S. leaders have strongly defended the principle of free trade. The United States has maintained comparatively low tariffs, or taxes on imported goods, and has opened its markets to goods from around the world. In contrast, Chinese leaders have



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Chinese workers test laptop hard drives at a Seagate factory.

pursued a much more closed trade policy. Like the United States in the 1800s, China, until recently, imposed import tariffs averaging over 30 percent. These tariffs made imported goods more expensive and protected Chinese industries against foreign competition.

Since the late 1970s, Chinese leaders have taken steps to bring their country into the global economic mainstream. In 2001, China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), the body that sets the ground rules for global trade and includes 153 member states.

The United States views China's membership in the WTO as beneficial to the United States not only because it advances U.S. business interests, but because it integrates China into the international system. For China, participation in the WTO helps to strengthen the internal economic reform process and

China's position as an international economic competitor.

***What trade conflicts have strained U.S. relations with China?***

The close trade relationship between the United States and China has had its fair share of problems. For instance, the United States has put pressure on China to curb the pirating, or illegal copying, of music, film, and software products created by U.S. businesses. The U.S. government argues that pirating violates intellectual property laws that protect the rights that these businesses have over their creations.

In addition, U.S. officials have complained that Chinese clothing manufacturers frequently sell their goods below cost on the international market. The purpose of this practice—known as dumping—is to drive their international competitors out of business. The United States also accuses China of providing subsidies to some Chinese manufacturers that violate WTO regulations. These subsidies artificially lower the prices of Chinese-made goods, making them more attractive to buyers. (China has made similar complaints about U.S. government subsidies.)

Finally, in 2007 a series of recalls of toys, pet food, and medicines manufactured in China frightened parents and pet owners in the United States. The recalls called into question both safety in Chinese manufacturing and oversight in the U.S. companies that contracted with the Chinese factories. The volume of exports from China is so high and the variety of products so great that the recalls did not have an effect on the value of Chinese exports, even in the toy and food categories. Clearly, despite safety concerns, people in the United States rely heavily on products made in China.

For its part, China has expressed frustration with some U.S. policies. Many in China and around the world have expressed concern about what they believe is the United States' inconsistent adherence to WTO regulations on tariffs and subsidies. China and several other countries won a dispute in the WTO in 2002

against the United States for its subsidies in steel production.

***How have human rights affected U.S.-China trade relations?***

China's human rights record has been a central feature of the U.S.-China trade picture since 1989. After the government crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square, U.S. President Bush (1989-1993) stopped sales of military equipment and nuclear technology to China, as well as foreign aid.

Anger in Congress toward the Chinese leadership was much stronger than the president's. Until 2000, Congress annually reviewed China's most-favored-nation status (which allows countries to export goods to the United States at the lowest tariff rates) as a means of pressuring China's leaders to change their policies at home.

In September 2000, the U.S. Congress approved permanent normal trading status for China, a policy that helped China to join the WTO. Human rights organizations, labor activists, and conservatives made the case that by enabling China to join the WTO the United States lost an opportunity to steer China toward greater openness and freedom. Others contend that WTO regulations and free-market forces will drive the country towards democracy.

***“Some believe that China on the rise is, by definition, an adversary. To the contrary, we believe that the United States and China can benefit from and contribute to each other's successes.”***

—U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,  
February 2009

***How has the relationship between Tibet and China affected U.S.-Chinese relations?***

Of particular concern to many in the United States is China's policy toward the region of Tibet. The Tibetans are a people best known for their devotion to Buddhism and to their land, which lies to the north of the Himala-





yan Mountains in what is today southwestern China. The Tibetans enjoyed autonomy for centuries, but in 1950 Chinese troops overran their homeland. Communist officials ruthlessly attempted to erase Tibet's distinctive culture during China's Cultural Revolution. After a rebellion in 1959, hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were killed or imprisoned. Thousands of monasteries, temples, and other Tibetan architecture also were destroyed. Since the 1980s, Beijing's policies have been aimed at promoting the migration of thousands of ethnic Chinese to Tibet. The Tibetans are now a minority in the region.

Since 2001, the Chinese government has made rapid economic development, coupled with stricter control of dissidents, its policy in Tibet. China has launched a number of "Strike Hard" campaigns that it claims are aimed at reducing crime in the region. Thousands of Tibetans have been arrested and hundreds have been killed for engaging in "separatist" activities. When the Dalai Lama, whom many Tibetans recognize as their leader, visited with President Obama in the White House in 2010, China condemned the encounter. China believes the Dalai Lama seeks independence for Tibet from China; the Dalai Lama claims to seek only more autonomy from the central government.

***What other issues top the human rights agenda?***

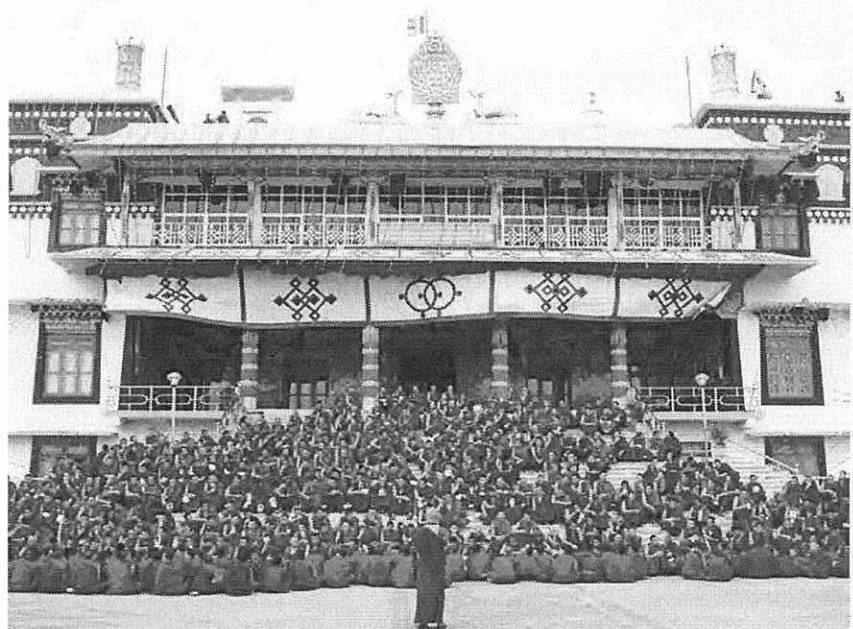
In addition to the situation in Tibet, the United States opposes China's treatment of political prisoners and religious and ethnic minorities, as well as its censorship of internet sites and radio and television stations. China's use of prison labor, harassment of journalists, suppression of religious freedom, and the emigration restrictions that prevent leading Chinese

political dissidents from leaving the country also find spots on the U.S. list of concerns.

Human rights groups contend that some poorly-equipped psychiatric hospitals are being used to hold and silence political and religious dissidents. For example, members of the Falun Gong spiritual movement, a banned religious organization, claim that thousands of their members have been committed to hospitals and that many have been subject to torture or have been administered unnecessary medication.

Many human rights organizations report that China is one of the world's worst human rights offenders. In 2004, the Chinese responded to these claims by issuing their own critical report on the U.S. human rights situation, citing the treatment of civilians in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars as examples of human rights abuses. The Chinese have also pointed to some positive steps they have taken. For example, in 2003, the Chinese government amended the Chinese constitution to include a provision on human rights.

***“The Chinese Government gives top priority to the people's life and***



Photograph by evanosherow. Licensed under the Creative Commons 2.0 Generic license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>.

Buddhist monks at the Sera Monastery in Tibet, 2006. Tibetan monks have participated in many protests against the Chinese government.

***health and basic human rights.... [The Chinese government] has made great efforts to acquaint itself with the feelings of the people, to reflect such feelings, to reduce the people's burdens and practice democracy. These efforts have markedly improved China's human rights conditions and won universal acknowledgment from the international community."***

—Chinese Information Office, 2004

It is clear that while human rights has become a central theme in political conversations in both countries, China and the United States emphasize different aspects of human rights. In China, physical health and material well-being are generally highlighted, while in the United States political participation receives the most attention. The State Department's 2009 report on human rights in China characterized China's human rights record as poor.

***"I spoke to President Hu about America's bedrock beliefs that all men and women possess certain fundamental human rights. We do not believe these principles are unique to America, but rather they are universal rights and that they should be available to all peoples, to all ethnic and religious minorities. And our two countries agreed to continue to move this discussion forward..."***

—U.S. President Barack Obama,  
November 2009

## Security Priorities

Although trade and human rights issues have dominated the headlines of U.S.-China relations, U.S. policy makers also worry about China's military. China's defense budget has increased steadily in recent years, growing at about the same rate as the overall economy. In 2009, Beijing's official military budget was

about \$378 billion. (The U.S. defense budget for 2009 was about \$579 billion.)

### ***Why is China a growing military concern for the United States?***

Chinese military publications state that China believes the United States is its greatest security threat, partly because of U.S. military power and partly because of U.S. support for Taiwan.

***"The United States is...an arrogant country with strong ambitions for hegemonism [dominance]."***

—Major General Wang Baocun, People's  
Liberation Army, 2003

Chinese leaders are committed to a long-term program of military modernization. China is a major customer for high-tech Russian military equipment. Beijing has been especially eager to acquire Russian warplanes, submarines, and long-range missile technology. While U.S. capabilities, particularly in advanced nuclear weapons, remain far superior to China's, China could soon challenge the balance of military power in East Asia.

Today, China has the fourth largest nuclear arsenal in the world. (China has approximately 240 nuclear warheads, compared to about 13,000 in Russia and 9,400 in the United States.) China has been working to upgrade its arsenal in recent years. The Chinese government has stated that it has nuclear weapons solely for defensive purposes, in order to deter a possible nuclear attack, and has said it will never be the first to use these weapons in a conflict. Nevertheless, the fact that China is continuing to build new weapons is a point of concern for U.S. officials.

The United States is also concerned about China's role in the international arms market. Chinese weapons and military equipment exports are well-known worldwide. According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), China is a significant source for developing countries seeking to build up arsenals and add to their capabilities, for example with trucks or com-



munications equipment. CIA evidence also indicates that China has played a key role in helping Pakistan produce missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads that have a range of 185 miles.

### ***What recent security tensions have arisen between China and the United States?***

As the world has become more closely connected through advances in communication, the U.S. government has raised concerns about the increase in cyber attacks, many originating in China. Cyber attacks are attacks against computer systems or networks. In recent years, companies in the United States, the UK, and elsewhere have complained that computer hackers have broken through cyber security protections and stolen program codes and secret information. In 2010, Google announced that it had been the victim of such an attack, and hackers not only took program codes but also broke into the email accounts of Chinese human rights activists. U.S. officials have claimed that the Chinese hackers involved in the Google attack were probably sponsored by the government. The Chinese government has denied any involvement. These cyber attacks raise new issues around future methods of warfare as well as concerns about U.S. security.

Another challenge for the two countries has been coordinating diplomatic action against North Korea. In the fall of 2002, North Korea admitted that it had been continuing work on a nuclear weapons program for years, violating a 1994 agreement not to develop the weapons. Since 2003, six countries—the United States, Russia, China, South Korea, North Korea, and Japan—have held a series of meetings to negotiate an end to North Korea's nuclear program. China has played a pivotal role in ushering North Korea to these “six-party talks” and acting as a mediator between North Korea and the United States. Many experts believe that China's leverage over North Korea and its influence as a mediator has boosted China's power and standing in the international community. Despite international pressure, North Korea has continued

its nuclear weapons program and tested two nuclear devices.

### **China's Role in its Region**

Before the arrival of Western powers in China, the sphere of influence of the Chinese empire included Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), and Nepal. These states were considered “tributaries” of China, and honored the emperor by regularly sending officials bearing lavish gifts to the Chinese capital.

Under Mao Zedong, China presented itself as a model for poor, developing countries. Some preferred to think of China as a country with a tradition of past greatness that would eventually return to its former status. Chinese leaders in recent years have indeed begun to reassert their country's voice in international relations, primarily in East Asia.

### ***How is China extending its regional influence?***

China today is seeking to extend its influence over many of the areas that historically fell under its control. China has been especially assertive in staking its claims to two chains of tiny islands in the South China Sea. The islands, known as the Spratlys and the Paracels, reportedly lie atop rich oil deposits. Five of China's neighbors—Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei—have made their own claims on the islands, but China has shown little willingness to negotiate a settlement. These countries have not yet resolved this dispute.

In addition, Beijing has undertaken a build-up of its navy and increased its presence in the South China Sea. China's attention to its naval forces has some U.S. officials worried. Since World War II, the United States has been the leading naval power in East Asia. China is already challenging U.S. dominance in the region.

### ***How does Hong Kong figure on the U.S.-China agenda?***

In 1997, Great Britain returned the island of Hong Kong to China after controlling





A perspective from Hong Kong on the threat of Chinese press censorship.

the territory for 150 years. Reunification has been complicated. The former colony of more than seven million people is an international financial and manufacturing center. Before reunification, it was the largest single foreign investor in China and the gateway for much of China's international trade. Politically, Hong Kong's residents have shown their determination to defend the democratic freedoms they won in the last years of British rule.

China's leaders are eager to take advantage of Hong Kong's economic power and yet are worried about the former colony's dynamism. Beijing officials have promised to preserve Hong Kong's uniqueness through a policy of "one country, two systems." At the same time, they have crafted election laws to ensure that Hong Kong's legislature will support Beijing.

U.S. officials have voiced concern that China may snuff out Hong Kong's open society. From Beijing's perspective, the fear seems to be that Hong Kong's vibrant brand of capitalism and democracy may fuel momentum for political change in China. Indeed, most of the Chinese troops stationed in the former colony have been positioned to block mainland Chinese from flooding into Hong Kong.

### *Why is Taiwan a special problem?*

The status of Taiwan represents a more long-term problem in East Asian affairs. Since losing its seat in the United Nations to China in 1971, Taiwan has existed in a state of international limbo of sorts. Economically, it is a powerhouse. The country is one of the top exporters in the world and its 22.9 million people enjoy a per capita income more than four times higher than that of the citizens of China.

Questions about the political status and future of Taiwan complicate its

relations with China. The two countries possess distinct governments, but are officially one state. This arrangement has been a source of tension and has raised questions about the outcome of this arrangement. Will Taiwan someday be an independent state or will China and Taiwan be reunified?

After losing its seat in the UN, Taiwan sought to strengthen its economic and cultural ties worldwide. Taiwan's economy has continued to boom, even though it has been forced out of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international organizations.

China firmly holds to its position that there is "one China" and sees reunification as the eventual goal, while Taiwan's position has evolved over the years. In the mid-1990s, then-President of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui argued that Taiwan and China were two separate states and that Taiwan should be recognized as an independent country "just like Britain or France."

Current Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou has called for a "diplomatic truce" with China. He has stated that there will be no efforts towards reunification nor towards

independence, at least for the time being, and that eventually it is the Taiwanese people who must decide what they want. The Taiwanese public appears ambivalent in its position towards China: many agree with the goal of independence but some fear that an overly provocative stance may prompt a response from China that could threaten their way of life.

***“It is important to find a flexible method that also maintains Taiwan’s dignity to help the nation return to the international community.”***

—President-elect Ma Ying-jeou, May 2008

Many in China see Taiwanese efforts for independence as a challenge to China’s sovereignty and a threat to the state as a whole. For many, these concerns are based on a fear of China weakening: independence efforts in Taiwan and Tibet call to mind the dangers of disintegration China faced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a result of relations with the West. Likewise, many in China are apprehensive of outside involvement, particularly by the United States, in these domestic concerns.

### ***How does the United States figure into the Taiwan issue?***

Taiwan has long been a point of tension between China and the United States. After the Korean War, the United States was Taiwan’s key ally, providing billions of dollars in military aid to Chiang Kai-shek’s government in Taipei, Taiwan’s capital. President Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 changed U.S. policy toward Taiwan. In 1978, the United States broke relations with Taiwan and recognized China a few months later.

Most other countries have adopted the same position. Nevertheless, concerns about the security of Taiwan led Congress in 1979 to pass the Taiwan Relations Act, which guaranteed continued trade and cultural relations with the island and provided U.S. assurances for its security.

Taiwan’s security remains an important issue for the United States. In addition to the historical relationship between the two countries, the United States and Taiwan have strong trade ties. The United States is also concerned with maintaining peace and stability in Asia. Ultimately, the United States wants a peaceful resolution of tensions across the Taiwan Strait and is committed officially to the eventual reunification of China and Taiwan.

Chinese leaders have warned that they will use force to block any drive by Taiwan for full independence from the mainland. China’s naval expansion and military maneuvers near Taiwan are viewed as part of a larger strategy to intimidate the Taiwanese government. For its part, Taiwan has a strong defense force equipped with sophisticated weapons, many of them from the United States. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which have totalled billions of dollars over the past decade, have been a constant



TONY HUANG/AFP/Getty Images. Used with permission.

During a parade for Taiwan’s National Day on October 10, 2007, the military showed off some of its Taiwan-made equipment. This missile display was intended to remind China that Taiwan can defend itself.

irritant in U.S.-China relations. In recent years, the United States has increased its shipments of arms to Taiwan (and included offensive weapons as well). Nevertheless, while some consider the U.S. relationship with China and Taiwan to be the most serious security problem for the United States, most experts believe that this threat has become more manageable in recent years.

## China's Role in the World

Since the 1980s, China's role in the world has steadily grown. China has not only increased its military strength but also has sought to strengthen its economic ties around the world. Other countries are increasingly seeing China as a counterweight to Western—and especially U.S.—trade, aid, and influence.

Africa is a case in point. China's involvement on the African continent has exploded in the last decade. The Chinese government and Chinese businesses have invested billions of dollars in infrastructure projects in dozens of countries, building highways and railway lines and expanding ports in order to increase access to the continent's natural resources. It has developed strong trade ties with African countries and has constructed oil refineries, power plants, and mines in places like Niger, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. Some see China's new role in Africa as a threat to Western economic interests in the region.

### *What role has China played in addressing international conflicts?*

China's seat on the UN Security Council gives Beijing veto power over critical decisions of the UN. The UN's expanded involvement



This 2008 photograph shows the Chinese fishing vessel FV Tian Yu 8 after it had been taken over by pirates off the coast of Somalia.

DoD photo by Mass Communication Specialist 2nd Class Jason R. Zalasky, U.S. Navy.

in international peacekeeping since the 1990s makes China's position on the Security Council all the more important.

On the whole, China is a steadfast supporter of the concept of sovereignty, which is the right of a country to govern its own affairs. It is particularly wary of interfering in what it views as internal affairs of other countries, partly because it does not want outsiders like the United States interfering with its own internal issues.

In general, China has gone along with the other members of the Security Council in the UN. It has used its veto power significantly fewer times than any other permanent Security Council member. For example, the Chinese allowed the United States to form an international coalition against Iraq's Saddam Hussein before the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the UN's most significant military operation since the Korean War. But China has not been afraid to oppose the United States. China did not authorize the use of force against Iraq in 2003. The Chinese government later described that U.S.-led invasion as a violation of international law.

China often advocates for positions that are less stringent than those pushed by other





members. For example, China tends to oppose sanctions, which punish countries economically, in favor of other, diplomatic means of pressuring countries to change their policies, such as economic aid and development support.

China's position on Sudan demonstrates its uneasiness about strict international measures. For years it opposed sanctions against the Sudanese government, which many in the international community believe is involved in a conflict in Sudan's Darfur region that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives since 2003. China argued that these sanctions would interfere in Sudan's internal affairs and threaten an important trading partner. (Sudan has oil wealth and China has invested heavily in its oil industry.) Bowing to international pressure, China softened its opposition and contributed troops to a UN peacekeeping force in Sudan in 2007. Nevertheless, it has been accused of continuing to sell weapons to the Sudanese government.

In recent years, China has begun to match its economic expansion with more active participation in the international community. For example, China did not contribute troops to any UN peacekeeping missions until 2004 but since then, has been a major UN troop contributor. In 2009, China sent naval ships to join a multinational effort against piracy in the Gulf of Aden, near Somalia. The Gulf of Aden is an important thoroughfare for international shipping. China's participation in this campaign was significant because it was the first time in six hundred years that the Chinese navy had been deployed on a combat mission outside of China's territorial waters.

Chinese officials stressed that this did not signal a shift in its non-interventionist foreign policy. But as China's economic interests expand across the world, it seems to be more willing to cooperate in global security operations in order to protect its interests. In the coming years, U.S. policy makers will have to carefully consider how they will respond to the new role that China has taken in the world.

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In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy towards China. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore in the next section is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on the U.S. role in the world and its stake in China. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which the United States must craft future policy.

In the end, you will be asked to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from several options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.



## Options in Brief

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### Option 1: Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at an historic crossroads. People in the United States must ask themselves what kind of China they want to see emerge from this period of transition. The choices are stark. They demand a clear understanding of what is at stake. The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their culture. The time is right for strong action. By applying the leverage we hold, we have an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society.

### Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade

China is walking a tightrope. In the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity. The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. We must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries.

### Option 3: Contain China

China and the United States are on a collision course. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin flexing its muscles in the international arena. We must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. In addition, China has built up 150 years of resentment against the West. Now that China's leaders have an opportunity to reassert their influence in international affairs, we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion.

### Option 4: Keep Our Distance

China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. It is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming threat. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country that is far from our shores. As such, it should not rank as a leading concern for people in the United States. The United States must not allow U.S.-China relations to distract our country from the enormous challenges we face here at home. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have scant impact on the lives of our people. If anything, we should take measures to protect U.S. industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons.

## Option 1: Press for Democratic Values

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China and the world are at an historic crossroads. The changes taking place in China today will in many respects determine the nature of international relations in the twenty-first century. People in the United States must ask themselves what kind of China they want to see emerge from this period of transition. Is it a democratic China that respects human rights and shares many of the values that underpin our own society? Or is it a China that oppresses its people and sneers at our democratic political system? The choices are stark. They demand a clear understanding of what is at stake.

The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their culture. The time is right for strong action. The United States is China's largest export market. Our country holds the key to China's economic success. By applying the leverage we hold, the United States has an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society. China has experienced remarkable progress since the late 1970s. The hard-line communists that have held China back are in retreat. The country now stands ready to take on the challenge of political reform. Our responsibility is to help the people of China prod their government forward.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Link China's record on human rights to our cooperation on economic and trade issues.
- Place Beijing's treatment of political prisoners and policies toward Tibet at the top of the U.S.-China agenda.
- Ban imports of Chinese goods produced by prison labor.
- Require that U.S. companies operating in China take steps to protect the fundamental human and civil rights of their employees.
- Insist that Beijing honor its pledge to maintain a free press and other democratic institutions in Hong Kong.

### Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

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Our most trustworthy allies and trading partners—the countries of Western Europe, Japan, and Canada—are nations that share our commitment to democratic values and human rights. After World War II, the world's leading democracies joined together to stand up to the menace of Soviet communism. The alliance held together for four decades

largely because its members were united by the acceptance of a common political system. The United States may be able to avoid conflict with an undemocratic government in Beijing, but we cannot expect to enjoy close relations until China enters the community of democratic nations.





## Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

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- As the world's leading democracy, the United States has a moral responsibility to promote democratic values worldwide.

- China's acceptance of democratic principles and fundamental human rights will lower tensions between

Beijing and Washington and improve prospects for international peace.

- The Chinese economy's dependence on exports to the U.S. market gives the United States substantial leverage in influencing China's direction.

## Arguments for

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1. Implanting the values of democracy and human rights in China will strengthen the cause for reform throughout the world, especially in East Asia.

2. Supporting China's reformers now will cement our ties to a generation that eventually will rise to prominence in China's government.

3. Taking a firm stand against Beijing's abuses of human rights and oppression of Tibet will serve as a warning to dictatorial governments around the world.

## Arguments against

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1. Promoting human rights will spark an anti-American backlash in countries that do not share our values, especially in East Asia.

2. Restricting Chinese exports to the United States will lead Beijing to raise its own trade barriers against U.S. products, thus allowing our economic competitors to expand their share of the Chinese market at the expense of U.S. companies.

3. Harshly criticizing the Beijing government will cause China to retaliate by blocking U.S. initiatives in the UN and other international organizations.

4. Focusing U.S. policy on promoting democratic reform in China will distract our leaders from the urgent need to contain China's power and influence.

5. Imposing economic penalties on China will punish companies from Taiwan and Hong Kong that have invested heavily in China.



## Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade

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China is walking a tightrope. In the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. If China falls, the entire world will be plunged into a period of heightened danger. A breakdown of order in China would lead to a civil war in the heart of East Asia. Tens of millions of refugees would spill over China's borders. The world's major powers would inevitably be sucked into the conflict. China's nuclear arsenal could even be up for grabs. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity.

The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. China is already our second-largest trading partner, and the future holds the potential for continued growth. China is a crucial market for U.S. aviation, telecommunications, and other high-tech industries. U.S. consumers benefit from low-cost imports made in China. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. Trying to impose our values on the Chinese will only spark an anti-American backlash in China. Attempting to back Beijing into a corner will heighten international tensions and could trigger a crisis inside China that would have worldwide repercussions. To avoid instability, the United States must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries. As the people of China walk the tightrope of transition, they should know that they can count on our help.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Develop a partnership with China in international efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons.

- Encourage China to assume a larger role in international organizations.

- Allow China to take a gradual approach in resolving its trade differences with the United States.

- Offer loan guarantees and tax breaks to U.S. companies that expand their exports to China.

- Provide foreign aid to help China clean up its air pollution and improve life in the countryside.

- Encourage Taiwan to reach an agreement with Beijing on its eventual reunification with China.

### Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

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The history of U.S.-China relations has been marred by misunderstanding and hostility. From the earliest days, the two sides have failed to see each other as equals. The Chinese viewed people in the United States as uncivilized "barbarians," while the U.S. public looked on the Chinese as backward and corrupt. During the first half of the

twentieth century, the United States missed an opportunity to offer China a way out of turmoil and instability. With the triumph of Mao Zedong in China, relations turned confrontational. Circumstances today allow for a fresh start, with the understanding that an equal partnership between the United States and China would benefit both countries.



## Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

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- A China in crisis would spark problems worldwide and heighten international tensions.
- Using trade measures to achieve foreign policy goals in other areas,

such as human rights, creates mistrust and harms international trade.

- With 1.3 billion people undergoing whirlwind change, China will be in danger of disintegration for years to come.

## Arguments for

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1. Building a trusting relationship with Beijing will ensure China's cooperation in the UN and other international organizations.
2. China's leaders will reward U.S. cooperation by expanding business opportunities in China for U.S. companies.
3. Promoting China's prosperity and stability will eventually lay the foundations for democratic reform, as has been the case in Taiwan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries.

## Arguments against

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1. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China and the people of Tibet will allow the government in Beijing a free hand to crush its opponents and give tyrants around the world a green light to crack down on supporters of democracy and human rights.
2. Cooperating with China to restore Beijing's past greatness will come back to haunt us when a Chinese superpower challenges U.S. interests.
3. Lending U.S. support to Beijing's policies will embolden China's leaders to act aggressively in East Asia, especially against Taiwan.
4. Ignoring China's violations of international trade standards will worsen our country's trade deficit with China, rob U.S. companies of their markets, and cost thousands of U.S. workers their jobs.
5. Giving up on democratic and economic reforms in China will undercut momentum for reform in other countries that are undergoing important changes.





## Option 3: Contain China

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China and the United States are on a collision course. In the next two decades, the Chinese economy is on track to achieve one of the fastest growth rates in the world. China may very well overtake the United States in total economic output. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin flexing its muscles in the international arena. Nearly two centuries ago, the French leader Napoleon warned that the world would tremble when China awoke. Now the United States must prepare to deal with the implications of his prediction.

The United States must take steps to contain China's might. Our country's policy must be grounded in a clear-sighted understanding of China itself. First, we must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. Second, China has built up 150 years of resentment against the West. Now that China's leaders have an opportunity to reassert their influence in international affairs, over the long term we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion. Our military presence and system of alliances in East Asia must be a top foreign policy priority. Trade must be monitored to ensure that it does not contribute to the modernization of China's military. We may wish for a world of peace and harmony, but reality tells us to keep up our guard.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Ban exports of high-tech goods that could contribute to China's military build-up, and lobby our allies to do the same.
- Convince our allies and trading partners to impose penalties on China for exports of long-range missiles and nuclear technology.
- Strengthen our country's long-term

commitment to defend Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and other U.S. allies in East Asia.

- Press for the admission of Taiwan to the UN and other international organizations.
- Prohibit imports of goods produced at factories owned by the Chinese army.

### Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

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U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War demonstrated that firmness and perseverance pay off in international affairs. For four decades, the United States wove together a network of alliances and maintained a strong military to contain the spread of Soviet

communism, especially in Europe. By the mid-1980s, our stand against communist aggression had convinced Soviet leaders that continued confrontation was pointless. Taking the same resolute position toward Beijing today is the best insurance against future international conflict.



## Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

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- Western democratic institutions are unlikely to make inroads into China for decades to come.
- China's leaders are determined to reassert their influence in world

### Arguments for

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1. Containing China's military power will reduce the security fears of China's neighbors in East Asia, especially Japan and Russia, and prevent a regional arms race.
2. Identifying China now as a long-term threat to the United States will allow our country's military planners and foreign policy analysts to devise a well-coordinated strategy to respond to the challenge.
3. Maintaining a strong military presence in East Asia will convince China's leaders that bullying their neighbors is too risky to consider.

affairs and see the United States as an obstacle to achieving their goals.

- The establishment of a wide-ranging Chinese sphere of influence in East Asia poses a grave threat to U.S. interests.

### Arguments against

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1. Taking a hostile stance toward China will close the door to Chinese cooperation in controlling the spread of nuclear weapons, addressing global environmental problems, and maintaining peace on the Korean peninsula.
2. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China will undermine democratic movements throughout the world, especially in East Asia.
3. Pressuring Beijing will contribute to the breakdown of order in China, triggering an outpouring of tens of millions of Chinese refugees and setting the stage for a dangerous civil war.
4. Restricting exports of technology to China will prompt retaliation from Beijing and leave U.S. companies shut out of the fastest-growing market in the world.
5. Drawing a new dividing line in international relations will ultimately lead to a confrontation between the United States and East Asia.



## Option 4: Keep Our Distance

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China is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming threat to the United States. We should be careful not to become involved in a country which holds little relevance to our foreign affairs picture. China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country that is far from our shores. As such, it should not rank as a leading concern for people in the United States.

The United States must not allow U.S.-China relations to distract our country from the enormous challenges we face here at home. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have scant impact on the lives of our people. Greater involvement in China's affairs will ultimately drain our nation's resources, while doing little to strengthen U.S. security. We should concentrate our energy on issues that matter most to people in the United States, such as increasing homeland security, reducing our debt, reforming the health care system, and improving our schools. Finally, we should take measures to protect U.S. industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons. The last thing we need is a new set of entanglements abroad.

### What policies should we pursue?

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- Gradually withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea and Japan.
- Impose trade penalties on China in response to Chinese violations of copyright laws and other international trade standards.
- Raise import tariffs on Chinese

products that threaten the economic health of U.S. industries.

- Encourage Japan to increase its foreign aid spending in East Asia and to take the lead in resolving regional crises.

### Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

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False hopes have often led the United States down the wrong path in our country's involvement abroad. U.S. relations with China in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were clouded by missionaries who imagined that the power of Christianity would transform East Asia and by merchants who saw China

as a vast market for U.S. goods. Both groups were wrong. Since World War II, naïve efforts to establish democratic institutions in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and other poor regions have cost thousands of U.S. lives and billions of dollars. Following the same course in China will inevitably backfire.



## Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

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- Developments in China have little impact on the great majority of people in the United States.
- Pursuing lofty foreign policy goals, such as promoting democratic values,

### Arguments for

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1. Minimizing our involvement in East Asia will allow the United States to invest more resources in tackling our problems here at home.
2. Clearing away foreign policy issues from the U.S.-China agenda will give U.S. leaders the opportunity to deal squarely with China's trade violations.
3. By not entangling ourselves in China's affairs, the United States will avoid becoming the target of blame for future setbacks in China.

undermines U.S. trade interests and other more legitimate priorities.

- Even the United States lacks the power to influence a country as large and remote as China.

### Arguments against

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1. Withdrawing from East Asia will leave a vacuum of power in the region that the expansionists in Beijing will eagerly fill.
2. Upsetting the balance of power in East Asia will force our allies in the region, including Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, to increase military spending and possibly develop nuclear weapons.
3. Opening up new trade disputes with Beijing will lead to deepening mistrust in U.S.-China relations and ultimately harm U.S. business interests in China.
4. Ignoring developments in China will deprive Chinese reformers of vital support as their country undergoes a critical period of change.
5. Cutting our ties to East Asia will be viewed internationally as a major defeat for U.S. values and economic interests.

Young Kim ran home to find out his new name. All the way, the same thought pounded in his head: "I am going to lose my name; I am going to lose my name, we are all going to lose our names."

Kim and his father had to go to the police station to register the family's new name. It sounded strange to his ears.

“‘Iwamoto.’ I mouth the name. Our new name. My new name. ‘Iwa’—rock. ‘Moto’— . . . foundation. ‘Rock-Foundation.’ So this is our ‘new’ surname, our Japanese ‘family’ name.”

Later, the boy went with his father and grandfather to visit the graves of their ancestors. His father brushed off the snow, and the three knelt. His grandfather said to the ancestors, "We are a disgrace to our family. We bring disgrace and humiliation to your name. How can you forgive us?" With tears spilling from their eyes, the two older men bowed to their ancestors.

Scenes like this one occurred throughout Korea during the years of Japanese rule. Yet, the harder the Japanese tried to undermine Korean culture, the stronger the Koreans felt attached to their own ways. ■

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Silla, (b) Koryo, (c) Yi Song-gye, (d) han'gul, (e) Hermit Kingdom, (f) March 1st Movement.
- 2. Define:** (a) isolationism, (b) annex.
- 3.** How did Buddhism and Confucianism affect Korean culture?
- 4.** Describe two achievements of Korean civilization.
- 5.** What happened to Korea during the Age of Imperialism?
- 6. Making Inferences** How do you think Japanese efforts to undermine Korean culture contributed to Korean nationalism? Why?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Imagine that you are a member of the March 1st Movement who has fled to the United States. Write a speech urging Americans to support Korean nationalism.

3

## THE TWO KOREAS

### FIND OUT

How did Cold War rivalries affect Korea?

What economic progress has South Korea made?

What basic goal have North Koreans pursued?

**Vocabulary** armistice

“**T**he whole atmosphere was forbidding and ugly. I could very well imagine how the mood sometimes explodes into violent incidents.”

A Korean-born journalist was describing tensions at Panmunjom, on the dividing line between North Korea and South Korea. For almost 40 years, this artificial line has separated families as well as governments. Yet, Koreans cherish the hope that someday their country will be reunited.

### A Divided Land

In 1945, Koreans celebrated the Japanese defeat in World War II with joy and great hope for the future. Soon, however, Korea again became a battleground between strong powers. As the war ended, the United States and its wartime ally, the Soviet Union, agreed that Korea should regain its independence. Both nations sent troops to Korea to accept the Japanese surrender. Soviet troops occupied the region north of the 38th parallel. American troops occupied the southern part of Korea. The occupation was to last only until elections could be held.

Cold War rivalries led to a permanent division of Korea. During the Japanese occupation, Korean nationalists had split into communist and non-communist factions. In 1945,

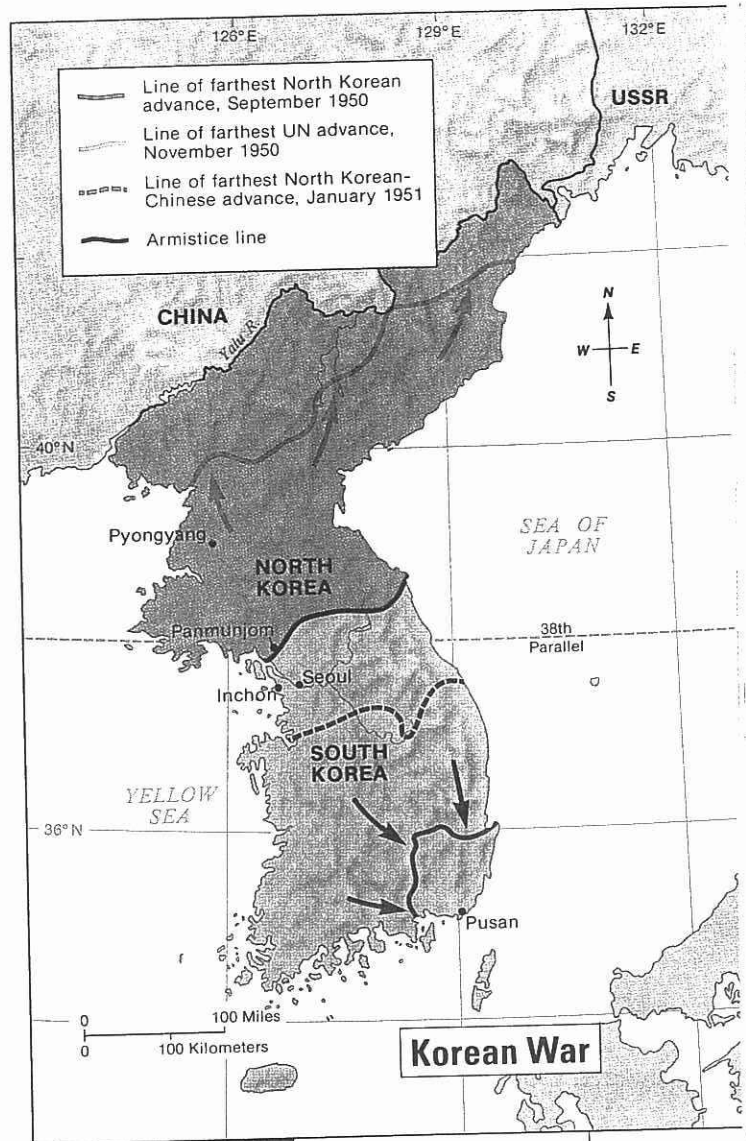
the Soviet Union helped Korean communists gain power in the north. At the same time, the United States backed non-communist Koreans in the south. By 1948, Korea officially split into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or North Korea, and the Republic of Korea, or South Korea.

## War in Korea

After the split, clashes occurred between North Korean and South Korean troops along the 38th parallel. In 1950, North Korea launched an all-out invasion of South Korea to reunite the country by force. Surprised and poorly equipped, South Korean soldiers retreated.

**UN involvement.** The United States and its allies saw the North Korean invasion as part of a worldwide communist threat. China had been taken over by communist forces the year before. The Soviet Union had armed and trained the North Koreans. At the urging of the United States, the United Nations voted to send troops to South Korea. An American general, Douglas MacArthur, took command of the combined UN and South Korean troops. In the end, more than 15 nations sent troops to Korea. American and South Korean soldiers, however, did most of the fighting.

**Effects of War** The war in Korea brought bloodshed to towns and villages in all parts of the Korean peninsula. As this photograph shows, the war and everyday life were closely intertwined. **Power** What were the economic results of the Korean War?



### MAP STUDY

In 1950, communist North Korean armies invaded South Korea. The UN sent an army largely made up of American troops to aid South Korea. After three years of bitter fighting, the war ended in a stalemate.

- Interaction** What geographic features made fighting in the Korean peninsula difficult for both sides?
- Movement** (a) Describe the position of the UN forces' deepest advance into North Korea. (b) Describe the position of North Korea's deepest advance into South Korea.
- Drawing Conclusions** (a) Which side seemed to be winning the war in September 1950? In November 1950? (b) How do you explain this great change?



The fighting seesawed back and forth across the peninsula. At first, the North Koreans pushed deep into the south. Then, UN forces landed behind enemy lines at Inchon and swept into North Korea. At this point, Chinese troops crossed the Yalu River to help North Korea. The Chinese and North Koreans pushed the UN forces back to the south.

**Aftermath of the war.** The war ended in a stalemate. In 1953, both sides finally agreed to an armistice, or an end to fighting. The truce agreement left Korea divided at the 38th parallel, with a demilitarized zone (DMZ) along both sides of the line.

Almost 4 million people died during the Korean War. Many more became refugees. The fighting destroyed factories and farms. In the north, as well as in the once communist-occupied south, heavy bombing by American planes left most cities in ruins.

### South Korea Today

Since the war, South Korea has maintained a large, well-equipped army to prevent another invasion. At the same time, it has built a thriving economy.

**Government.** Fear of invasion, as well as Korea's Confucian heritage, led many Koreans to accept authoritarian rule. South Korea's first president, Syngman Rhee (SHING muhn REE), exercised harsh control over

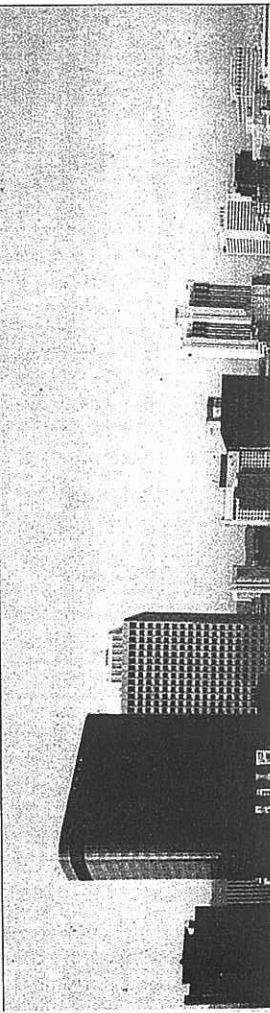
people's lives. He and his successors, beginning with President Park Chung Hee, cracked down hard when South Koreans demanded greater freedom. They believed strong measures were needed to maintain stability and promote rapid economic growth.

Despite this repression, demands for democratic freedoms continued. In 1960, massive protests by students and other groups forced Rhee to resign. In the 1980s, the government gave in to demands for more democratic elections. Today, the government remains powerful and restricts human rights, although opposition groups have won some rights.

**Economic growth.** In 1953, South Korea faced the enormous task of rebuilding its shattered villages and cities. As you have read, it has only limited natural resources. Also, it had to absorb millions of refugees who had fled the fighting or escaped from North Korea. With massive United States aid, South Korea made progress.

Since the 1960s, South Korea's economic success has been spectacular. Today, it ranks with Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore as one of the "four Asian tigers" that have rapidly industrialized.

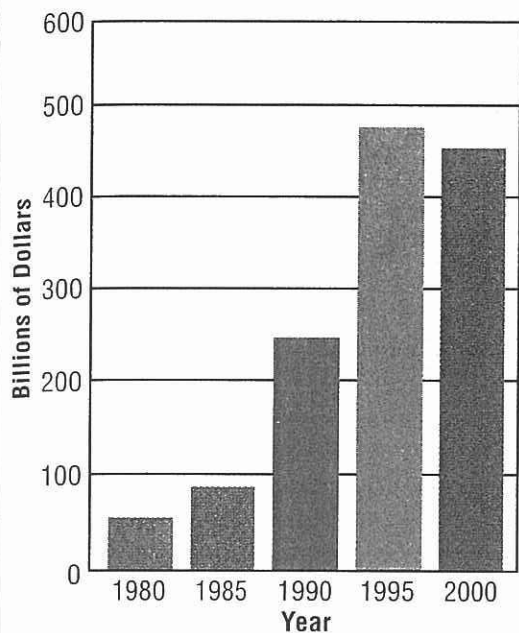
Although South Korea has a free market economy, the government has kept tight control over it. South Korea stresses manufacturing for export. Its skilled work force produces



**Downtown Seoul** Modern buildings surround the South Gate, which dates from the founding of Seoul in the late 1300s. South Korea's capital, which has a metropolitan population of more than 16 million, is the world's fourth-largest

89

## Gross National Product South Korea



Gross national product (GNP) is the total value of goods and services produced by a nation in a year.

Source: Korea National Statistical Office

**Graph Skills** South Korea rebuilt and modernized its economy after the devastating Korean War. Today, South Korea is an industrial nation selling its products around the world. ► According to this bar graph, how did South Korea's GNP in 2000 compare with its 1980 GNP?

export goods such as automobiles, textiles, and electronics. Because its economy depends on imports, exports, and foreign capital, South Korea is closely tied to the global economy.

South Koreans value hard work, discipline, thrift, and organization. These qualities have helped them rapidly expand South Korea's economy in the past 30 years. Economic success has brought a rising standard of living to South Koreans.

Yet, South Koreans have paid a price for progress. Their environment has suffered as South Korea industrialized. Today, chemicals pollute the air and water around Seoul.

The Asian financial crisis which began in 1997 also hurt South Korea. Businesses failed and unemployment rose. However, the government imposed economic reforms which brought recovery in the early 2000s.

**Social change.** Economic progress has brought major social changes. A new middle class has emerged. Industry has drawn large numbers of South Koreans from farms to jobs in urban areas. Today, most South Koreans live in cities.

Urbanization has affected family life. In cities, nuclear families are more common than the traditional extended families. Women have won more rights, and many have taken jobs in factories.

Yet, some traditions remain strong in South Korea. Most Koreans believe in Confucian traditions, such as respect for elders and the importance of education. Koreans enjoy close family ties. Families look after the old and ill at home. Most marriages are still arranged, although usually with the couple's consent.

## North Korea Today

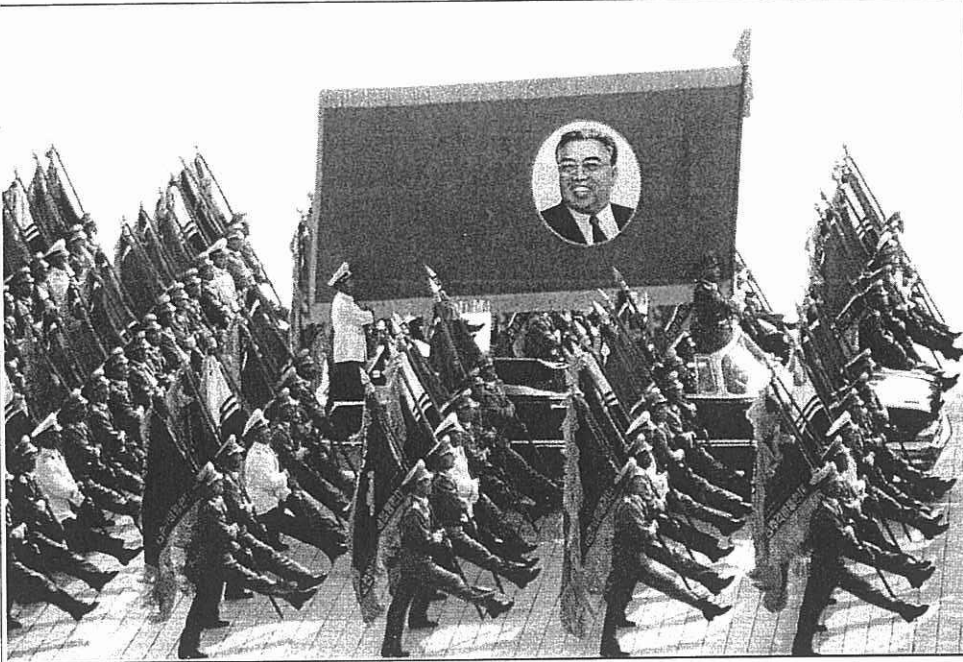
Unlike South Korea, North Korea is a closed society under a communist dictatorship. From 1948 to 1994, Kim Il Sung (kihml ihl soong) built a totalitarian state in North Korea. Through propaganda, North Koreans were taught complete obedience to the man they called "Great Leader."

Kim Il Sung preached *juche* (joo chay), or self-reliance. To achieve this goal, he isolated North Korea, even from other Communist states. To make the country self-sufficient, he built heavy industry for North Korean use only. Today, North Korea imports and exports only a few goods. After Kim died, his son, Kim Jong Il, became ruler and continued similar policies.

North Korea made some economic progress under the Kims. It became more industrialized and urbanized. Yet, its standard of living lagged far behind that in the south.

After 1995, much of this progress was lost. First, floods and drought ruined crops. Inefficiency and a reluctance to admit there were severe food supply problems kept the government from attacking the problem





#### 50 Years of Communist Rule

In 1998, North Korea marked the fiftieth anniversary of its communist government. Despite a widespread famine that gripped the nation, North Korea celebrated the event. Here, soldiers march before a banner honoring North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il. **Political System** How did North Korea become a communist dictatorship?

forcefully. The result was a famine that may have killed millions of people.

The famine exposed North Korea's economic failings. It forced the government to increase trade and permit some foreign investment. Yet, the country's totalitarian rulers remained firmly in control.

### Outlook for the Future

With a common history and culture, most Koreans hope to reunite their land someday. Since the 1990s, the two Koreas have held talks. They have signed a nonaggression pact and set up meetings for some families separated since the Korean War. South Korea also has sent food aid to the north.

However, many obstacles still separate the two Koreas. One of the biggest obstacles is fear and suspicion. Each country believes the other wants to overthrow its government.

More ominously, North Korea has developed nuclear weapons and tested long-range missiles. This nuclear threat worries South Korea, its neighbors, and its allies, such as the United States. North Korea has sold missiles and other weapons to international terrorist groups.

Fear that North Korea will be tempted to use its nuclear weapons led President George W. Bush to label North Korea as part of an "axis of evil, aiming to threaten the peace of the world."

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) 38th parallel, (b) Inchon, (c) Yalu River, (d) Pyongyang, (e) Seoul.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Syngman Rhee, (b) "four Asian tigers," (c) Kim Il Sung, (d) Kim Jong Il.
- 3. Define:** armistice.
- (a) Why did the United States and the Soviet Union divide Korea in 1945? (b) How did the division become permanent?
- How is South Korea linked to the world economy?
- How has economic progress brought social change to South Korea?
- 7. Analyzing Ideas** Why was the North Korean government reluctant to admit that its people were suffering a famine?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write an editorial for or against sending United States troops to Korea in 1950. Consider what might have happened without UN intervention.



## Chapter 18

# GEOGRAPHY AND HERITAGE OF JAPAN



**Imperial Court Official** This Japanese official was a powerful member of the imperial court and a scholar of Chinese literature in the late 800s. Chinese culture greatly influenced Japan during this period. **Fine Art** How does this painting reflect a respect for nature, a common feature in Chinese art?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 A World Apart
- 2 Early History
- 3 Japanese Traditions
- 4 Japan Becomes a World Power

“**T**he Mongols are ready to sail!” Japanese spies sent word from Korea. The Japanese knew that the Mongol emperor Kubilai Khan wanted to add their lands to his empire. They built walls along the coast and placed warriors on alert. They prayed to the *kami*, or spirits, for protection.

In June 1281, the invasion began. For seven weeks, Japanese warriors battled the mighty Mongol fleet. On the fiftieth day, thick clouds blotted out the sun, making the sky as dark as night. A howling typhoon whipped up the coast. For two days, the histories relate,

“The wind blew fiercely, the ... billows surged up to heaven, the thunder rolled and the lightning dashed against the ground so that it seemed as if mountains were crumbling down and high heaven falling to the Earth.”

When the storm quieted, the Mongol fleet lay in ruins. The Japanese rejoiced that the kami had sent a divine wind—a *kami-kaze*—to destroy the invaders. They came to believe that the gods would always protect them from invasion.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

The island nation of Japan sits off the coast of East Asia. It is close enough to feel the influence of China but far enough away to remain independent. During the 1800s, Japan again borrowed foreign ideas when it set out to become a modern industrial power.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Japan's island setting and scarcity of raw materials have affected its relations with the outside world.
- ▶ Geographic isolation helped the Japanese to develop a strong sense of themselves as a separate people.
- ▶ The Japanese have selectively borrowed ideas from other cultures.
- ▶ During the Age of Imperialism, Japan modernized rapidly.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

*The Tale of Genji*, Murasaki Shikibu

"Looking at Mount Fuji in the Distance," Yamabe No Akahito

*The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, Fukuzawa Yukichi

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

## A WORLD APART

### FIND OUT

- What geographic features have shaped Japanese life?
- How has the scarcity of some resources influenced Japan's relations with the world?
- How did the Japanese develop a sense of their own special identity?

According to a Japanese legend, male and female gods created the islands of Japan by throwing a jeweled spear into the sea. The salt water that dripped from the spear hardened to form islands. Only then did the gods descend to Earth and create the rest of the world.

## A Chain of Islands

Japan is an archipelago, or chain of islands, that lies about 100 miles (161 km) off the coast of East Asia. The stormy Korea Strait and the Sea of Japan separate Japan from the mainland. Japan consists of four main islands and more than 3,000 tiny islands. Of the main islands, Kyushu (kee oo shoo) lies closest to Korea and the mainland of Asia. Just east of Kyushu lies tiny Shikoku (SHEE koh koo). Honshu (hahn shoo) is the largest and most populous island. Hokkaido (hoh kī doh), in the north, is the most isolated of the main islands.

In the past, the seas surrounding Japan isolated and protected it from invaders. Yet, when the Japanese chose, they could cross the seas to make contact with other societies. The seas also provided links within Japan. Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku surround a body of water known as the Inland Sea. Sheltered from dangerous Pacific storms, the Inland Sea has served as a major highway between islands.



Location has affected Japanese life in other ways. Japan lies on the Pacific Ring of Fire, a region of earthquakes and volcanoes. (See page 251.) As many as 1,500 tremors shake the islands each year. The islands also contain 30 active volcanoes. Fierce typhoons from the southern Pacific pound the islands from August to October. The Japanese have constant reminders of the menacing forces of nature.

### Landforms and Climate

Japan is a relatively small country. In size, it is equal to the state of Montana, but larger than such European countries as Italy or Great Britain. Its population, however, is large. With more than 125 million people, Japan's population ranks seventh in the world.

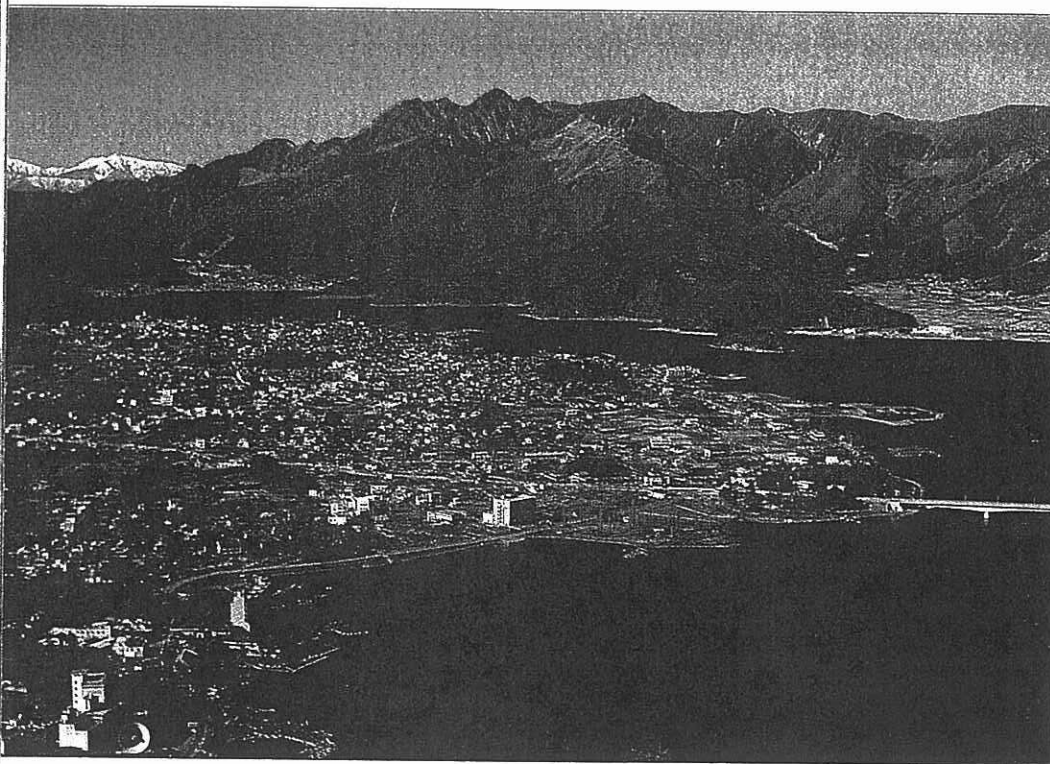
**Mountains and plains.** As in China, Japan's large population is packed onto a tiny fraction of the land. More than four fifths of Japan is mountainous. The rugged terrain limits the amount of arable land to coastal plains and narrow river valleys. As a result, fertile lowland areas such as the Kanto Plain on Honshu are densely populated, with more

than 20,000 people per square mile. By comparison, New York State has a population density of 360 people per square mile.

**Mild climates.** The climates of Japan are similar to those found along the east coast of the United States, but the summers are not as hot nor the winters as cold as they are in the eastern United States. A warm ocean current moderates summer and winter temperatures in most coastal areas. As a result, Japan has a long growing season that averages between 200 and 260 days. In addition, rainfall is plentiful.

**Intensive land use.** The Japanese developed methods of intensive farming, using every available piece of land. To create land, they carved terraces into steep hillsides and drained marshes, swamps, and deltas. A favorable climate helps the Japanese make the most of their limited farmland. In much of Japan, farmers harvest two crops a year.

Japan's major crop is rice. Wet-rice agriculture came to Japan from South China. Like their mainland neighbors, the Japanese have built complex irrigation systems to flood their rice paddies with water. In small, crowded farming villages, people worked together to plant, irrigate, and harvest rice.



**Living Along the Coast** Mountains cover so much of Japan that the country's population must live crowded together in the coastal plains, as shown here. Japan's coast also is dotted with more than 2,000 fishing ports. Their fleets bring the world's largest catch of fish to Japan.  
**Scarcity** Why is fish so important in the Japanese diet?



Those activities gave them a sense of closeness and shared purpose.

Until modern times, the Japanese produced all the food they needed. Today, they produce about three quarters of their food needs, even though only 8 percent of the people work in agriculture. They are successful farmers in part because they have used technology to develop high-yield types of rice.

**Harvests from the sea.** Partly because farmland is so limited, fish is the major source of protein in the Japanese diet. In the rich waters off the coasts, the Japanese catch sardines, tuna, herring, salmon, cod, and halibut. They also raise fish in flooded rice paddies and harvest shellfish and vitamin-rich seaweed in inlets and bays.

### Limited Mineral Resources

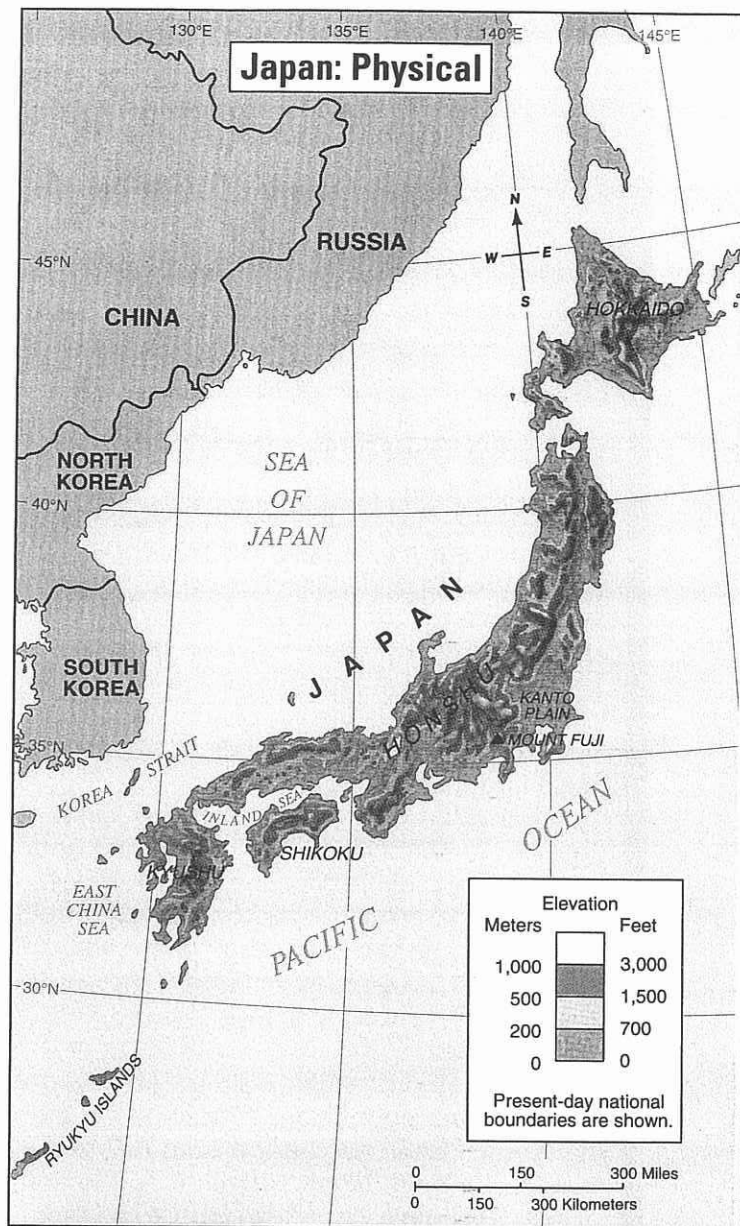
Japan has few mineral resources. Until the late 1800s, this scarcity had little effect on Japan. As a nation of farming and fishing people, it had enough coal, copper, iron, and other resources to meet its needs. As Japan industrialized, however, it needed to import many raw materials. As a result, Japan became increasingly dependent on world trade.

Today, ships from the Philippines, Malaysia, Australia, and India unload iron ore at Japanese ports. From North America, South Africa, and Australia comes coal. Since it has no oil resources, Japan imports nearly all of its oil from nations of the Middle East. As a result, world events that disrupt the flow of oil from the Middle East have threatened and can again threaten Japan's busy industrial economy.

### People of Japan

Japan is a homogeneous society. The people speak the same language and share the same culture. Unlike most nations around the world, Japan has almost no ethnic minorities.

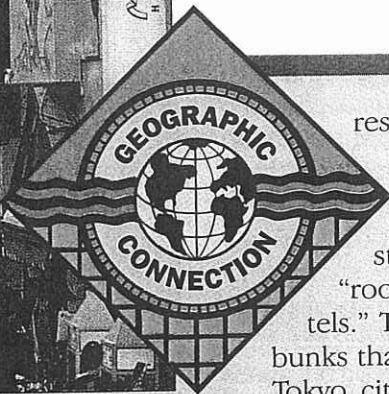
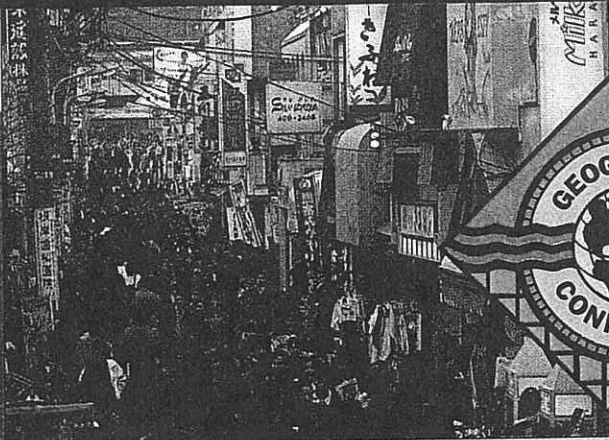
Japan's isolated island setting helped to shape its society and its view of the world. From earliest times, the Japanese had a sense of their own separate, special identity. This sense of specialness has in turn encouraged ethnocentrism. Today, as in the past, the



### MAP STUDY

Japan is an island nation in East Asia. Its four main islands extend about 1,300 miles (2,080 km) along the East Asian mainland. Most of the landscape of Japan's islands is mountainous, with an area of coastal plains.

- 1. Location** (a) Describe the exact location of Japan. (b) Describe the relative location of Japan.
- 2. Place** Rank Japan's main islands by size, from the largest to the smallest.
- 3. Understanding Causes and Effects** (a) As an island nation, how is Japan separated from other nations? (b) How is it linked to other nations?



## Crowded in Tokyo

The alarm clock sounds at 5 A.M. Kirasake Toshiro rises and dresses in a white shirt and blue suit like millions of other commuters who stream into Tokyo each day. Monday through Saturday, he spends six hours a day on high-speed trains traveling to and from work. At every stop along the way, white-gloved station attendants help push passengers into the packed trains.

Like many other city workers, Kirasake must commute because he cannot find or afford comfortable living quarters in Tokyo. Living in Tokyo with his wife and family would mean living in a cramped apartment with no closets. To keep a car in Tokyo, he would have to prove that he had a place to park it off the street.

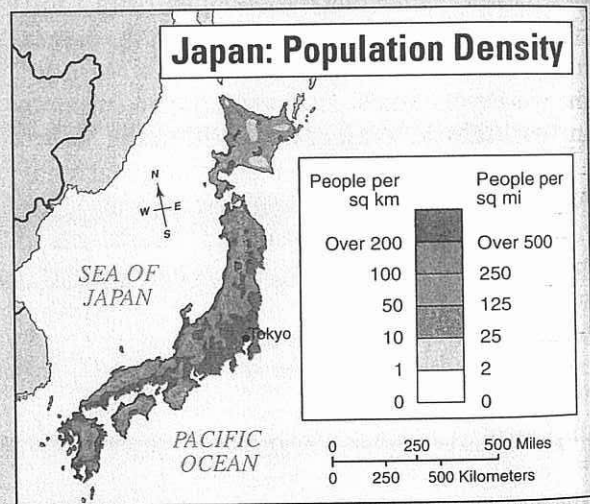
Part of the problem is simply Japan's size and growing population. With less land than California, Japan has a population half that of the entire United States. As an island nation, Japan has little room to expand.

Because most people have jobs in cities, they have been forced to respond resourcefully to overcrowding. On the top of department stores and office buildings, Tokyo

residents practice golf on miniature putting greens or swing at baseballs on tiny fields. When Japanese businessmen must stay overnight in Tokyo, they take "rooms" in inexpensive "capsule hotels." The rooms, in fact, are fiberglass bunks that are built in rows.

Tokyo city planners are discussing solutions. They talk about filling in part of Tokyo Bay. Others want to buy land from the national railroad. Yet, even these proposals can barely keep up with the ever-growing demand for space.

1. Why are some people willing to endure a long commute rather than live in Tokyo?
2. **Solving Problems** Imagine that you are a Tokyo city planner. What recommendations could you make to help relieve overcrowding?



Japanese make a distinction between "we Japanese" and foreigners. They rarely grant citizenship to immigrants. Even Koreans whose families have lived in Japan for generations remain "foreigners."

A strong sense of national identity has strengthened Japan but has also contributed to prejudice against the Ainu and the *bu-*

*rakumin*. The Ainu were early inhabitants of northern Japan who were excluded from Japanese society. The burakumin are descendants of butchers and leather tanners who lived during feudal times. The Buddhist view against the taking of life made the burakumin outcasts. Both the Ainu and the burakumin suffer from discrimination today.

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## SECTION 1 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) Korea Strait, (b) Kyushu, (c) Shikoku, (d) Honshu, (e) Hokkaido, (f) Inland Sea, (g) Kanto Plain.
2. **Identify:** Ainu.
3. Describe two ways in which the seas have affected Japan.
4. How has geography affected population patterns in Japan?
5. How did Japan's island setting influence its sense of itself?
6. **Applying Information** How have the Japanese used technology to make up for limited land?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a sentence summarizing the Japanese attitude toward foreigners. Write another sentence describing what you think is the American attitude toward foreigners. Then, write a generalization comparing the two attitudes.

## 2

### EARLY HISTORY

#### FIND OUT

How did the Japanese adapt Chinese culture to their own needs?

How did a feudal society develop in Japan?

How did centralized feudalism change Japan?

Why did Japan isolate itself from the world during the 1600s?

**Vocabulary** samurai, feudalism, shogun, daimyo

Everyone was talking about the new book, *The Tale of Genji*. As each chapter appeared, members of the court eagerly read the latest episode in the life of young Prince Genji:

“From this time, the young prince took up residence in the Imperial palace; and next year, at the age of seven, he

began to learn to read and write under the personal supervision of the Emperor. . . . Everyone was pleased to greet him, and there was already a winning friendliness in his manners, which amused people, and made them like to play with him. We need not refer to his studies in detail, but on musical instruments such as the flute and the zither he also showed great skill. ”

Murasaki Shikibu, the author of *The Tale of Genji*, had a favorable position at the Japanese court. She completed her book—the world's first novel—around the year 1008. Although *The Tale of Genji* is fiction, it reveals much about the elaborate ceremonies and manners of Japanese court life. By the time of Murasaki, the Japanese had successfully blended ideas borrowed from China to enrich their own culture.

### Early Japanese Society

Life in early Japan was very different from the elegant world of Murasaki Shikibu. The earliest Japanese society was organized into clans, or groups of families descended from a common ancestor. Each family inherited its position within a clan. Some families were warriors. Others might be farmers, weavers, or potters.

By A.D. 400, several clans formed a union and settled in the district called Yamato. They united much of Japan and even governed a small area of southern Korea. The Tenno clan led the union and claimed to be descended from the sun goddess Amaterasu. Through the goddess, legends relate, the Tenno clan received the three symbols of imperial power: a bronze mirror, an iron sword, and a jeweled necklace. In time, the Tenno set up Japan's first and only ruling dynasty. Japan's present emperor traces his descent to the Tenno clan.

### Adapting Chinese Patterns

During the 500s, missionaries from Korea introduced Buddhism and Chinese culture to Japan. They brought Chinese script, which





**Todaiji Temple at Nara** Built to house a colossal statue of the Buddha, this temple was originally constructed in the 700s. It reflects the Chinese influence on Japanese architecture during this period. Later destroyed by fire, the temple was rebuilt in about 1700. It is believed to be the largest wooden building in the world. **Interdependence** How did Japanese culture in the 600s and 700s reflect Chinese influence?

became Japan's first written language. These early contacts with China's advanced civilization impressed the Japanese. Between 550 and 850, they set out on a course of deliberate cultural borrowing from China.

In 607, Prince Shotoku of the imperial family sent a group of Japanese nobles to China. The young men spent years at the Chinese court, studying government, art, literature, science, and philosophy. They returned home eager to share their new knowledge. In the years that followed, other Japanese visited China.

**Cultural diffusion.** Chinese influences reached every level of Japanese life. The Japanese modeled their government on Chinese ideas. They increased the authority of the state and set up elaborate court ranks like those in China. Japanese scholars studied Confucian and Daoist philosophies. In addition, Confucian ideas about family and reverence for ancestors helped shape Japanese society.

Peasants learned to use Chinese tools and farming methods and to raise Chinese crops. Japanese potters and weavers modeled their wares on Chinese samples. The Japanese also absorbed Chinese ideas about music, dance,

sculpture, and architecture. In the past, Japan moved the capital whenever an emperor died. Under Chinese influence, the emperor built a capital city at Nara, modeled on the Tang capital.

**Selective borrowing.** Despite the massive borrowing, the Japanese preserved their own identity. After the first enthusiasm for Chinese ideas faded, the Japanese selected the ideas that worked for them. They tried and then discarded the Chinese civil service system. The idea of choosing officials by merit did not fit the Japanese belief that people inherited their position in society.

The Japanese never accepted the idea of the Mandate of Heaven. (See page 329.) Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese did not change dynasties. To them, the emperor was a divine figure, descended from the sun goddess. The Japanese accepted Buddhism, but they kept their traditional beliefs as well.

## Heian Court

In 794, the emperor moved his court to Heian, present-day Kyoto. At Heian, the Japanese showed their genius for creative adaptation. There, they blended Chinese and Japanese ideas, creating a rich new culture.

**A system of writing.** A major achievement of this new culture was the development of a Japanese system of writing. Chinese script was not well suited to spoken Japanese. In time, the Japanese developed *kana*, a set of written symbols that represent syllables. Although educated Japanese men continued to use Chinese writing, women like Murasaki Shikibu adopted the new system.

**Powerful families.** Although the emperor ruled over a brilliant court at Heian, his power over the country was declining. By the 800s, great court families controlled Japan. They divided the land into private estates, which they assigned to local strongmen. Peasants worked the land on these estates. Slowly, a single family, the Fujiwara (foo jee WAH rah), gained great land wealth and concentrated power in their own hands.

For 200 years, the Fujiwara ruled Japan. The emperor became a figurehead. He carried out religious duties but had no real power. The Fujiwara strengthened their position by marrying their daughters to the heirs to the throne. Other noble families occupied government positions, which they tried to make hereditary. They also devoted them-

selves to the hundreds of ceremonies and festivals that regulated court life. ( See World Literature, "The Pillow Book," by Sei Shonagon, page 430.)

## Japanese Feudalism

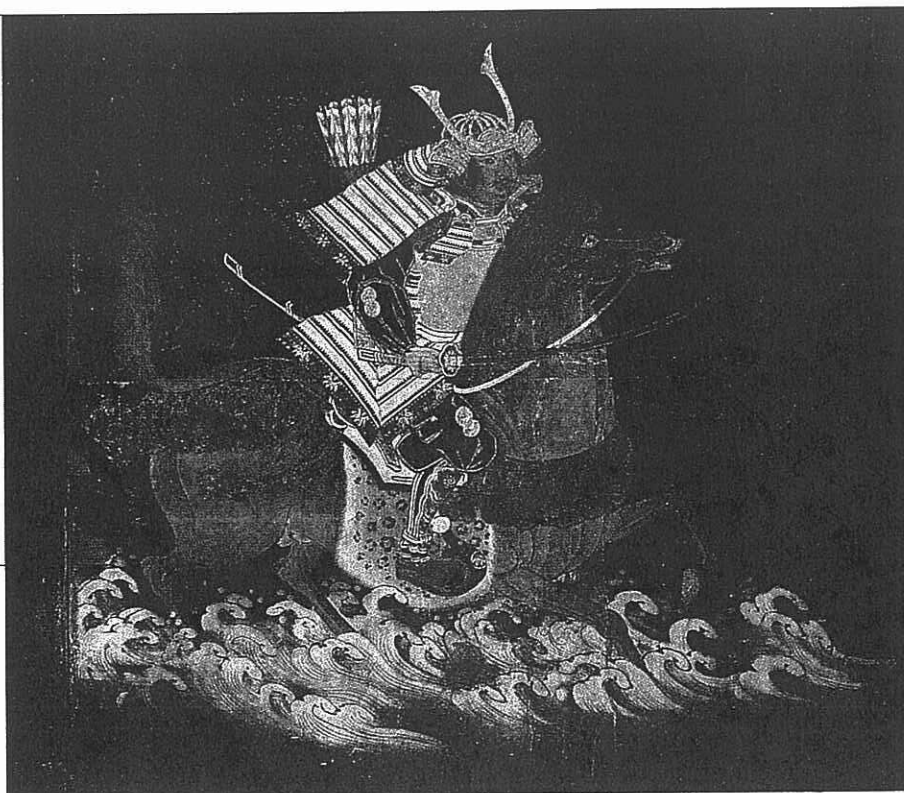
During the 1100s, turmoil rocked Japan. Strong warrior families on the frontier challenged the power of the Heian court. These samurai, or warrior knights, waged fierce battles for control of the land. Out of the struggles emerged a new system of government known as feudalism. Under feudalism, local lords ruled the land, but they were bound to higher lords and to the emperor by ties of loyalty. This pattern was similar in some ways to European feudalism. (See Chapter 29.)

**Feudal society.** By 1192, Minamoto Yoritomo\* had emerged as the strongest military figure in Japan. The emperor gave him the title *shogun*, or chief general of the army. Under Minamoto and his successors, a feudal class system emerged.

\* Traditionally in Japan, family names precede given names.

**Samurai Warrior on Horseback** This samurai in battle was protected by armor made of hide and lacquered iron as well as by a gilt helmet. In his left hand, he carries a bamboo bow, and in his right hand, a steel sword. A samurai regarded his sword as his soul. If he gave up his sword, he was giving up his life.

**Citizenship** Where did the samurai rank in Japanese feudal society?





The emperor stood at the head of feudal society, but he remained a figurehead. The shogun, who was the most powerful samurai, exercised more power. Like other great samurai, the shogun controlled land and the people living on it. Moreover, the shogun commanded an army composed of samurai of lesser rank.

Samurai of all ranks formed a small class of noble warriors that dominated feudal society. Below them were commoners including peasants, artisans, and merchants. Peasants worked the land for the great samurai, providing wealth to support the nobility. Sometimes, peasants served as foot soldiers.

**Frequent warfare.** In theory, the shogun commanded the complete loyalty of his lords. In practice, these samurai lords and their followers battled for power with the shogun and with one another. At times, the shogunate passed from one military family to another. By the 1400s, Japan was in a constant state of war.

## Achieving Unity

During the 1500s, several strong military leaders pushed to reunite Japan. The most successful was an able general, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (hee day YOH shee). By 1590, he had converted his rivals into his subordinates and brought all of Japan under his control. He then invaded Korea, hoping in time to conquer China. Although Hideyoshi failed in these goals, he did build the foundations for a united Japan.

**Centralized feudalism.** In 1600, Hideyoshi's successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu (toh kuh GAH way ee YAY yah soo), claimed the title of shogun. He set up the Tokugawa shogunate, which lasted until 1868. During that time, the shoguns created a peaceful, orderly society under a system of centralized feudalism.

The Tokugawa shoguns left feudal classes in place, but they brought the great samurai, now called daimyo (DI myoh), under their control. The shogun required the daimyo to spend every other year in Edo, present-day Tokyo. To guarantee their good behavior, the

daimyo had to leave their wives and children in Edo as permanent hostages. Meanwhile, the emperor remained a powerless figurehead ruler at his palace.

**Economic and social changes.** The new system of centralized feudalism brought unexpected changes. Edo grew from a small fishing village into a bustling city. Roads improved as the daimyo and their servants traveled back and forth between Edo and their estates in the country.

More peaceful conditions led to increased trade and travel on rivers or roads. Cities and towns sprang up by harbors and along the roads to provide goods and services to travelers. The growth of cities created new markets. During this period of expansion, a money economy developed. Some merchants became rich through trade. Many set up banks to lend money at interest.

The daimyo and their samurai followers had to adapt to the changing conditions. Under the Tokugawas, this military class no longer spent its time fighting as it had in the past. Some samurai became government officials. Others managed the estates of the daimyo or shogun. As Japanese society changed, education became more widespread. The children of wealthy merchants, as well as those of samurai, began to attend school.

By the early 1800s, Japan had become a unified nation in many ways. In addition, the expansion of trade created economic links within Japan.

## An Isolated Nation

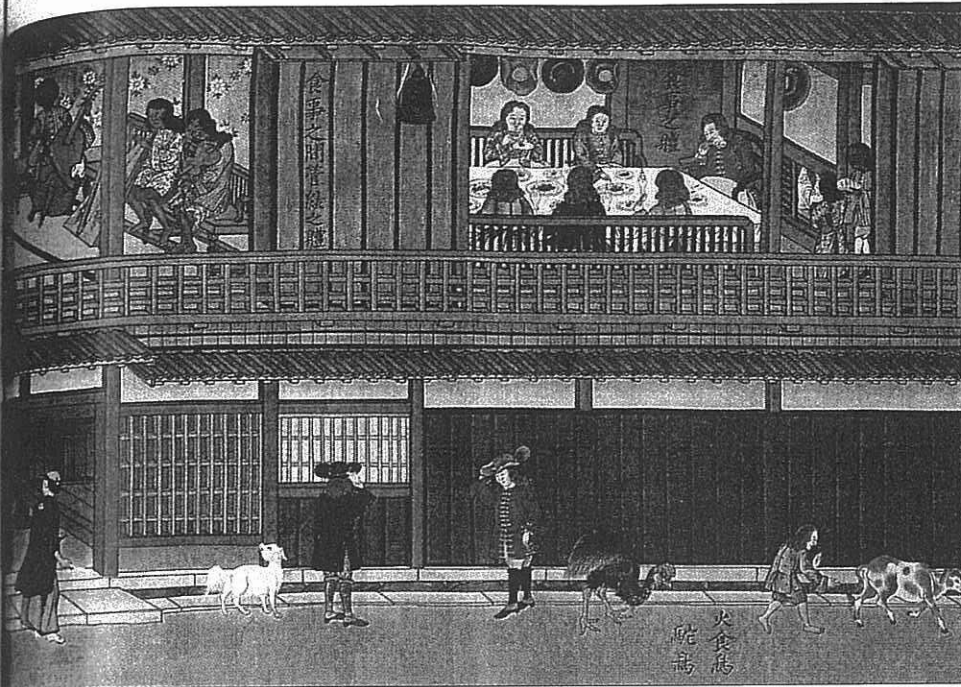
These changes occurred during a remarkable period of isolation. Early on, the Tokugawas felt threatened by the growing number of westerners who were arriving in Japan. The Portuguese had reached Japan in 1543. Spanish, Dutch, and English traders soon followed. An active trade arose—Chinese silk and European firearms, textiles, and glassware for Japanese copper and silver.

Along with traders came Catholic missionaries. Their success in winning converts an-



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**Dutch Traders in Nagasaki** Japan's isolation in the 1600s and 1700s was never complete. Foreigners continued to interest the Japanese. This scroll shows Dutch merchants dining, at upper right, while servants entertain other merchants with music, at upper left. On the street below is a turkey, an animal that the Dutch brought to Japan. **Choice** Why did Japan keep out most foreigners for two centuries?

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

gered the shogun. He did not want Japanese Christians to pledge loyalty to a foreign ruler—the pope. The shogun's hostility to Catholic countries increased when he heard about the Spanish conquest of the Philippines. He acted to protect Japan from a similar fate.

During the early 1600s, the government began persecuting foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians. This anti-Christian drive grew into a general expulsion of foreigners. In 1639, the shogun closed Japan to the world. Foreigners were forbidden to enter the country. Any Japanese who left the islands could not return. The government even outlawed the building of oceangoing vessels.

The isolation was not complete, however. The government did permit a few contacts with Korea and China. The Dutch, too, were allowed to keep a tiny trading post at Nagasaki. Two ships a year could unload their goods there.

Like Korea, Japan enforced its policy of isolation for 200 years. By the mid-1800s, however, the United States and the industrialized nations of Europe had begun to pressure Japan to open its ports to the world.

- Identify:** (a) Tenno, (b) Prince Shotoku, (c) Heian, (d) kana, (e) Fujiwara, (f) Minamoto Yoritomo, (g) Hideyoshi, (h) Tokugawa Iyasu.
- Define:** (a) samurai, (b) feudalism, (c) shogun, (d) daimyo.
- (a) List three ways in which Chinese culture influenced Japan. (b) Give one example of how the Japanese adapted Chinese culture to their own traditions.
- Describe the structure of Japanese feudal society.
- How did the Tokugawa shoguns isolate Japan?
- Understanding Causes and Effects** (a) Why did the Tokugawa shoguns create the system of centralized feudalism? (b) How did this system produce economic and social changes?
- Writing Across Cultures** Like Japan, the United States has borrowed ideas from other cultures. List four examples of American cultural borrowing. Describe how each idea or item has been adapted to American use.

## JAPANESE TRADITIONS

### FIND OUT

- What religious traditions shaped Japanese culture?
- How did Confucian ideas influence the Japanese?
- What values governed relationships in feudal Japan?

**Vocabulary** bushido

**M**ount Fuji, Japan's highest mountain, soars 12,389 feet (3,776 m) into the air. On one side, it rises directly from the sea. To the early Japanese, Mount Fuji was a sacred place, linking heaven and Earth. Japanese poet Yamabe No Akahito celebrated the beauty of the mountain in his poem "Looking at Mount Fuji in the Distance":

“ Since heaven and Earth parted,  
godlike, lofty, and noble  
in Suruga, Fuji the lofty peak—  
as I turn and look at the Plain of Heaven,  
the light of the coursing sun is hidden  
behind it,  
the shining moon's rays can't be seen,  
white clouds can't move, blocked  
and regardless of time, the snow's  
falling. ”

Respect for the beauty and power of nature is central to Japanese culture. These ideas are closely linked to Japan's religious traditions.

### Religious Traditions

Two religious traditions, Shinto and Buddhism, have influenced the beliefs and practices of the Japanese. Because each religion met different needs, many Japanese followed both Shinto and Buddhist practices. Although it was not a religion, Confucianism also

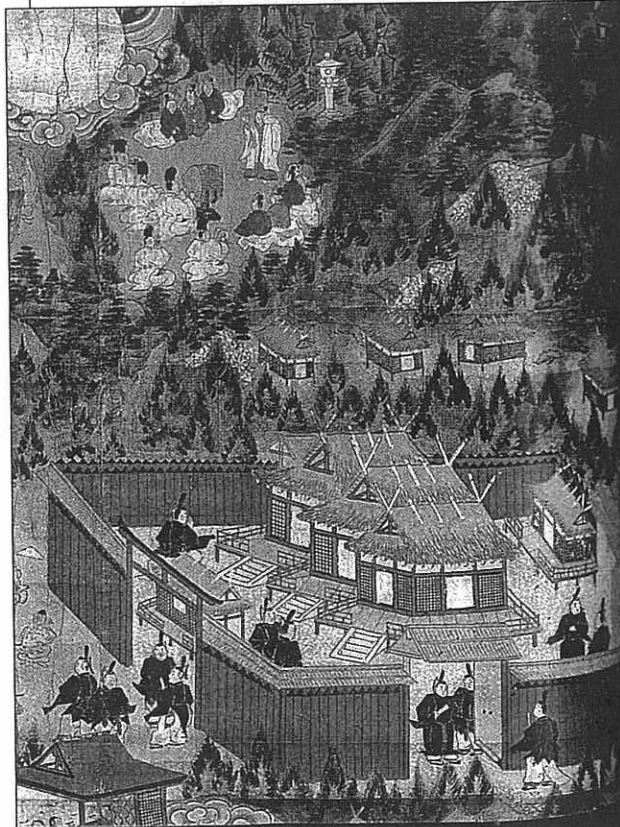
helped to shape Japanese ethics, or beliefs about right and wrong.

**Shinto.** Like many religions of early peoples, Shinto has neither sacred writings nor an organized set of beliefs. For centuries, it did not even have a name. When Buddhist missionaries reached Japan, it was they who called the local Japanese beliefs Shinto, or “the way of the gods.”

The early Japanese believed that spirits, or kami, lived in everything from plants and animals to rocks and mountains. Spirits also controlled natural forces such as earthquakes and typhoons. Through prayer and offerings, the Japanese tried to win the favor of the kami. Peasants, for example, appealed to friendly spirits to send good harvests.

Shinto created a link between people and the awesome forces of nature. Shared beliefs

**Shinto Shrine at Ise** This temple complex dates from very early times. The Shinto shrine was dedicated to the sun goddess. Japanese emperors journeyed here to perform rites designed to ensure the nation's prosperity. Like most early temples, this shrine was constructed of wood. **Culture** What was the relationship between the sun goddess and the imperial family?





in the gods encouraged a sense of closeness among people and later helped to unite all of Japan. Shinto did not, however, answer questions about life after death or proper behavior. The Japanese had to turn to other religious traditions to find the answers to those questions.

**Buddhism.** In 552, the first of many Buddhist missionaries arrived in Japan. Buddhism gave the Japanese a new set of beliefs. It taught them about the cycle of birth and rebirth and the goal of enlightenment. It also taught that people could move closer to salvation through meditation and good deeds. Buddhism supported virtues such as friendliness and compassion.

By the time Buddhism reached Japan, it had divided into many sects. Commoners favored a sect that believed anyone could enter paradise through faith. The samurai followed Zen Buddhism, which came from China during the 1100s and 1200s. Zen Buddhism emphasized meditation and self-discipline as the way to achieve salvation. To the samurai, it offered a way to develop the mental and physical self-control that their way of life demanded. Zen also had a lasting influence on Japanese art, as you will read in Chapter 19.

**Confucianism.** Japanese visitors to China studied Confucian ideas. The Japanese adopted Confucian teachings about the five basic relationships and the duties and obligations of superior and inferior persons. (See page 330.) During the late 1600s, the Tokugawa shoguns placed new emphasis on the Confucian values of filial piety and loyalty to the ruler. Those ideas supported their efforts to unite Japan. The Tokugawa also stressed other Confucian virtues, such as hard work and the importance of education.

## Family

Confucian traditions guided Japanese family life. Men were superior to women. Older brothers outranked their younger brothers. Family members owed complete obedience to the head of the household. His duty, in turn, was to provide for the family, give moral leadership, and protect the family honor.



**In the Kitchen** One woman cares for a child, while the other prepares the family's meal. Though considered to be socially inferior, Japanese women performed vital labor. Only women raised silkworms and wove silk cloth. They also worked in rice fields and on tea plantations. Some operated shops, small hotels, and teahouses.

**Human Rights** How was the role of women in Japan similar to that of women in China?

A man chose an heir, usually his eldest son, to succeed him. If he did not have a son, he might adopt an heir. That person might be his son-in-law or even the child of another family. An adopted son took his new family's name and honored its ancestors as his own.

**Marriage.** The head of the family arranged marriages for his children as well as for unmarried brothers and sisters. Marriages were family alliances, not love matches. At the time of marriage, a young woman became a part of her husband's family. Like an adopted child, she was expected to be loyal to her new family.

After marriage, a younger son might set up a separate branch of the family, but only with his family's permission. Although he might live apart in his own household, he shared the same ancestors and usually followed the same occupation as other family members.



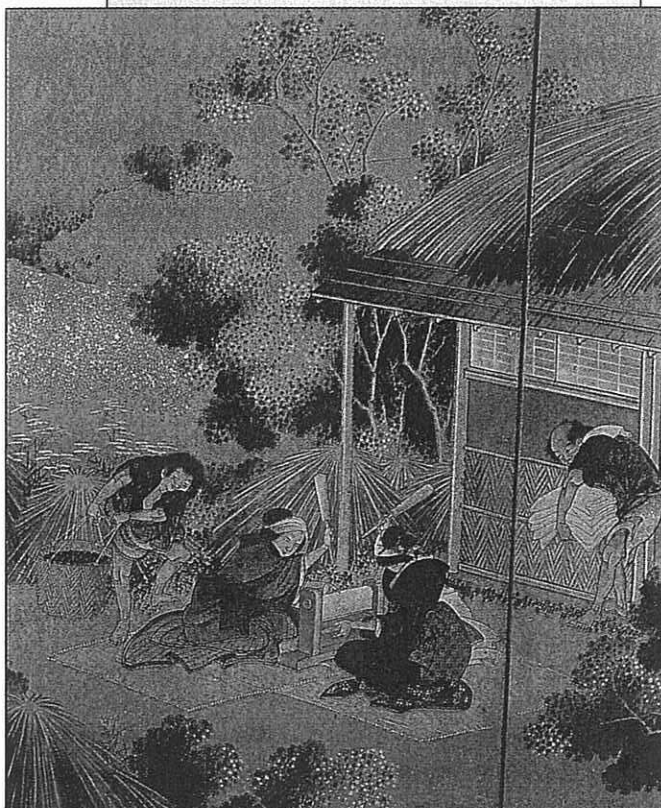
**Women.** In ancient Japan, women had certain rights. Early records suggest that some clans had women leaders. Women could inherit property, and there were periods when empresses ruled Japan. As Confucian beliefs became more widespread, however, the status of women gradually declined.

At the Heian court, women still exercised some influence. Women like Murasaki Shikibu could read and write. In her diary, Murasaki recorded that she could read ancient Chinese texts faster than her brother. "If only you were a boy," sighed her father.

The frequent warfare of the feudal period brought great hardships to women. Because feudal Japan relied on men to fight, women were ignored. The wives of samurai were expected to show the same bravery and discipline as their husbands. Further, they had to

**Hard at Work** These two women use a special device to prepare cotton for spinning, while the man at right carries bundles of cotton fiber. At the time this screen was painted, in the 1800s, many artisans belonged to craft guilds. These guilds limited the production of cloth and regulated prices.

**Technology** Look at the pictures in this chapter and list other kinds of work artisans performed.



sacrifice their comforts to serve their husbands and his lord.

## Feudal Traditions

Like the Chinese, the Japanese stressed loyalty to the family. However, they put a different emphasis on that bond. In China, loyalty to the family came before all other ties. In Japan, loyalty to one's feudal lord overshadowed family ties.

For more than 700 years, feudalism shaped Japanese society. Just as everyone in a family had a rank and duties to fulfill, so every class in feudal society had its rank and certain responsibilities.

**Bushido.** Throughout the centuries, the samurai class developed a code of behavior that came to be called *bushido* (BOO-shee doh), "the way of the warrior." Bushido governed the relationship between a lord and his samurai. It emphasized loyalty above all else. A samurai supported his lord during times of both war and peace.

Bushido encouraged respect for other military virtues such as bravery, self-discipline, and honor. If a warrior brought dishonor to his lord or to his family, he was expected to perform an honorable penalty, that is, to commit *seppuku* (seh POO koo), or ritual suicide. In one tragic event in feudal Japan, 47 loyal samurai committed seppuku after killing the official who had wronged their feudal lord. Today, thousands of Japanese still visit the graves of these highly honored samurai.

**Other feudal values.** Although feudal culture emphasized military service and personal loyalty, the samurai were more than warriors. Especially during the Tokugawa era, samurai respected education and took pride in their artistic abilities. Samurai, for example, wrote poetry and spent hours producing fine calligraphy.

## Lives of Commoners

In Tokugawa Japan, everyone had a well-defined place. Each of the three classes of commoners—peasants, artisans, and merchants—played a role within the larger social order. Peasants played a key role by supporting the

samurai class. Artisans and merchants had lower status, but contributed to the economy.

The growing prosperity the Japanese experienced under the Tokugawa shoguns allowed some commoners to grow rich. Yet wealth did not improve a family's status. Nobles expected even wealthy peasants to show respect for people of higher rank. As daimyo and their samurai traveled to Edo, peasants along the road had to bow low. In 1649, the government issued an order forbidding peasants to wear silk clothes. Also, only nobles could carry two swords.

Artisans and merchants also had to show respect for their superiors. Merchants paid an annual fee to a daimyo, who, in turn, gave them permission to do business on their land. The daimyo also agreed to protect merchants during times of war.

Wealthy merchants could spend their money on luxuries and entertainment, though not on silk clothes. Some rich merchants married their daughters into the families of poor samurai. In that way, they tried to rise in society. The shoguns disapproved of such changes, however. As a result, they passed laws to protect the old social order.

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Shinto, (b) Zen Buddhism, (c) seppuku.
- 2. Define:** bushido.
- 3.** (a) What were the basic beliefs of Shinto? (b) How did Buddhist sects followed by commoners and samurai differ?
- 4.** How did Confucianism affect the Japanese family?
- 5.** (a) What values did the samurai respect? (b) What restrictions governed the lives of commoners?
- 6. Synthesizing Information** Choose three values or traditions and describe how they helped to ensure order in Japanese society.
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Make a list of 10 qualities that were admired in feudal Japan. Place a check beside the three that you think were most important. Then, rank these qualities in order of their importance in modern American society.

## 4

# JAPAN BECOMES A WORLD POWER

### FIND OUT

Why was Japan able to modernize rapidly after 1868?

How did Japan build an overseas empire?

How did Japanese expansion lead to war?

**Vocabulary** zaibatsu, militarism

Japanese leaders were expecting the foreigners. In 1853, four American warships anchored in Tokyo Bay. The American commander demanded that Japan open its ports to trade. Some Japanese favored upholding strict isolation. Others, like Lord Koroda, urged that Japan learn from the foreigners:

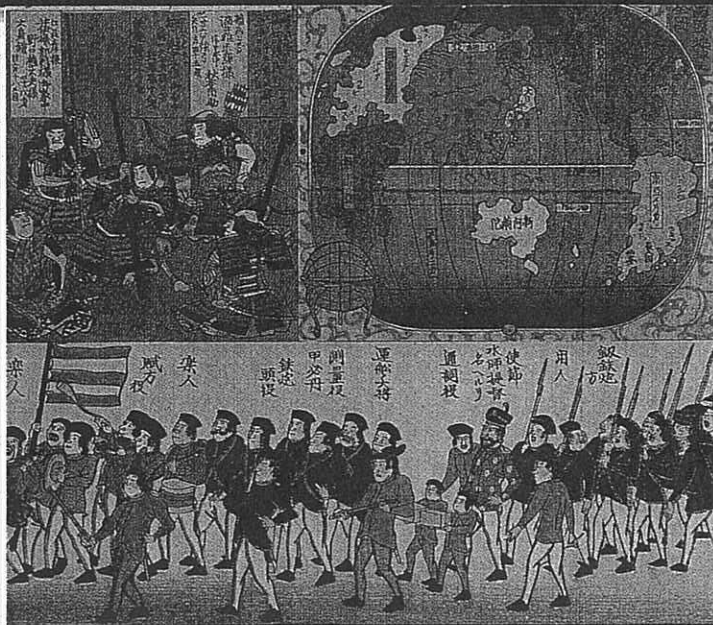
“The condition of foreign states is not what it once was; they have invented the steamship and introduced radical changes in the art of navigation. They have also built up their armies . . . and risen to be formidable powers. If, therefore, we persistently cling to our outdated systems, heaven only knows what disaster may befall our Empire.”

Under outside pressure, Japan finally ended 200 years of isolation. To defend itself against the foreigners, Japan chose to modernize by adapting western technology. As they had done over 1,000 years before (see page 394), the Japanese went abroad with the aim of borrowing from other cultures.

### An End to Isolation

By the mid-1800s, western nations were competing to expand trade in Asia. In 1853, the United States sent a fleet commanded by





**Perry's Visit** A Japanese artist created this print to commemorate the American expedition of 1853. Below the world map, on which North America is labeled as California, is a procession of Americans. Admiral Perry, wearing a green polka-dot shirt, strides behind musicians and the ship's crew.

**Power** Why did the shogun sign a treaty with the United States?

Commodore Matthew Perry. Perry's goal was to force Japan to end its policy of isolation.

**Unequal treaties.** The Japanese realized that their weapons were no match for Perry's cannons and steam-powered warships. In 1854, the shogun signed the Treaty of Kanagawa with the United States. It granted American ships the right to stop at two Japanese ports for supplies. It also gave the United States the right to send a diplomatic representative to Japan.

Before long, the United States and other western nations won additional rights. Like China, Japan had to sign "unequal treaties." Under these agreements, Japan had to give foreigners extensive trading rights as well as the right of extraterritoriality. (See page 345.) Many Japanese were angry that their leaders had signed these treaties.

**Growing unrest.** Even before Perry's arrival, people of all classes had become unhappy with Tokugawa rule. Wealthy merchants resented the strict laws that kept them in a lowly

social position. At the same time, the growing money economy hurt the samurai class. To get more money, many samurai increased the taxes their peasants had to pay. High taxes only added to the general discontent.

Reform-minded samurai looked to the emperor at Kyoto as a symbol of a new order. They urged him to take his rightful place as Japan's ruler. In this atmosphere, feelings against foreigners and the shogun grew. Reformers took up the battle cry, "Honor the emperor and expel the barbarians."

**Meiji restoration.** In 1868, rebels forced the shogun to step down. They then restored the emperor to power. The 15-year-old emperor moved from Kyoto, the old imperial capital, to Tokyo, where the shogun had ruled. He called his reign Meiji (may jee), meaning "enlightened rule."

Under the Meiji restoration, samurai reformers set Japan on a new course. They realized that Japan had to modernize before it could "expel the barbarians." Their new motto became, "Enrich the country, strengthen the military." Meiji reformers then sent hundreds of Japanese to Europe and the United States to study western government, industry, and military organization.

## Up Close

### A Visit to the "Western Barbarians"

“ Even high-ranking officials do not show contempt towards men of lower classes. Neither do they act in a domineering manner. Therefore the ordinary people need not flatter high officials. ”

The lack of strict social class divisions surprised early Japanese visitors to the United States. In their diaries, they recorded this and other responses to the unfamiliar culture. Their comments reveal as much about themselves as about their hosts.



**Notes on the president.** In 1860, the president of the United States, James Buchanan, received the samurai diplomats on their first visit to the West. The Japanese noted that he “wore a simple black costume of coat and trousers in the same fashion as any merchant and had no decoration or sword on him.” Some of the visitors approved of this informality. At the same time, they were amazed by the Americans’ lack of respect for their founders. One young scholar, Fukuzawa Yukichi, noted:

“One day, on a sudden thought, I asked a gentleman where the descendants of George Washington might be. He replied, ‘I think there is a woman who is directly descended from Washington. I don’t know where she is now, but I think I have heard she is married.’ His answer was so very casual that it shocked me.”

**Manners and customs.** American social customs both bewildered and amused the visitors. At a hotel, they noticed that the floor was covered with “valuable carpets and rugs, which in Japan only the wealthy could buy.” Yet Americans walked on this valuable carpet without removing their shoes! The Japanese also attended dances, where “the ladies and gentlemen seemed to be hopping about the room together.” The visitors could barely keep from laughing at the hilarious sight, but they did not wish to appear rude.

**Studying industry.** Of course, a major purpose of the visit was to observe modern industry. At factories, the Japanese watched in awe as steam-powered machines cranked out goods. “The introduction of such machinery into our country,” wrote a young Japanese, “would contribute greatly to the enhancement of our national interests.”

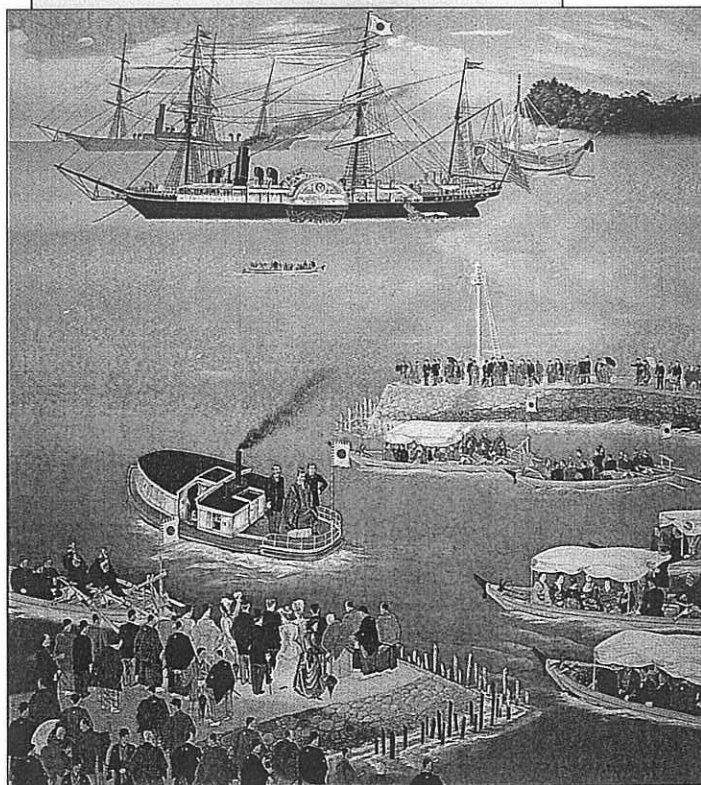
Fukuzawa admired much of what he saw, but he was shocked at the enormous waste of iron:

“In garbage piles, on the seashores—everywhere—I found lying old oil tins, empty cans, and broken tools.”

This was remarkable to us, for in Edo, after a fire, there would be hundreds of poor people swarming in the ruined district, looking for nails in the charred wood, so valuable was metal in Japan.”

Although they appreciated many American achievements, the Japanese ambassador himself noted that Americans lacked etiquette. “We had not entirely been wrong to call them western barbarians,” he wrote. Still, he added, “I would forgive their impoliteness because of their friendliness.”

**Departing for the West** This Japanese trade mission, shown here leaving Yokohama in 1871, spent nearly two years in Britain. A member of this mission described London in these words: “Black smoke rises to the sky from every possible kind of factory. . . . This is a sufficient explanation of England’s wealth and strength.” **Choice** Why did the Meiji government send missions abroad to study western ways?



## Government Under the Meiji

Meiji leaders wanted to create a strong central government. They convinced the feudal lords to give up their power and return their lands to the state. In exchange, the daimyo received high positions in government.

The reformers wrote a constitution, which the emperor presented to the people in 1889. The constitution adapted western ideas to Japanese needs. It preserved the idea of imperial rule, however, and gave the emperor great power. At the same time, the constitution set up a two-house Diet, or parliament, modeled on the German system. The Diet had limited power, however.

Other reforms included a court and legal system that was based on European ideas. New laws abolished torture and set out rules regarding evidence and court procedures. The government also organized departments,

such as ministries of education, finance, and the military. These departments undertook ambitious policies to increase education, set up a new tax system, and strengthen the military.

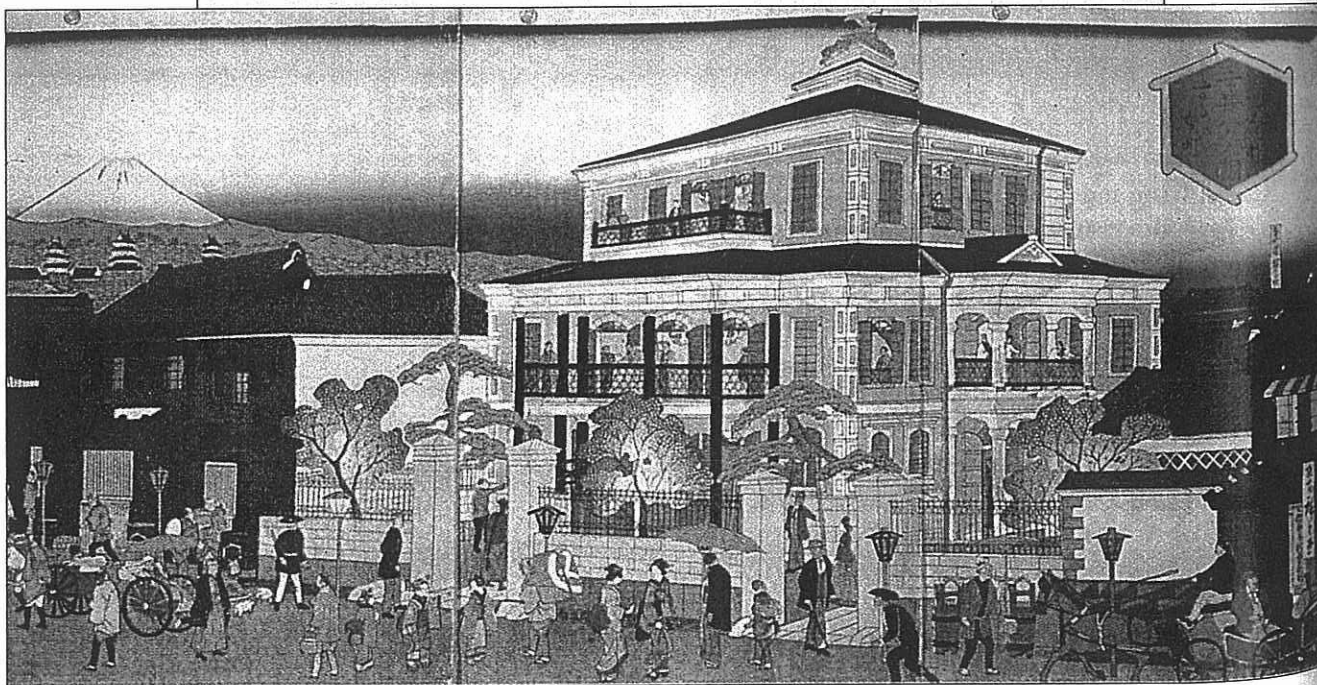
The new government was not intended to bring democracy to Japan. Its goal was to unite Japan and make it the equal of western powers.

## Economic Modernization

While strengthening the government, the Meiji reformers also worked to modernize Japan's economy. They realized that Japan could compete with western powers only by industrializing.

To learn new technologies, Japanese students visited factories and shipyards in the West. Japan also invited foreign engineers and other experts to teach its people how to build railroads and make machines such as

**Mitsui Bank in Tokyo** After the Meiji restoration, the Mitsui family received permission to establish Japan's first private bank. Out of this main building in Tokyo, it operated 30 branches. This bank became the cornerstone of Mitsui, one of the most powerful companies in Japan. **Change** Why did Japan need to develop a modern banking system in order to build an industrial economy?





steam engines. The government improved ports, built weapons factories, and set up modern transportation and communications systems.

**Need for capital.** To raise money, the government continued to tax peasants and borrow from merchants. In addition, a natural disaster gave the economy an unexpected boost. During the 1860s, disease destroyed most of the silkworms in Europe. As a result, silk prices soared, and the Japanese silk industry boomed. Japanese silk makers used their profits to mechanize silk factories. Even after the European silk industry recovered, silk remained Japan's leading export.

The government aided industrial growth by building and equipping many factories and mills. To raise money for more reforms, it later sold these plants to private owners. While some business leaders were commoners, the most influential leaders came from former samurai families.

**Zaibatsu.** With government help, powerful families used traditional ties of loyalty and modern business methods to build huge companies. These large family organizations became known as zaibatsu (zi baht soo). By the late 1800s, zaibatsu controlled large parts of the economy.

The government encouraged cooperation rather than competition among companies. For example, Mitsubishi, a successful shipping company, merged with Mitsui in 1885. The giant new company that resulted could now compete with western shipping interests.

## Social Changes

The Meiji reformers believed that modernization should include social changes. They abolished feudal classes and made everyone equal before the law. Samurai were forbidden to wear swords, a traditional symbol of their special privileges. Other laws required all men, rather than just the sons of samurai, to serve in the military.

Industrialization brought many changes to Japan. Millions of people moved from rural farms to take jobs in the cities. Many women began to work outside their homes, earning

money in factories. By the early 1900s, almost half of all factory workers were women.

The government required all children to attend elementary school. Some went on to high school and college. As literacy increased, so did the number of newspapers and magazines. The press gained influence in shaping public opinion. New political parties were formed, and Japan took steps toward making its government more democratic. In the late 1800s, less than 4 percent of adults had the right to vote. By 1925, all Japanese men had that right. (Women did not win the right to vote until 1947.)

## Japanese Expansion in Asia

By 1900, Japan had become a modern industrial nation. In a short time, it had rapidly absorbed western technology and built a well-governed society. Japan's rapid success was due in part to its strong sense of national unity and its tradition of self-sacrifice and hard work. These changes enabled Japan to negotiate new agreements with western nations, replacing the "unequal treaties" of the past.

**Rivalry over Korea.** Following the example of western nations, Japan set out to gain an overseas empire. It competed with China and Russia for influence in Korea. In 1895, Japan defeated China in a war and forced the Chinese to give up their claims to Korea. Japan also gained Taiwan, known as Formosa, and won the same special privileges in China that western nations enjoyed.

In 1904–05, Japan fought Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese victory stunned western nations. For the first time in modern history, an Asian nation had defeated a major European power. The treaty ending the war forced Russia to leave Korea and gave Japan a foothold in Manchuria.

**Benefits of expansion.** By expanding, Japan sought equal political standing with western powers. It also gained scarce raw materials for its industries. These included coal and iron from China. During World War I, Japan took over Germany's holdings in northern China, setting the stage for further expansion.



## Growth of Extreme Nationalism

During the 1920s, Japan benefited from years of peace and prosperity. Business leaders favored strengthening Japan by peaceful means rather than by military expansion. As a result, Japan backed international efforts to ensure world peace. It signed agreements with the United States and Britain to limit the size of their navies. Japan also reduced the size of its army.

**Effects of depression.** In 1929, the Great Depression began in the United States and spread around the world. Japan was also hit by this worldwide economic slowdown. Japan's prosperity depended heavily on trade, but the depression forced other countries to cut back on imports. In addition, many countries raised tariffs on imports to protect their own industries. Between 1929 and 1931, the value of Japanese exports fell by 50 percent. As Japan's trade declined, factories closed and unemployment rose.

The government's failure to solve the crisis led to domestic unrest. As elsewhere, extremist groups attracted large followings. In Japan, extreme nationalists argued that Japan should not have stopped its overseas expansion. They pointed out that western powers had grabbed a large part of the world. They also bitterly criticized the exclusion of Japanese immigrants by nations such as Australia and the United States.

**Military dictatorship.** Backed by extreme nationalists, military leaders, who had held a respected place in Japanese society since the days of the samurai, gained more power. In 1931, a group of army officers created a crisis in Manchuria, a province of China. They then used the crisis as an excuse to seize the entire region. Most Japanese approved of the conquest of Manchuria. When the prime minister opposed the move, he was assassinated.

During the 1930s, Japan gradually became a military dictatorship. The new leaders promoted **militarism**, the glorification of the military and a readiness for war. Military officers revived samurai traditions and emphasized loyalty to the emperor, Hirohito. They encouraged people to believe that Japan had

a special mission in the world—to free Asian nations from western imperialism.

## The War in the Pacific

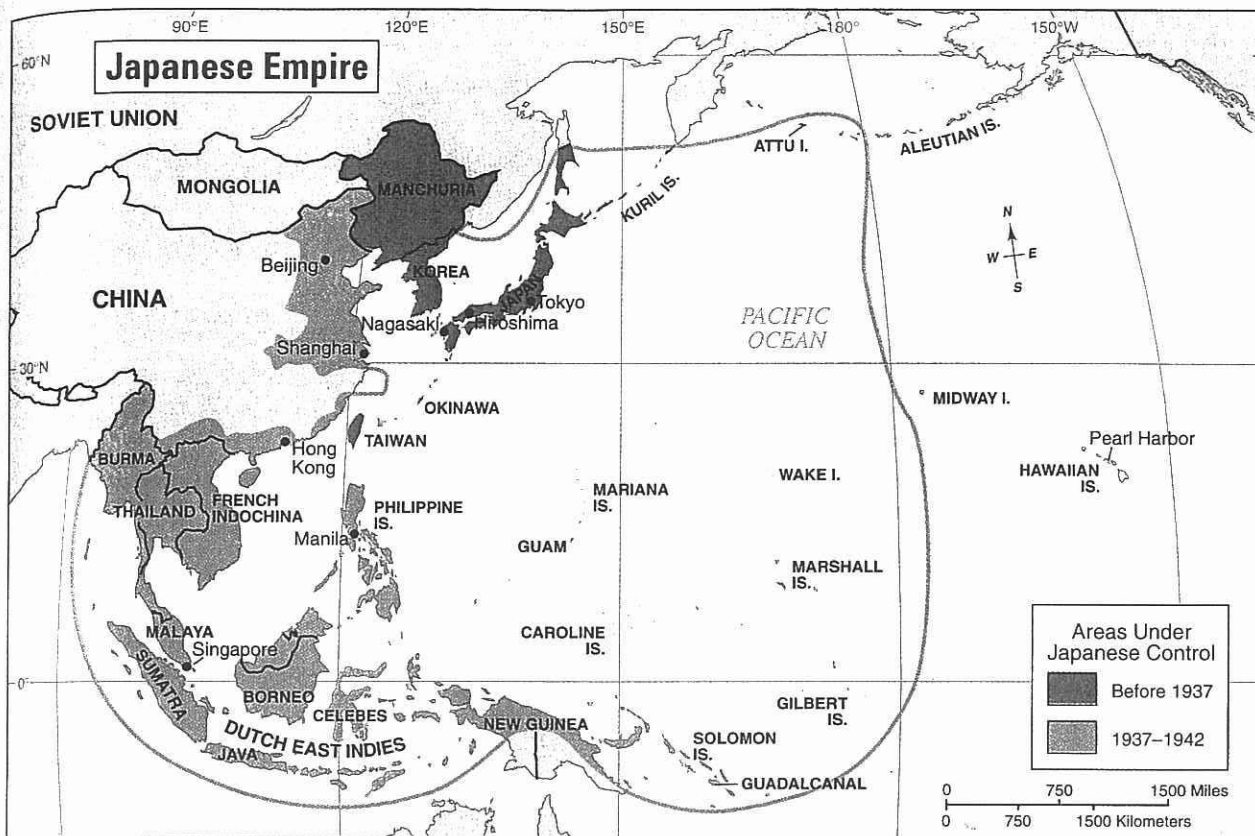
During the 1930s, the military continued to expand into China. Some Japanese felt this expansion was necessary to protect Manchuria against the Chinese, who wanted to regain control of the region. The Japanese argued that they had won Manchuria in the same way that westerners had gained their colonies. They looked on China as both a source of raw materials and a market for Japanese goods. In 1937, the Japanese launched a major drive into China, forcing Chinese armies to retreat.

**World War II begins.** While Japan was conquering China, aggressive actions by Germany and Italy plunged Europe into World War II. In 1940, Japan joined an alliance, known as the Axis, with Germany and Italy. The opponents of the Axis, which included Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, were known as the Allies. As German armies overran France, Japanese forces seized the French colony of Indochina.

The United States responded to this latest Japanese expansion by cutting off oil and other supplies that were vital to Japan's military-industrial complex. Japanese diplomats then negotiated with the United States to avoid war. At the same time, the Japanese military was preparing for war. It planned a surprise attack to destroy the American fleet in the Pacific.

**War against the United States.** On December 7, 1941, Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the chief American naval base in the Pacific. The surprise attack destroyed or badly damaged eight battleships and killed more than 2,500 Americans.

The Japanese followed up this attack by conquering Hong Kong and much of Southeast Asia, including the Dutch East Indies, Burma, and the Philippines. The conquests gave Japan vital sources of raw materials, including rubber, oil, and tin. By 1942, Japan ruled a vast empire stretching from Southeast Asia across the western Pacific.



### MAP STUDY

During World War II, Japanese forces conquered a vast empire in the Pacific. At its height in 1942, Japan's new colonial empire extended from Manchuria and Burma to islands off the coast of Alaska.

- 1. Region** Name the three world regions in which Japan conquered lands that became part of its empire.
- 2. Movement** (a) What conquered islands marked Japan's farthest advance into the southern Pacific? (b) What areas in mainland Southeast Asia did Japan conquer?
- 3. Analyzing Information** The fighting in the Pacific between Japan and the Allies was called an "island-hopping" campaign. Why do you think this term was used to describe the conflict?

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States joined the Allies. Allied forces rallied to slow the Japanese advance. By mid-1942, they had begun to turn the tide. In bitterly fought battles, the Americans forced the Japanese to retreat from one Pacific island after another.

From island bases in the Pacific, the United States began bombing Japan's cities. At the same time, American submarines destroyed Japanese ships carrying supplies to Japan

from Southeast Asia and China. By early 1945, the Japanese economy had collapsed.

**Defeat.** After the defeat of Germany and Italy in Europe, the Allies called on Japan to surrender. Japan's military leaders refused. The United States then decided to use a deadly new weapon against Japan—the atomic bomb. On August 6, 1945, an American bomber dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The single bomb killed more than 80,000 people and leveled 4 square miles (10 sq



**Nagasaki, Before and After** The photo at left shows this port city in peacetime. The atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki was more powerful than the bomb at Hiroshima. The devastation at Nagasaki is shown at right. Nearly 40,000 people were killed, and half of the city was destroyed. Today, the site where the bomb was detonated is a peace park. **Choice** Why was a second atomic bomb dropped on Japan?

km) of the city. Hiroko Nakamoto, who was 15 years old at the time, recalled the bombing of her city:

66 In one quick second, my world was destroyed. . . .

Suddenly, from nowhere, came a blinding flash. It was as if someone had taken a flashbulb picture a few inches from my eyes. There was no pain then. Only a stinging sensation, as if I had been slapped hard in the face. I tried to open my eyes. But I could not. . . .

I saw dead bodies all about me. The buildings were in ruins, and from the ruins I could hear people crying for help. But I could not help them. Some people were trying, as I was, to walk, to get away, to find their homes. I passed a streetcar that was stalled. It was filled with dead people. 99

In spite of the bombing of Hiroshima, the Japanese military government refused to surrender. Three days later, American planes dropped a bomb on Nagasaki, which killed more than 40,000 people. Finally, on August

14, Japan surrendered. For the first time in its history, Japan was occupied by a foreign power.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Manchuria, (b) Hiroshima, (c) Nagasaki.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Treaty of Kanagawa, (b) Meiji, (c) Pearl Harbor.
- 3. Define:** (a) zaibatsu, (b) militarism.
- 4.** (a) Why did Japan decide to modernize? (b) What steps did it take to achieve this goal?
- 5.** Why did Japan want an overseas empire?
- 6.** What events led Japan into war with the United States?
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** Describe economic factors that led to Japanese expansion and extreme nationalism.
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** President Harry Truman said he decided to drop the atomic bomb on Japan in order to end the war and “shorten the agony of young Americans.” Write a speech in which you either defend or criticize the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



# CHAPTER 18 REVIEW

## Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| 1. feudalism  | a. Japanese military lord   |
| 2. daimyo     | b. glorification of the military and readiness for war                      |
| 3. bushido    | c. large family-business organizations                                      |
| 4. zaibatsu   | d. system in which local lords are bound to higher lords by ties of loyalty |
| 5. militarism | e. samurai code of behavior   |

## Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) What are the four main islands of Japan?  
(b) Describe two ways in which location has affected Japan.
- What role did each of the following play in feudal Japan: (a) emperor, (b) shogun, (c) daimyo, (d) peasants, (e) merchants?
- How did centralized feudalism under the Tokugawa shoguns unite Japan?
- How did Buddhism develop in Japan?
- Describe two reforms that were adopted by the Meiji leaders after 1868.
- How did Japan win an overseas empire?

## Reviewing Chapter Themes

- Japan's development has been shaped in part by geography. Describe how two of the following features affected Japan: (a) landforms and climate, (b) geographic isolation, (c) scarcity of mineral resources.
- During two different periods, the Japanese consciously borrowed ideas from other cultures and creatively adapted them to their own use. (a) Describe the two periods of cultural borrowing. (b) Give an example of creative borrowing from each period and explain how it affected Japan.
- Confucian ideas and feudal values influenced Japanese culture for centuries. Describe how these systems affected two of the following: (a) government, (b) social relations, (c) family life.

- In less than 50 years, Japan changed from an isolated nation of farmers into a major industrial power. Describe three effects of this rapid development on Japan and its relations with the world.

## Thinking Critically

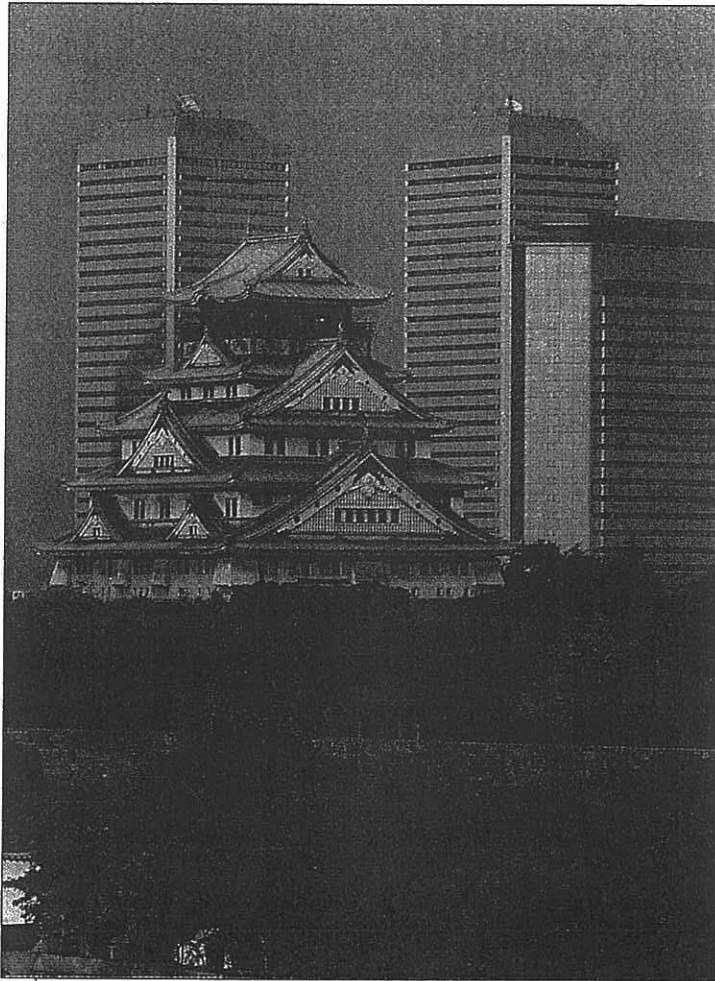
- Comparing** (a) How did centralized feudalism differ from early feudal society in Japan? (b) Describe one way in which they were similar.
- Making Global Connections** Review "A Visit to the 'Western Barbarians,'" on pages 402–403. (a) What did the Japanese visitors admire about American life? (b) What did they condemn? (c) What do these judgments reveal about Japanese ideas and values? (d) About American ideas and values?

## Applying Your Skills

- Analyzing Fiction** Review the excerpt from *The Tale of Genji* on page 393. (a) According to this passage, what qualities were admired at court? (b) Do you think this novel is a reliable description of court life? Why or why not? (See Skill Lesson, page 239.)
- Understanding Causes and Effects** Construct a cause-and-effect chart for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate. The chart should include both long-term and short-term causes and effects. (See Skill Lesson, page 628.)

## Chapter 19

# JAPAN TODAY



**Osaka Skyline** In Japan's third-largest city, high-rise buildings frame Osaka Castle, built by Hideyoshi, a powerful general, in the 1580s. He encouraged merchants to settle in Osaka by making the city his headquarters. Like the rest of Japan, Osaka preserved many reminders of the past as it modernized.

**Geography** How did Osaka's location make it an important city?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Government and Society
- 2 Economic Growth
- 3 Japan and the World
- 4 Literature and the Arts

**T**radition demanded that the emperor write a poem at the end of each year. The year 1945, however, had brought only disaster. No "divine wind" arrived to save Japan from United States bombers. Millions of Japanese had died during eight years of war. Japanese cities lay in ruins, and the economy was at a standstill. For the first time in history, foreigners occupied Japan.

Emperor Hirohito wanted to reassure the Japanese people that although Japan had been beaten, it would recover. He wrote:

“Under the weight of winter  
snow  
The pine tree's branches  
bend  
But do not break.”

Like the pine tree in Hirohito's poem, Japan did not break. Indeed, by 1989, when Emperor Hirohito died, Japan had become a respected economic superpower. Besides the Japanese mourners, representatives from 163 nations



attended the emperor's funeral. Among the 10,000 guests were kings, queens, prime ministers, and presidents.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

During his 62-year reign, Emperor Hirohito witnessed many changes in Japan. At the outset, Japan acquired a vast overseas empire. Imperialist expansion led to a war that ended in the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the postwar years, Japan rebuilt its economy and introduced major social and political changes. The Japanese adapted western ideas and used them to enrich their own distinct culture.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Since 1945, Japan has achieved a stable democratic government.
- ▶ Today, as in the past, Japan has selectively borrowed ideas and technologies from other cultures.
- ▶ As an economic superpower, Japan has worldwide influence, but its dependence on the world economy has increased.
- ▶ Today, Japanese culture blends both ancient and modern traditions.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

"Under the Weight of Winter Snow," Emperor Hirohito

*A Half Step Behind*, Jane Condon

"Poverty's Child," Matsuo Basho

"Summer Grasses," Matsuo Basho

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

# 1

## GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

### FIND OUT

How did the American occupation affect Japan?

How did Japan build a democratic system?

What changes have shaped Japanese society since 1945?

Japan's surrender in 1945 left many Japanese feeling deeply betrayed. For years, their leaders had glorified Japanese military efforts and urged further sacrifices. In the end, however, those leaders had brought Japan not victory, as promised, but almost total destruction.

Out of the misery of defeat, the Japanese looked for a better future. In 1947, the new Japanese constitution expressed the people's goals for the future:

“We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time. . . . We desire to occupy an honored place in international society, striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance, for all time from Earth.”

During the years that followed, the Japanese worked to fulfill these goals.

### Postwar Reforms

In 1945, the United States and its allies wanted to make sure that Japan would never again threaten world peace. In their view, the chief causes of the war were Japanese militarism, which had encouraged overseas expansion, and the Japanese tradition of undemocratic rule. The Allies appointed an American general, Douglas MacArthur, to



command the occupation forces in Japan. Through MacArthur, they introduced sweeping reforms to destroy Japanese militarism and build a democratic government and society in Japan.

**Ending militarism.** To achieve the first goal, MacArthur disbanded the Japanese armed forces. At the same time, Japan's overseas empire was dismantled and its wartime military and civilian leaders put on trial. Those found guilty of war crimes were either imprisoned or executed.

**Building democracy.** Under MacArthur's guidance, the Japanese adopted a new constitution in 1947. The chief purpose of the constitution was to make Japan a democratic society. The constitution stripped the emperor of all his power. Instead, it gave power to the Diet, an elected legislature. (See Chapter 18.) The emperor remained as a figurehead, a symbol of national unity.

A key feature of the document was a list of rights, similar to the American Bill of Rights. It protected freedom of speech, religion, and the press. In addition, it gave women the right to vote, established the equality of men and women, and guaranteed the right of all Japanese to an equal education.

Finally, the constitution made it illegal for the Japanese to wage war. In the words of Article 9, "The Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right." The constitution also forbade the Japanese government to maintain military forces.

In the past, large landowners and the zaibatsu had exercised great influence over the government. To make Japan more democratic, the Americans tried to weaken the power of these groups. The government passed land reform laws that required large landowners to sell their holdings to tenant farmers. Other laws divided the zaibatsu into smaller, separate companies.

**Occupation ends.** In 1952, the occupation forces withdrew from Japan, and the Japanese regained control of their own affairs. The Cold War helped bring about this change. In 1949, the Communists won power in China. The following year, the Korean War broke

out. As a result, the United States came to look on Japan as a key ally in the battle against communism in Asia rather than as a former enemy.

## Political Patterns

After 1952, the Japanese modified some of the reforms that had been introduced by the Americans. Unlike the Americans, the Japanese did not feel that large companies posed a danger. They saw the zaibatsu as partners in rebuilding the economy. As a result, the government permitted the zaibatsu to reorganize and even worked closely with them.

The Japanese have developed their own democratic processes. One political party, the Liberal Democratic party (LDP), dominated the Japanese government for 38 years. Differences among opposing political parties limited their ability to defeat LDP candidates. A series of scandals, however, finally toppled the LDP. In 1993 elections, the LDP failed to win a majority of seats in the Diet. A coalition government was formed. It promised political reform and stable foreign and economic policies.

## Changing Social Patterns

During and after the occupation, Japanese society became more democratic. As you have read, women won the right to vote. In addition, the old military elite lost its power, and tenant farmers were able to buy the land they worked.

**Family.** Changes reached into the family as well. Today, for example, the head of the household no longer has legal authority over other family members. Nor can a man leave his entire estate to one child at the expense of his other children.

Arranged marriages based on family interests or social class are less common today than they were in the past. The present emperor, Akihito, for example, chose his own bride. Her family belonged to the business class. He met her while playing tennis.

Urbanization and economic growth have affected families, too. Today, about 76 percent of the Japanese people live in cities. Because

**Dinner Time** This family eats a meal in their small city apartment. They sit on the floor around a traditional low table, which uses space efficiently. Other space savers include bedrolls and movable screens to create separate areas. Some rooms may also have western-style furniture. **Change** How has westernization affected traditional patterns of life?



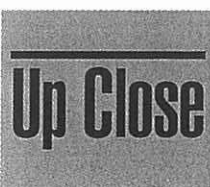
many people now live in tiny city apartments, the nuclear family has replaced the extended family. Often, older relatives remain on family farms while younger family members move to the cities. Also, the role of mothers has increased because of the long working hours of many Japanese men in urban society.

Despite the changes that have taken place, the family remains the center of Japanese life. It is there that children learn basic values such as discipline, hard work, harmony, and loyalty. ( See Connections With Literature, page 806, "The Jay.")

**Role of women.** As you have read, the 1947 constitution gave Japanese women the same rights enjoyed by men. Traditional attitudes remain strong, however. Though both men and women have a hard time getting into the top universities, women have a harder time advancing and are paid less than men once they enter the work force.

Still, almost half of Japan's workers today are women. Most work in factories or as waitresses, salespeople, clerks, or secretaries. The situation is changing rapidly, however. Increasing numbers of women are completing college and entering professions. Masako Owada, who married Japan's crown prince in 1993, studied at several universities and had a career in international relations. Other women have advanced in politics. In 1993, Japan's Diet elected its first woman speaker.

One out of every three Japanese working women is an OL, or "office lady." Every day, in offices and factories throughout Japan, these women answer phones, greet customers, and pour tea. Most Japanese think of OLs as young, single women who take on the job because of the freedom it gives them. Today, however, many OLs are married women with children. They work because their family needs the income. Like Takahashi Etsuko, most of these women have two jobs—one at the office and one at home.



### Life of an "Office Lady"

Every morning at 6:30 A.M., Takahashi Etsuko gets up and makes breakfast for her husband and three-year-old son. When breakfast is over and she has prepared lunch boxes for her family, she takes her son to her mother's house across the street. Then, at exactly 8:05 A.M., Takahashi climbs into the family car. Ten minutes later, her husband drops her off at a nearby soy-sauce factory, where she works as an OL.

After changing into her crisp blue company uniform, Takahashi starts work. She tidies the office and brews tea for the men who work there.



“We have seven girls and eighteen men in my section. The OLs are supposed to start cleaning the room from 8:30, but I get there a little early, so I start dusting and wiping off desks as soon as I’ve changed into my uniform. And I serve tea. My hours are 8:30 to 5:00.”

Takahashi joined the company at age 18. At age 30, her duties are mainly the same. Besides dusting and pouring tea, she does general office work such as typing and filing. Over the years, her pay has been raised and her responsibilities have increased. She has no hope for promotion, however. “I could never be a manager,” she says. In Takahashi’s mind, managing is men’s work.

After work, Takahashi drives home with her husband. She prepares dinner, washes the dishes, and unrolls the futons, or beds. At last, when their son is asleep, she has a cup of coffee and talks with her husband. She still

**An “Office Lady” at Work** The Japanese are hard workers who put in many overtime hours, sometimes without pay. Women such as “office ladies” are essential to the labor force. However, women are paid only half the wages received by men doing the same jobs. **Choice** Why would employees work extra hours without pay?



has laundry to do, however, and often talks while she is hanging out the wash on the balcony or doing the ironing. “I’d like my husband to help with the housework, but he doesn’t,” she says. “That’s natural with husbands, isn’t it?”

Like most Japanese, Takahashi works on Saturdays. Sunday, her day off, is reserved for housecleaning, grocery shopping, and visiting her parents and other family members. Takahashi wishes she had more time for herself. She would also like to spend more time with her son. In the meantime, however, she tries to make the best of her situation. As she explains:

“What I really want is to do two jobs well: at home and at the office. I’m trying to do both perfectly.”

## Education

Once Takahashi’s son starts school, she will have the additional responsibility of helping him to succeed. Japanese families firmly support education, and every child has the chance to attend school. During the occupation, the Americans set up a school system like the one in the United States. Accordingly, all children had to attend school for at least nine years. Today, more than 94 percent of Japanese students complete high school, and about 40 percent go on to college.

In Japan, the competition to get into the best schools is fierce. Indeed, many students attend *juku*, special “cram” schools that prepare them to take the entrance exams for elite high schools or universities. A diploma from a top university such as Tokyo University—called simply *Todai* by the Japanese—is the key to success in business and government.

## Western Influences

Western styles and customs, which had begun to appear in Japan before World War II, gained popularity after the war. More and more Japanese adopted western clothing, filled their homes with western appliances, and turned to western forms of entertain-





**Accepted!** Friends celebrate with a high school senior who has just been accepted at Tokyo University. Getting into a top university requires very intensive study. Yet students know that when they graduate from a good university, they will be successful in society. **Culture** Why is it so important for a Japanese student to be accepted by a school like Tokyo University?

ment. In addition, as the economy prospered, many Japanese traveled abroad, where they developed a strong taste for western ideas and products.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

1. Identify the two main goals of the American occupation of Japan.
2. How did the 1947 constitution help build democracy in Japan?
3. How did the Cold War affect relations between Japan and the United States?
4. (a) Describe three ways in which Japanese society changed after 1945. (b) List three values that survived from earlier times.
5. **Analyzing Information** Japan's new constitution in 1947 declared that men and women were equal. Has this guarantee been carried out? Explain.
6. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a description of one way Japan's constitution is different from the United States Constitution and one way it is similar to it.

## 2

# ECONOMIC GROWTH

### FIND OUT

- How did Japan rebuild its economy after World War II?
- What factors helped Japan to become an economic superpower?
- What challenges does the Japanese economy face today?

**T**wice a year, delivery trucks loaded with gifts rumble through the streets of Tokyo and other major Japanese cities. The gifts include candy, imported fruits, and other delicacies. During gift-giving season, employees give presents to their supervisors, students bring gifts to their teachers, and large companies send gifts to important customers. The gifts show appreciation for daily services and for special favors. Although the gifts are usually not expensive, they are always beautifully wrapped and thoughtfully chosen.

Centuries ago, strict rules governed the giving of gifts. Today, those rules have relaxed somewhat, but the custom of gift giving survives. In Japan, a gift given at the right time builds loyalty and friendship. These values play an important role in the way the Japanese do business.

### The Economic Miracle

After World War II, Japan, with American aid, set out to rebuild its shattered economy. The government at first guided the development of basic industries and then helped develop more advanced industries. The Korean War, which took place in the early 1950s, helped to stimulate economic growth. Japan sold \$4 billion worth of supplies to United Nations forces fighting in Korea.

1296

**Successes.** During the 1950s and 1960s, Japan's economy raced ahead. Most factories were totally rebuilt with the latest technology from abroad. As a result, they outproduced aging factories in the United States. Japan recaptured old markets and opened new ones. This rapid recovery is often called the Japanese economic miracle.

**Setbacks.** From the 1960s to the early 1990s, Japan's economy enjoyed almost steady growth. The 1990s, however, brought recession and then the Asian financial crisis. Many companies went bankrupt. Workers lost their jobs, and the banking system nearly collapsed. In time, government efforts at relief and reform moved Japan toward recovery.

Despite Japan's recent troubles, it remains an economic superpower. Its products dominate markets across much of the world.

## Industrial Development

Before World War II, Japan was the most industrialized nation in Asia. After the war, the Japanese were determined to regain their economic position.

Japan built a diversified industrial economy aimed at both exports and its home market. First, the Japanese rebuilt industries such as textiles that had been strong before the war. When they met stiff competition from other Asian textile manufacturers, they moved some factories to South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore to benefit from lower wages there.

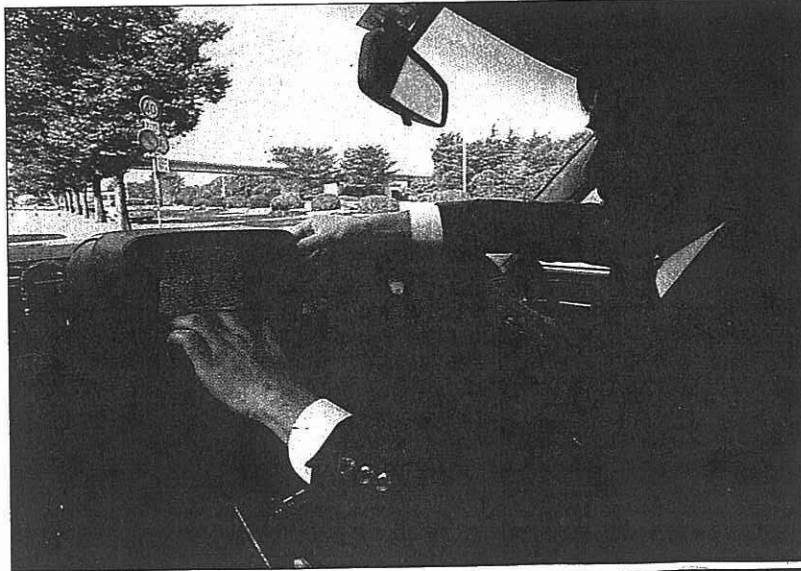
During the 1960s, the Japanese further boosted economic growth by developing heavy industry. Japan turned its lack of natural resources into an advantage. It combed the world for cheap sources of iron, coal, and other raw materials. With these imports, it then became the world's leading shipbuilder and a major steel producer.

**The oil shock.** As Japan's economy expanded, it became increasingly dependent on oil imports. Then, in 1973, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupled the price of oil. Japan experienced an oil "shock" as soaring oil prices almost brought its economic boom to a halt.

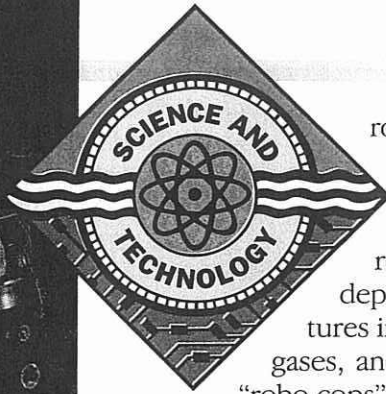
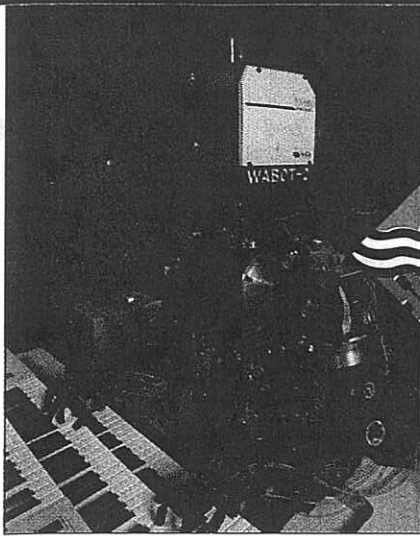
The Japanese responded with increased conservation efforts. Relying on their tradition of thrift and careful use of resources, they reduced oil consumption. They built more nuclear power generators and used more non-petroleum fuels.

**Shift to high-tech industries.** The oil crisis spurred another change. The Japanese shifted from industries that used large amounts of energy to new, "high-tech" industries based on highly specialized technologies, such as electronics. Since the 1970s, Japan has become the leading producer of televisions, radios, videocassette recorders (VCRs), compact disc (CD) players, and stereo equipment.

Also, during the oil crisis the Japanese developed fuel-efficient cars that soon found buyers around the globe. Today, Japan is the world's largest producer of automobiles.



**Electronic Traffic Reports** A small computer screen provides drivers with up-to-date traffic news. Japan's electronics industry exports nearly half of its output and is the most profitable segment of its economy. Japanese-owned factories in other Asian nations manufacture many of these electronics products. **Change** Why did Japan change its emphasis from heavy industry to high-tech industry?



## Japan's Robots Come to Life

In the fish section of a Tokyo supermarket, a "sushi robot" methodically molds rice balls. A human worker tops the rice with a strip of raw fish. The robot then wraps the finished product—a popular Japanese food known as sushi—in cellophane and places it on a conveyor belt that carries it to the selling floor.

In a single day, the sushi robot, assisted by eight human helpers, makes 8,000 pieces of sushi. "This volume of business would not have been possible without the robot," says manager Fusada Kohji. "One sushi chef could never make 8,000 pieces, and hiring two or three chefs would not have been profitable."

The sushi robot is a forerunner of a new generation of Japanese robots. Since the 1970s, the Japanese have pioneered the use of industrial robots to perform repetitive tasks in factories. Today's researchers, however, are building more advanced robots. In particular, the new

robots are intended for jobs that are dangerous or for which there is a shortage of workers.

Some new-style robots are already at work. In Tokyo, a fire-department robot measures temperatures in burning rooms, checks for toxic gases, and searches for victims. In Osaka, "robo-cops" print out local maps and give directions in tinny voices in both Japanese and English. In Japan's construction industry, where there is a severe shortage of human workers, robots have proved to be invaluable.

The Japanese companies that built these "smart machines" are now working on an even more ambitious project—a service-oriented, humanlike robot for use in homes and hospitals. Creating such a robot, which must be kind and gentle as well as functional, "is much more difficult than making one for a nuclear power plant," says one researcher. Still, Waseda University's Kato Ichiro predicts that Japan will have such a robot within another 10 to 15 years. Eventually, he prophesies,

“ People will be able to live like people by turning robots humanlike and using them in place of humans working like robots. ”

1. How are Japan's new robots different from the first generation of robots?
2. **Synthesizing Information** (a) What kind of work are the new robots being designed to perform? (b) Why do you think the Japanese want robots to do these jobs?

## Reasons for Success

Japan's economic miracle had several causes. Since the late 1800s, Japan has borrowed and improved on western technology. For example, Japanese companies bought the rights to the VCR technology developed by American companies, improved it, and

produced easy-to-use, affordable VCRs. The Japanese also encouraged their own inventors. High-speed color printers and CD players are among Japan's best-selling inventions.

Traditional values such as loyalty and hard work contributed to productivity. Employers and employees worked as a



team. Until recently, workers rarely changed companies. The companies, in turn, rewarded this loyalty.

Respect for education, too, played a role in creating a skilled work force. In addition, workers saved much of their income. As a result, Japanese banks had money to lend to businesses. Also, because Japan spends little on defense, it had money to develop new industries.

Close ties between business and government further helped Japanese companies. The government gives businesses tax breaks and loans. In addition, businesses cooperate among themselves. Groups of businesses with common interests form alliances to share information. For years, agriculture was also protected by high tariffs.

The economic setbacks of the 1990s forced some changes on Japan. Workers no longer feel as secure in their jobs. Under outside pressure, Japan gave foreign companies greater access to its markets. Reforms affected banks and other businesses.

### Challenges for the Future

Despite recent setbacks, Japan is a prosperous country with one of the world's highest standards of living. However, industrial growth has brought air, water, and noise pollution. Urbanization and limited space have led to severe overcrowding in cities like Tokyo.

Japan faces a serious labor shortage, due partly to an aging population and a low birth rate. To ease the labor shortage, Japan has encouraged more women to work outside the home. It has built factories abroad where it can hire foreign workers. It has also used robots. (See the feature on page 417.)

As Japan's population ages, it needs costly services. Many Japanese workers have limited retirement benefits. In the past, adult children cared for their aging parents, but now many are unable to do so. The government has begun to provide pensions for disabled and retired workers, nursing homes, and medical care for the aged.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. What was Japan's economic miracle?
2. How did the Japanese build their economy after World War II?
3. Describe three reasons for Japan's economic success.
4. How has industrial growth both helped and hurt Japan?
5. (a) Why does Japan face a serious labor shortage? (b) What steps are the Japanese taking to solve this problem?
6. **Understanding Causes and Effects**  
(a) What economic setbacks did Japan experience in the 1990s? (b) What were some of the effects of these setbacks?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Jot down a list of items in your house that were made in Japan. Write a generalization about the kinds of products Japan produces for export.

## 3

### JAPAN AND THE WORLD

#### FIND OUT

What concerns have shaped Japan's foreign policy?

How is Japan linked to the global economy?

What issues have strained Japan's relations with its trading partners?

What issues affect Japan's relations with its Asian neighbors?

**Vocabulary** pacifism, trade imbalance, reparations

**A** Japanese boy returned home from his first trip to the United States. He told his friends about life in California: "*America ni mo Makudonarudo ga aru!*" "Even in America, they have McDonald's!"

Ideas and goods flow easily between Japan and other cultures. The Japanese have absorbed foods and styles from many nations. At the same time, the names of many Japanese manufacturers—for example, Sony, Nikon, Toyota—are world famous.

## Security and Defense

In reaction to World War II, the Japanese embraced a policy of pacifism, or opposition to the use of force under any circumstances. As you have read, Japan's 1947 constitution renounced war and barred the government from maintaining a military force.

For protection, Japan allied itself with the United States. During the Cold War, the United States urged Japan to build its own defensive forces and to rearm. Japan's economy had recovered, and many Americans felt that it was fair for the Japanese to share in the cost of their own defense.

At first, Japan resisted the pressure to rearm. In time, it did set up a Self-Defense Force despite the objections of many Japanese.

As Cold War tensions eased in the 1970s and 1980s, Japan focused its attention on building a global trading network. Still, international conflicts posed problems for Japan because of its ban on taking part in any overseas military action. During the 1990 Persian Gulf War, the United States set up a multinational force to oppose Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. (See Chapter 28.) When asked to join the alliance, Japan sent money, but no troops. This response brought strong criticism from the United States.

Recent events have forced Japan to play a more active role in peace-keeping ventures. After the 2001 suicide hijackings in the United States, the Japanese began to worry about their own security from acts of international terrorism. The Japanese Diet passed new laws that allowed some military cooperation with other nations. They let Japan's Self-Defense Forces take a limited, non-fighting role in the United States-led war on terrorism. Japanese navy ships went to the Indian Ocean for the first time since World War II. Their role was to conduct rescue missions for sailors or pilots lost at sea. In a separate action, Japan took part in a United Nations mis-



**Antiwar Demonstrators** Both left-wing and right-wing groups have criticized government policies in Japan. The protestors shown here attacked Japan's support of the United States during the Vietnam War. Conservatives have opposed Japan's modernization as a threat to traditional culture. **Citizenship** Why might the Japanese have opposed the Vietnam War?

sion, sending military engineers to East Timor as it moved toward independence from Indonesia.

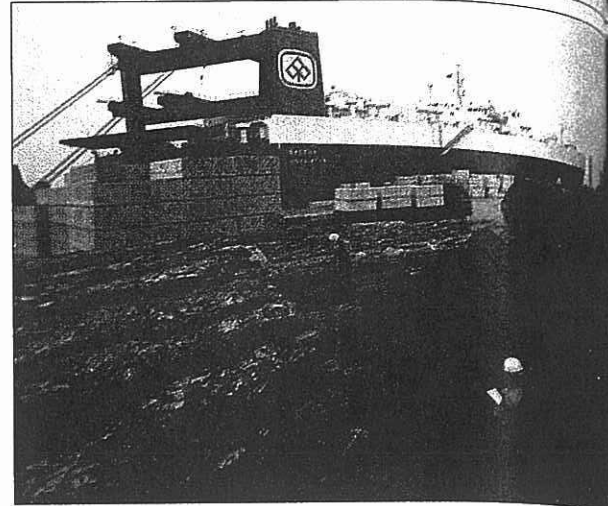
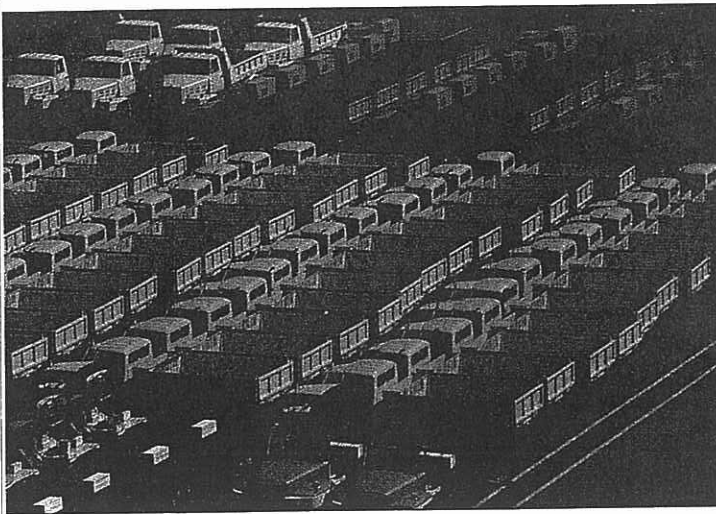
## Japan and the Global Economy

For decades, Japan has been a key player in the global economy. In the past, it borrowed and adapted ideas, first from China and later from the West. During its economic boom, people from western and nonwestern nations went to Japan to study its business methods and to learn from its success.

Much changed after Japan was hit by an economic recession in 1989. Banks staggered under a mountain of bad debt, companies went bankrupt, and unemployment rose. Companies burdened with debt made deep cuts in their work forces. Japan's government seemed powerless to end the recession.

**Interdependence.** Global trade is central to Japan's prosperity. Japan imports most of its energy resources, including oil from the





**Japan's Trade Lifeline** The rows of trucks awaiting export, at left, and stacks of imported Canadian lumber, at right, show how important foreign trade is to Japan. Japan must import many raw materials, but the high value of its exports provides the nation with a favorable balance of trade. **Interdependence** Why do nations want to export more than they import?

Middle East. It buys food from the United States, Canada, and Australia. In exchange, it exports manufactured goods, such as automobiles and electronics.

Because of its dependence on worldwide trade, Japan is sensitive to global economic trends. A slowdown in another part of the world can affect Japan because nations in crisis reduce their spending on imports.

**The trade imbalance.** During the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of trade imbalance concerned Japan's trading partners. The trade imbalance occurred because Japan exports more goods to those nations than it imports from them. Despite the economic ills that Japan has suffered since 1989, its exports remain strong.

Japan's success in selling goods abroad has frustrated and angered its competitors. They complain that Japan's success is largely the result of unfair trade policies.

While most nations have few barriers to trade, Japan has many obstacles that make it difficult for foreign companies to sell their products there. Foreign companies complain about complex rules that keep them from do-

ing business in Japan. They also are frustrated by the deeply held attitude that "we Japanese" should not buy the products of "the foreigners." Under strong pressure in recent years, Japan has made an effort to ease some trade barriers and increase imports. However, old attitudes are hard to overcome.

**Aid to developing nations.** As an economic superpower, Japan faced criticism for doing little to help less-developed nations. In response, Japan set up programs to help people in developing nations gain modern technology and farming skills. It brought students from developing nations to study at its universities and gave more economic and other kinds of aid to developing nations.

## Japan and Its Asian Neighbors

In the past, most of Japan's trade was carried on with Asian nations. After World War II, it gradually rebuilt that trade. In doing so, it had to overcome the bitterness and hostility of countries that had suffered during the Japanese invasion and conquest.



Today, Japan is the major trading partner of many East Asian and Southeast Asian nations. (See the chart on page 285.) Although Japan faces growing competition from China, it still holds a dominant position in the Pacific Rim, a region of economic expansion.

**China.** Because of Japan's close ties to the United States during the Cold War, it did not recognize the People's Republic of China until 1972. Today, Japan has many joint economic ventures with China. It has invested more capital in China than any other industrial nation. The Japanese see China as a huge untapped market. They strongly backed China's economic reforms and supported its entry into the World Trade Organization.

**Korea.** Japan and South Korea have many trade and other ties. Both worry about North Korea's missiles and nuclear weapons. At times, though, relations between Japan and South Korea have been strained. First, the two nations are economic rivals. Second, Koreans have not forgotten the hardships of Japanese colonial rule. Third, they resent discrimination that is faced by Koreans who live in Japan.

**Russia.** Japan and Russia have worked to strengthen ties. Japan backs Russia's econom-

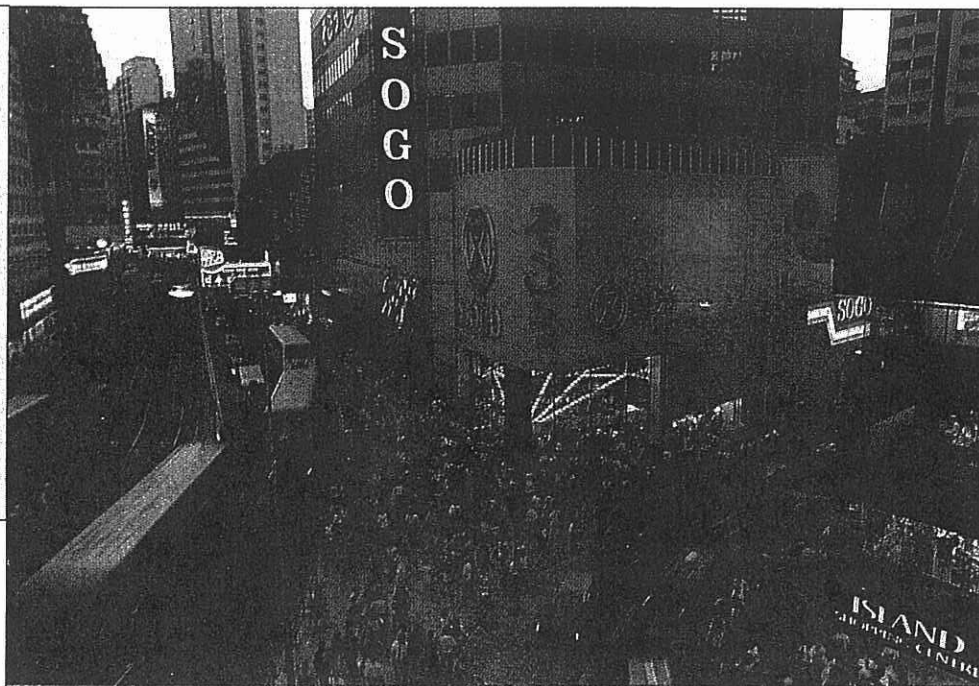
ic reforms. Both nations want to reach a peace treaty on issues dating back to World War II. They have a longstanding dispute, however, over the Kurile Islands, north of Hokkaido. The Soviet Union seized the islands in 1945, and Japan wants them back.

**Southeast Asia.** Japan has worked to expand ties with Southeast Asian nations. In part, it wants to offset China's growing role in this region.

Despite extensive Japanese investment in the region, Southeast Asian nations still distrust Japan. They fear that Japan is using its economic power to dominate the region. For example, Japan provided reparations, or payments for damages, to nations it conquered during World War II. The payments, however, were made not in cash but with Japanese goods. To many Southeast Asians, Japan seemed to be promoting its own industries rather than making up for past damages.

Japan has become sensitive to such criticisms and is now making efforts to be a good neighbor. It has provided billions of dollars in loans and grants to Southeast Asian nations. At the same time, it has helped Japanese companies to invest in the region.

**Japanese Store in Hong Kong** Sogo, a Japanese firm based in Osaka, owns a chain of department stores. As businesses profited from Japan's "economic miracle," many branched out into foreign countries. They invested not only in Asian nations but in Europe and the United States. **Power** Why do Korea and some other Asian nations resent Japan's investment in their countries?



# SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE WORLD TODAY



**The Skyline of Singapore** Modern skyscrapers tower over Singapore, the busiest port city in Southeast Asia. This prosperous capital of the island nation of Singapore is a major center of trade, industry, and banking. Like Singapore, other nations of Southeast Asia are working to develop their economies. **Geography** How do you think its location has helped Singapore prosper?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Economic Development
- 2 Two Nations of Southeast Asia
- 3 Literature and the Arts

# 1

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### FIND OUT

- How have Southeast Asian countries developed their economies?
- How has the Green Revolution affected Southeast Asia?
- What is life like in modern cities of Southeast Asia?

**F**aulizah binti Mat Yatin pleaded with her parents. She badly wanted to take a job at a factory some distance from her village. Her parents resisted. They did not want their 21-year-old daughter living alone so far from home.

At last, Mat Yatin's parents gave in, and Mat Yatin moved into an apartment with four other women who worked at the factory. "We all live here like one happy family," she reported. "Most of us send some money back to our families."

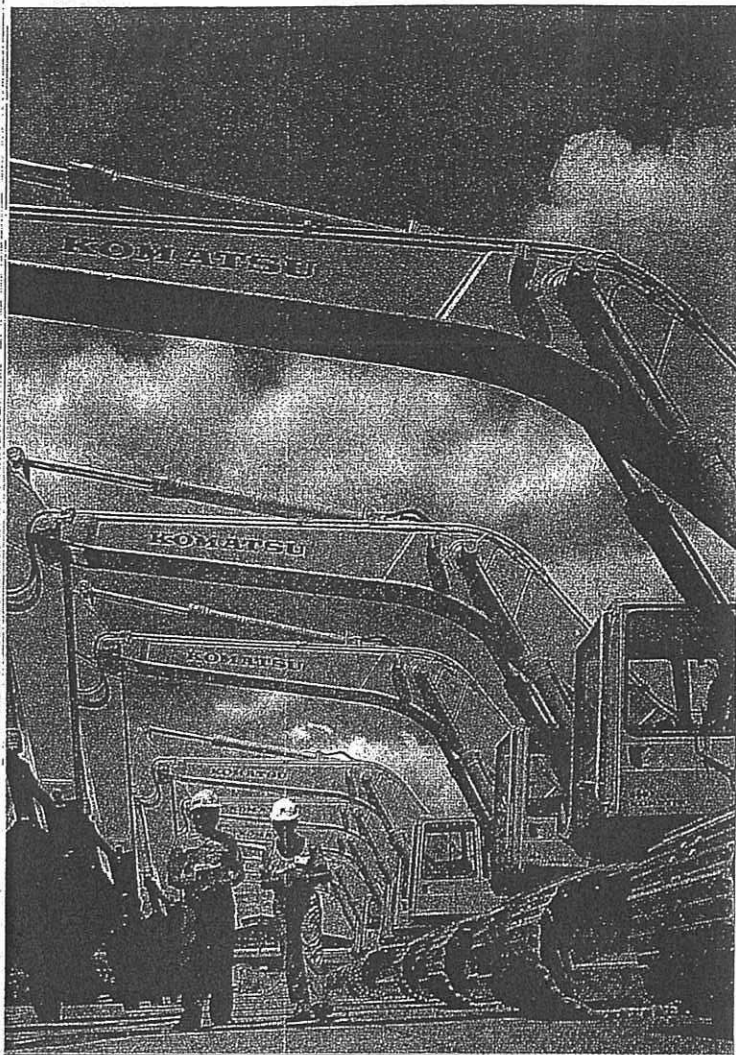
The desire to earn money and to experience city life is causing many young people in Southeast Asia to leave their villages. Many, however, do not find factory life as pleasant as Mat Yatin did. As more and more people migrate to cities, both rural and urban areas are changing.

### Economic Choices

As you have read, Southeast Asians won political independence after World War II. Economically, however, they remained dependent on the industrial world. Like other developing nations, they exported raw materials or cash crops and imported most manufactured goods. To reduce this dependence, Southeast Asian nations have diversified their crops, invested in factories, and built modern transportation and communications systems.

Each country has made choices about how to develop its economy. Under commu-





**Power Shovels in Indonesia** Made in Japan, these giant earth-moving tractors are used to build factories and offices in Indonesia. Japan is Indonesia's most important trading partner. Indonesia sells more than 40 percent of its exports to Japan and imports nearly 25 percent of its goods from Japan.

**Interdependence** Why does Southeast Asia have close trading ties with Japan?

nist rule, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos set up command economies. The socialist government of Myanmar also has a command economy. In these countries, the state has nationalized major industries and taken over the land. The government decides what to produce, how much to produce, and what prices to charge.

By contrast, the Philippines has a market economy. Private individuals own factories and farms and make economic decisions. The government promotes economic growth but does not control the economy directly.

Finally, Singapore and Indonesia chose mixed economies. In these countries, the government owns major industries and takes a strong role in the economy. On the other hand, private individuals own most smaller businesses.

## Developing Industry

Southeast Asian nations are working to develop industry for several reasons. Many manufactured goods sell at higher prices than farm products and mineral resources. Also, factory workers earn more money than most farmers. With the extra money, they buy a variety of goods, which in turn encourages factories to produce more and hire more workers. Finally, by increasing local manufactured products, a country reduces its dependence on imported goods.

**Singapore's economic success.** The tiny island nation of Singapore has made great progress in industrializing. With its few natural resources, it set out to produce manufactured goods for export. Singapore's former leader Lee Kuan Yew pushed through laws favorable to foreign investors. By keeping wages low, he attracted foreign companies eager to produce goods cheaply. Lee also took steps to bring high-tech companies to Singapore. Since these companies need highly skilled workers, Singapore built a modern educational system.

Lee's policies made Singapore a major exporting nation. People's incomes rose, making Singapore's workers among the highest paid in Asia. The government also set up a national health care system and built housing for most people.

**New directions in Vietnam.** After years of war, Vietnam faced the massive job of rebuilding its economy. As you read in Chapter 12, the communist government took over the nation's land and businesses. Under government control, production in factories and output on farms decreased. In recent years,



Vietnam has moved away from a command economy and has reduced government controls. In that way, it hopes to encourage private enterprise, increase production, and attract foreign investors.

## Changes in Agriculture

Most Southeast Asians still support themselves by farming. Many are subsistence farmers, growing just enough rice and vegetables to feed themselves and their families. As Southeast Asian nations modernize, governments are encouraging commercial farming. Commercial farmers raise cash crops to be sold on world markets. The export of cash crops provides income that can be invested in building new industry.

**The Green Revolution.** In Southeast Asia, as in India, the Green Revolution has greatly improved food production. The Green

Revolution, you will recall, involves the use of new seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and irrigation to increase harvests.

In fact, the Green Revolution began in Southeast Asia. In the early 1960s, scientists working in the Philippines developed a new kind of high-yield rice seed. With this seed, farmers could double the amount of rice they harvested. Since then, scientists have developed other high-yield seeds suited to different environments around the world.

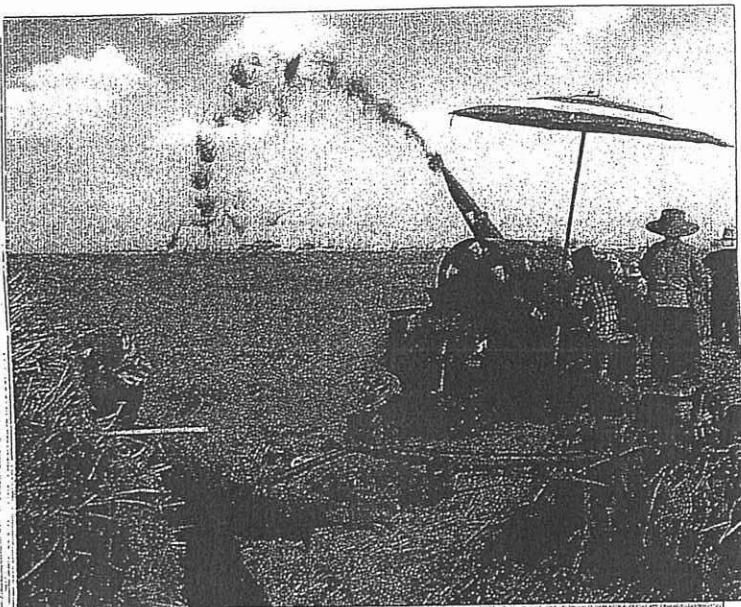
In Southeast Asia, most farmers gradually switched to the new rice seed. Many farmers had to borrow money to buy fertilizers and pesticides needed to grow the improved rice. Still, by selling the surplus rice they raised, these farmers usually earned money to repay loans and buy other goods. Some became small-scale commercial farmers.

**Unforeseen effects.** The Green Revolution has helped to reduce food shortages and

**Chart Skills** The nations of Southeast Asia are working to build their economies and to provide better lives for their people. ▶According to this chart, which nation of Southeast Asia has the highest standard of living? What information on the chart supports your answer?

Economic Development in Southeast Asia					
	Thailand	Malaysia	Singapore	Indonesia	Philippines
Population (in millions)	57.2	17.9	2.7	179.3	61.5
People per doctor	5,576	2,853	837	7,318	1,062
People per auto	67	12	10	198	161
People per personal computer	296	140	18	N.A.	N.A.
McDonald's restaurants	6	23	37	1	34
GNP* (billions of U.S. dollars)	\$79.3	\$40.4	\$35.2	\$105.3 (est.)	\$44.0
Source of most imports	Japan	Japan	Japan	Japan	Japan
Destination of most exports	United States	Japan	United States	Japan	United States

\*Gross national product: total value of goods and services produced by a nation in a year



**Harvesting Rice by Machine** The peoples of Southeast Asia depend on rice as their most basic food. Farmers drain rice paddies about two weeks before they harvest the rice. As this photo shows, rice growing is changing as farming becomes more mechanized.

**Change** How has the Green Revolution changed agriculture in Southeast Asia and fostered the use of farm machinery?

hunger in Southeast Asia. However, it has upset traditional patterns of rural life. In the past, villagers helped each other harvest rice when it matured. Today, farmers hire landless workers or rent tractors to do the job. Also, as the cost of fertilizer rises, some farmers cannot repay their loans. They then must sell their land and join the ranks of landless farm workers or move to the cities.

Another unforeseen effect of the Green Revolution is the damage caused by the widespread use of fertilizers, pesticides, and weed-killers. These chemicals drain into streams, polluting water supplies and killing wildlife.

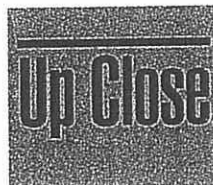
### Urbanization

The urban population of Southeast Asia is soaring. As commercial farming expands, fewer people are needed to work the land. Many move to cities to find jobs. Manila has

grown from a city of 1.5 million in 1950 to about 8.5 million today. Bangkok, Thailand, has seen its population climb from 1.4 million in 1950 to more than 7 million today.

Within the cities, a middle class is growing. Middle-class people work in stores, banks, government offices, and hospitals. Many are well educated, with college degrees. Like middle-class city dwellers in other countries, they live in high-rise apartments and own washing machines, cars, and VCRs.

The class of urban poor is growing even more rapidly than the middle class. Although many poor people have low-paid jobs in factories, thousands of others cannot find work. Many are newcomers from rural areas, with few job skills. They often depend on friends and relatives to help them survive.



### Making Ends Meet in Klong Toey

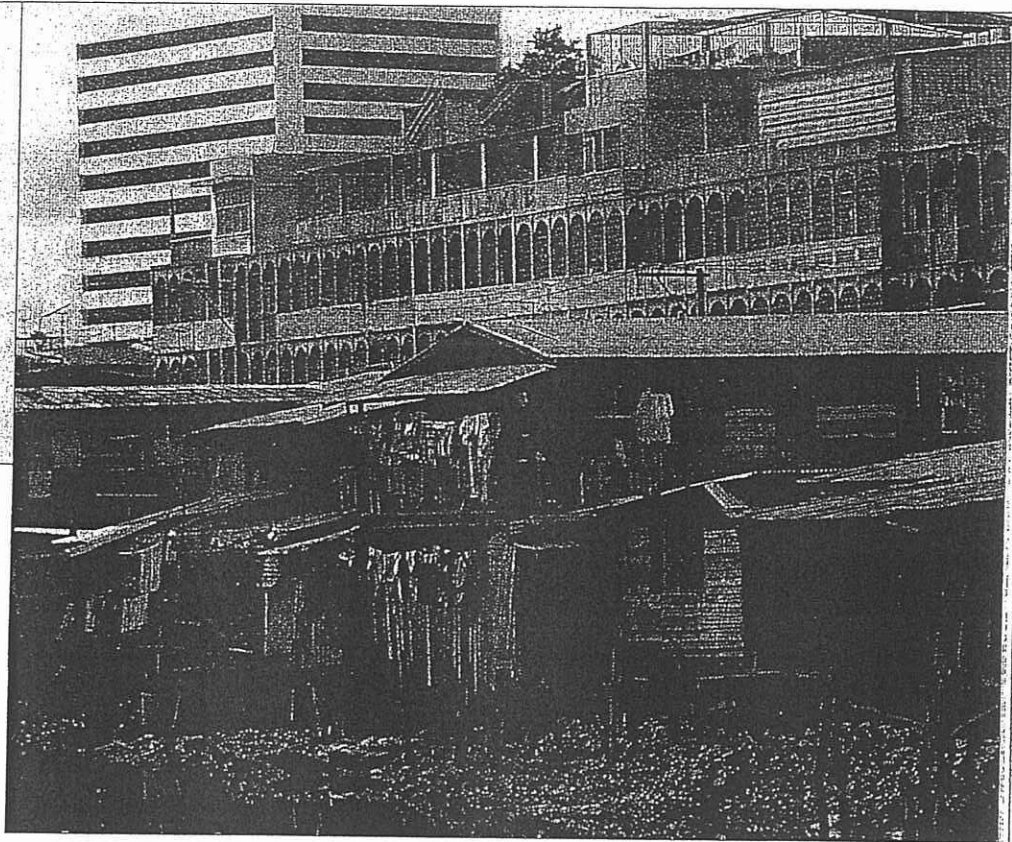
It is daybreak in Klong Toey, a slum on the outskirts of Bangkok. Phen prepares breakfast for her husband Lop and their three-year-old son Mong. By 7:00 A.M., Lop must catch a ride to the outskirts of Klong Toey. From there, he can get a bus to his job in Bangkok.

Lop works as a driver and watchman for a Japanese construction company. Phen also works to help support the family. Each week, she brings home jackets from a nearby clothing factory and embroiders designs on them. Together, Lop and Phen earn enough to survive.

Like others in Klong Toey, Phen and Lop rely on friends and family for help. When they were first married, they moved into a tiny shack. In time, they saved enough money to improve their home. One Saturday morning, Lop's friends came by. Phen served them food, and then they all set to work to expand the dwelling. When they ran out of lumber, Lop rushed to his mother's house and borrowed money to buy more wood.

To officials who gather statistics about Thailand's population, Phen and Lop are poor. By Klong Toey standards, they are doing

**Life Along the River** The capital of Thailand grew up along the banks of the Chao Phraya River. Since office buildings and homes of wealthy Thais are built on higher ground, most people live along the river, where floods often occur. These makeshift wooden houses are raised on stilts, as this photo shows. **Geography** Why are many of the world's major cities built on rivers?



quite well. Within the community, however, differences in wealth exist. As one resident observed:

“ If you look into the houses, some people have a television set, a stereo, and a refrigerator. These people cannot be very poor. If you compare these families with others, who have nearly nothing, you notice the difference. ”

The poorest residents of Klong Toey can barely afford basic necessities. Some spend their days scouring a nearby garbage dump for discarded plastic. They cut the plastic into chips to sell to a plastic factory for recycling. Others buy bamboo, soak it in water, and then cut it into thin sticks that are sold as skewers for grilling meat and fish. If they are lucky, these hardworking poor might find factory jobs like Phen's and begin to save money for a tiny dwelling of their own. ■

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

1. (a) Why do the nations of Southeast Asia want to develop industry? (b) What steps has Singapore taken to become an exporter of manufactured goods?
2. (a) How has the Green Revolution helped to reduce food shortages and hunger in Southeast Asia? (b) How has it affected rural life?
3. (a) Give one reason for the rapid growth of cities in Southeast Asia. (b) What problems do newcomers from rural areas face in the cities?
4. **Defending a Position** Which do you think is more important, economic security or political freedom? Explain your answer.
5. **Writing Across Cultures** Make a list of economic choices that must be made by people and governments in Southeast Asia that are similar to choices that must be made by people in the United States.



## TWO NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

### FIND OUT

What natural resources have helped Thailand and Indonesia to develop?

What steps have Thailand and Indonesia taken to modernize their economies?

How has modernization affected traditional ways of life in Thailand and Indonesia?

**E**ach nation of Southeast Asia has developed its own policies for modernization. In this section, you will read how one mainland nation, Thailand, and one island nation, Indonesia, are going about the task of modernizing.

### Thailand

Thailand is in the heart of mainland Southeast Asia. It shares borders with four countries and has long had to protect itself against powerful invaders. The Thais compare themselves to the slender bamboo plant, which bends in the wind so that it does not break. As you have read, Thailand “bent” in the “wind” of imperialism in the 1800s. In this way, it managed to avoid colonial rule. It was the only Southeast Asian nation to do so.

**Ethnic diversity.** Like other nations of Southeast Asia, Thailand has a majority ethnic group. About 85 percent of Thailand’s 56 million people are Tai—that is, Thai, Lao, Shan, and related groups. The Thais live in the Chao Phraya River valley and in Bangkok. The Lao and the Shan live in northern Thailand. Cambodians, Chinese, Malays, and other ethnic groups also live in Thailand.

Thailand also has a large population of refugees. During and after the Vietnam War in

Southeast Asia, thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians fled their homes. Today, many of them remain in refugee camps in Thailand. The refugees pose a difficult political and social problem for Thailand. Even though most refugee camps are run by international agencies, the government of Thailand would like to see the refugees leave.

**Economic development.** Thailand is an agricultural nation. The long growing season and fertile soil enable Thai farmers to produce a variety of tropical crops. In the south, many small farmers cultivate rubber trees. Many other Thais who live along the country’s long coastline earn a living by fishing.

Thailand has tried to diversify its exports. Traditionally, Thailand exported mainly rice and rubber. Today, the government encourages farmers to grow corn, sugarcane, pineapples, and cassava for sale on the world market. It has also built factories and expanded older industries, such as the textile industry. Today, Thailand is a leading exporter of textiles.

Thailand has benefited from a major discovery of natural gas, located offshore in the Gulf of Thailand. As a result, Thailand no longer has to depend on expensive imported oil to power its factories.

Under Thailand’s market economy, most businesses are privately owned. Thailand has noted Singapore’s success in attracting foreign investment. It, too, has begun to offer low taxes and other benefits to foreign companies that set up their factories in Thailand.

**Foreign policy.** During the Vietnam War, Thailand sided with the United States. Today, the two nations remain on friendly terms. Thailand has also sought good relations with China. Thailand’s relations with Vietnam were strained after the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in 1979. By the early 1990s, relations had improved. Thailand and Vietnam agreed on economic cooperation in 1991.

Thailand backs the UN peace agreement on Cambodia. It hopes that the agreement works so that the Cambodian refugees in Thailand can return home.

**Daily life.** In general, farmers in Thailand have a higher standard of living than many other people in Southeast Asia. As the popu-



**A Floating Market** This outdoor market is near Bangkok, Thailand. Free enterprise flourishes here as buyers and sellers meet on this busy waterway. Notice the passenger in the boat at the upper left, probably a tourist. Thailand attracts more tourists than any other Southeast Asian nation. **Choice** Why do many countries like Thailand encourage tourism?

lation grows, however, pressure on limited land resources will increase.

Despite the rapid growth of Bangkok and other cities, most people live in villages. There, traditions are stronger than in the cities. Life centers around the *wat*, or Buddhist temple. People go to the *wat* on holy days, as well as for medical aid, to learn the latest news, and to visit with their friends.

Until recently, most children in Thailand went to school in Buddhist temples. Today, most children attend public schools, but the temple still holds an important place in the people's lives.

## Indonesia

Like many other countries, Indonesia faces the challenge of building a unified nation out of many ethnic groups. The

dominant ethnic group is the Javanese. About 300 other groups, speaking more than 200 languages and dialects, also live in Indonesia.

Geography makes the task of building unity even more difficult. Indonesia includes more than 13,500 islands, 6,000 of which are inhabited. The islands stretch in a great arc across 3,200 miles (5,149 km) of water, a distance equal to the width of the United States.

**Unifying forces.** Some forces do help to unite Indonesians. Nearly 90 percent of the people are Muslims. In fact, Indonesia has one of the largest Muslim communities in the world. Also, although Indonesia includes thousands of islands, most people live on either Java or Bali.

Strong leadership has been another unifying factor. Since independence, Indonesia has had only two presidents—Sukarno and



Suharto. Sukarno, viewed as a national hero, was a champion of nonalignment. Suharto, who took office in 1967, opposed communism. He put to death an estimated 500,000 suspected communists. Both men were backed by the military and ruled as dictators, stressing economic development over political freedom. Democracy, they argued, encourages ethnic divisions and disunity.

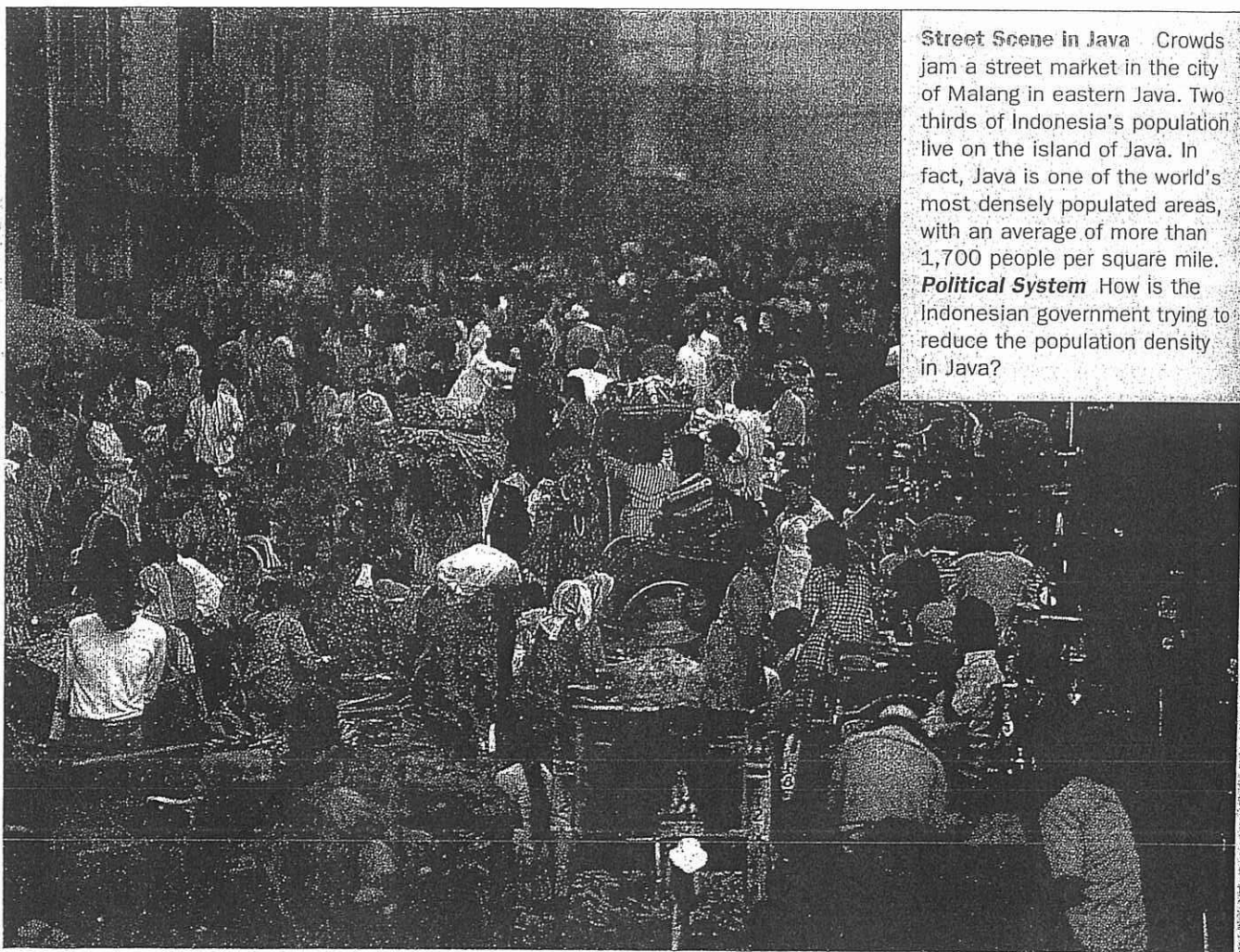
**Economic development.** Indonesia has a mixed economy, with the state owning a number of industries. Recently, the government has made reforms aimed at increasing private investment.

Vast natural resources have helped Indonesia to develop. The country has large supplies of oil, natural gas, and tin. Its fertile

soil supports plantations of rubber, rice, coffee, and sugar.

Despite these resources, many Indonesians are poor. A major problem is rapid population growth. Indonesia is the fifth most populous country in the world. It must find jobs for the 2.3 million young people who reach working age each year.

**Oil boom and bust.** Indonesia was caught in the same cycle that affected many other oil-producing nations. In the 1970s, world oil prices quadrupled. Indonesia used its huge oil earnings to build roads, schools, and factories. Then, in the early 1980s, oil prices plunged, and Indonesia had to borrow large sums to continue to develop its economy. Today, like other developing nations, Indonesia



**Street Scene in Java** Crowds jam a street market in the city of Malang in eastern Java. Two thirds of Indonesia's population live on the island of Java. In fact, Java is one of the world's most densely populated areas, with an average of more than 1,700 people per square mile.

**Political System** How is the Indonesian government trying to reduce the population density in Java?

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spends much of its income to repay the large debt it owes foreign nations.

To avoid another boom-and-bust cycle, Indonesia has taken steps to limit its dependence on oil. It has diversified its agriculture and increased exports of rice, coffee, and sugar. The government has sought foreign investors to build factories. Today, Indonesian factories produce textiles, lumber, plastics, and cement.

**Foreign policy.** During the Cold War, Indonesia was a leader of the nonaligned nations. Later, it supported the United States. In 1967, Indonesia joined Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines to form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN has worked to solve regional disputes and promote trade. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, ASEAN backed trade sanctions against Vietnam.

**Daily life.** Indonesia's booming population is causing other serious problems. Although most Indonesian farmers own their own land, their plots are small. As families further divide their land among the growing population, many people can no longer produce enough to support themselves.

To escape this situation, more and more people are moving to the cities. There, many face unemployment and a desperately hard life in overcrowded slums. As you have read, the government is trying to relocate people to some of the less-crowded islands. (See pages 282–283.)

Most Indonesians are Muslims. Many have adapted the religion to their own way of life. In Java, for example, Muslims have blended Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism into a religion they call Agama Java. In this version of Islam, the Javanese use Hindu names to refer to Allah.

Islamic fundamentalism has affected some parts of Indonesia. Islamic fundamentalists call for strict obedience to the Koran as a way of improving people's lives. In Aceh, a state in northern Sumatra, the government is based on traditional Islamic law. Islamic fundamentalism has wide appeal to the poor and unemployed in the cities.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) Suharto, (b) ASEAN, (c) Agama Java.
2. (a) Describe how natural resources have affected economic development in Thailand. (b) In Indonesia.
3. (a) List two forces that hinder Indonesian unity. (b) List two forces that help unite Indonesians.
4. What problems does rapid population growth cause in Thailand and Indonesia?
5. (a) What is the major religion in Thailand? (b) In Indonesia? (c) What role does religion play in the daily life of each country?
6. **Comparing** Compare the economies of Thailand and Indonesia. (a) How are they similar? (b) How are they different?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Like Indonesia, the United States includes many diverse ethnic groups. List three forces that help to unite these diverse Americans.

## 3

### LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

#### FIND OUT

- What cultures have influenced the arts of Southeast Asia?
- How does the literature of Southeast Asia reflect both traditional and modern values?
- What performing arts are important in Southeast Asia?

**A**ccording to legend, the god Sang Hyang Guru was the first king of Java. One day, Sang Hyang Guru wanted to summon the other gods to a meeting, so he made a gong and tuned it to a special pitch. The gong worked well for calling the gods, but Sang Hyang Guru had other messages to send. He made a

## Economic Boom from 1950

In the late 1950s, Japan's rice crop set new records, a result of advances in fertilizers, insecticides and seed strains. Japan expanded its fruit growing, vegetable, meat and dairy industries, and with the Japanese consuming more bread and meat, the nation became self sufficient in rice. The greater productivity in agriculture made more people available for the workforce needed in Japan's industrial development. The outbreak of the Korean War boosted Japan's economy as Japan became the supplier of goods needed for war. And after the war, production in textiles, small electronic appliances, photographic equipment and automobiles rose in competition with the less advanced methods and practices of U.S. industrial leaders.

In 1962, Japan's agricultural work force was 29 percent of the overall work force, down from 41 percent in 1955. Japan had been saving a good percentage of its earning and a higher percentage of the nation's wealth went into investment rather than into the consumerism pursued in the United States. And with this, Japan's economy became the world's second largest. Japan's industrial work force began to benefit materially. The work force was paid relatively well, and the Japanese continued to save at a higher rate than people in the United States. The older generation started complaining about a new generation of young people too concerned with material possessions. Also there were complaints about crowding. On Tokyo's subways people were squeezed together like sardines in a can.

With an area roughly similar to California, Japan had a population close to that of the whole of the United States -- and growing, not so fast as the population in the U.S. but about twice that of Sweden or Germany. With economic recovery, Japan's government was able to increase its investment in research and development, which, in turn, helped Japan's economic development. Strategic, long-term planning to produce better cars and high-quality electronic goods have helped Japan continue to sell their goods in the world market.

*Adapted from <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/ch27jp.htm>*

How did their agriculture change?

Why did the Korean War help Japan? (two ways)

What Japanese habits, which were different from those of the US, helped Japan prosper economically?

After economic recovery what did Japan focus on?

So What? How does this compare to the economic recovery of Germany after World War Two? (Use all of the space below for full credit)

## Japan's Economic Recovery

What advantage did Japan enjoy after losing World War Two?

Devastated by the war, Japan's population in 1946 was what it had been in 1940 and increased by Japanese arriving from Korea and Manchuria. Japan was now aware that in a modern industrial age it could never be a first-class military power. Its resources were limited. The dream of prosperity through conquest was over. Japan was now dependent on goodwill and trade. With the United States supplying the military needed for defense, Japan could now devote its entire economy to peace-time development.

After the war, Japan began with much need for economic development. In the cities some people were starving. City dwellers were rushing to farming areas in what was called the "onion existence," peeling off layer after layer of possessions and exchanging them for food. For years Japan's population was kept from starvation by the free food from the United States. It would take time for Japan to develop its industry and exports to create self-sufficiency. Forced to start from scratch, Japan did not need to overcome reluctance to spend money on new machinery as some did in the industrialized West. Allied bombing had destroyed most of Japan's factories. The United States supported this rebuilding effort to prevent the Communist Party from becoming more popular.

What was Japan like after World War Two?

One advantage that Japan had over countries that were to be called "developing nations" was its tradition in education. Like Germany, Japan emerged from World War II with a reservoir of persons experienced with technology and science. Another advantage was Japan's devotion to free enterprise. Japan's industries were relatively well managed within a free enterprise system, and worker loyalty to each company was rewarded with lifetime jobs and benefits. Their culture valued precision, high quality products, and careful attention to their customers' needs. The government also supported the development of large, successful businesses that would carefully research and develop products that people would buy in the future, instead of just focusing on short-term profits from things they already were selling successfully..

How did the US conquest help Japan? (two ways)

What advantages did Japan have that would help economic recovery? (describe three)



Chongqing, the Yangtze River city that Americans may know as Chungking, is a naturally foggy place. It also suffers some of the worst pollution in all China, which puts it among the strong candidates for most polluted city in the world. When the fog and the pollution are both at their thickest, locals say, if you stretch your hand out in front of your face, you cannot see your fingers.

1. Why is it so foggy in Chungking?

Visibility was somewhat better than that when I visited Chongqing one morning recently. Perched high above the Jialin River, which also flows through the city, I peered into the dank grayness before me. I could dimly make out a black-and-white tugboat hugging the far shore of the river and, beyond that, the outlines of what might be office buildings. This was the view from the back of the Chongqing Paper Factory, a massive state-owned facility that local environmental officials had singled out as evidence of how well they were cleaning up Chongqing. Built in the 1940s, the factory had been for a long time a terrible polluter, discharging enough chlorine and other toxic chemicals into the Jialin to cover the entire river with white foam, according to a top official of the Chongqing Environmental Protection Bureau who must remain nameless. Now, however, the official bragged in an interview, the factory had been all but shut down. Our strategy has been to press them to death! he said.

2. What was happening at the paper factory?

At the factory, though, it didn't look that way. The official discouraged me from trying to visit (I myself would have to seek permission to enter, he said scoldingly), but Zhenbing, my interpreter, and I found the front gate open when we arrived, and since no one stopped us, we simply walked in. At the back of the plant a set of concrete steps led down to the Jialin River, perhaps eighty yards below. Halfway down Zhenbing and I cut left across the exposed riverbank, our shoes leaving clear prints on the dark, sandy soil.

Within seconds we saw a broad stream of bubbling water cascading out the back of the plant and down the hillside. The astringent odor of chlorine attacked our nostrils, and once we reached the stream's edge, the smell was so powerful that we immediately backed away. Below us, where the discharge emptied into the Jialin, a frothy white plume was spreading across the slow-moving river.

3. What other forms of pollution did the author observe nearby? (Name 2 types)

4. What accident did the author witness?

Hoping to leave the factory grounds by another exit, Zhenbing and I were trudging up a service road when a man wearing the olive-green greatcoat of the Chinese military came running directly at us. It seemed that our unauthorized factory tour might end badly after all. But no. Military greatcoats turn out to be a bit like Mao jackets in China these days: lots of people wear them, because they are cheap and functional. In any case, this man had different worries. Liquid was spilling from two large, loosely connected hoses by the side of the road, one leading back up to the factory and the other stretching down to the river. The man barked orders at two workers straddling the hoses, and they stepped back. Then, without a word of warning to Zhenbing and me — though we were standing only five feet away — he knelt and tightened the connection between the hoses.

5. How was the problem there solved?

Instantly he was engulfed in an explosion of gas. But he was ready for it, and in one fluid motion he straightened and started sprinting back along the road, vanishing behind the billowing cloud of chlorine after two steps. Zhenbing and I were not ready for it, but forward was the only way out, so we held our breath and plunged after him. Six running strides brought us past the worst of it, but even then we were surrounded by huge puffs of gas, which started us coughing fiercely.

6. What other problems did the author find in China's cities?

Thirty yards up the road we were still sputtering when we passed three dump trucks parked against the factory wall. A dozen workers were lounging in the backs of the trucks. The man in the greatcoat, who had run all the way here, was bending down to tie his shoe. Chlorine is the chemical that was used to kill soldiers in the poison-gas attacks of the First World War, but the men in the trucks showed no concern about the vapors floating past their heads. They only elbowed one another and stared at the foreigner trudging past their factory — evidently a far more unusual sight.

Zhenbing and I walked in silence to the plant's side exit and left. We were in the middle of a six-week trip through China to investigate the environmental crisis, and it was not a cheering assignment. In Beijing, Xian, and other cities of the north Zhenbing and I had walked in air so thick with coal dust and car fumes that even sunny days looked overcast and foggy.

2-1 5. How has the author shown us that China's economy is important? (look at the entire paragraph)

Human rights, China's possible admission to the World Trade Organization, its alleged Washington influence-buying — these are the issues that have made international headlines in the months leading up to this fall's Sino-U.S. summit. But soon China's environmental crisis is bound to command equal attention. China claims that its population is 1.22 billion people (as of the end of 1996). The true number is certainly higher than that. But even the official figure means that nearly one out of every four human beings on earth lives in China. The Chinese economy is ranked anywhere from the third to the seventh largest in the world, and is expected to be No. 1 by 2010. Incomes have doubled since Deng Xiaoping initiated his marketplace reforms in 1979, and the environmental side effects have been devastating.

6. What other air pollution problems does the author identify?

7. Why is lung disease a big problem?

At least five of the cities with the worst air pollution in the world are in China. Sixty to 90 percent of the rainfall in Guangdong, the southern province that is the center of China's economic boom, is acid rain. Since nearly all the gasoline in China is leaded (Beijing switched to unleaded gas in June), and 80 percent of the coal isn't washed before being burned, people's lungs and nervous systems are bombarded by an extraordinary volume and variety of deadly poisons. One of every four deaths in China is caused by lung disease, brought about by the air pollution and the increasingly fashionable habit of cigarette smoking. Suburban sprawl and soil erosion gobbled up more than 86 million acres of farmland from 1950 to 1990 — as much as all the farmland in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. Farmland losses have continued in the 1990s, raising questions about China's ability to feed itself in years to come, especially as rising incomes lead to more meat-intensive diets.

8. What is causing a loss of farmland?

9. Why does the author predict this problem will get worse?

Even the government's official policy pronouncements, which invariably overaccentuate the positive, admit that environmental degradation in China will get worse before it gets better. For China's newfound wealth has only whetted its citizens' appetite for more.



10. Why does he think China's future is so important to the planet?

China's huge population and grand economic ambitions make it the most important environmental actor in the world today, with the single exception of the United States. Like the United States, China could all but single-handedly make climate change, ozone depletion, and a host of other hazards a reality for people all over the world. What happens in China is therefore central to one of the great questions of our time: Will human civilization survive the many environmental pressures crowding in on it at the end of the twentieth century?

11. How has China learned from the West in their announcements about environmental problems?

Like governments the world over, China's leaders have learned to say the right things about the environment. In 1992 China was an enthusiastic participant in the United Nations Earth Summit. In July of last year President Jiang Zemin and Premier Li Peng began to speak out against environmental destruction and to urge a shift toward sustainable development. China has also adopted comprehensive environmental laws and regulations that on paper compare favorably with — indeed, were often modeled on — their Western equivalents.

12. Why do environmental problems seem to continue? (give 2 reasons)

But the future is shaped less by official rhetoric than by what actually happens on the ground, and as the Chongqing Paper Factory illustrates, environmental laws are often simply not implemented in China. This is no state secret; most of the dozens of government officials I interviewed acknowledged the pervasiveness of the problem, often without prompting. Sometimes the culprit is corruption: factory owners use guanxi — personal connections — or bribery to get local regulators to look the other way. Beijing either can't or won't stop them. As the ancient Chinese adage says, The mountains are high, and the Emperor is far away.

13. What is the "soft-law" syndrome, and why is it used so widely in China? (read to the end of the section before answering)

on the next page

Even more common, and intractable, is the so-called soft-law syndrome. Under soft law the government excuses state-owned companies from full compliance with environmental laws and standards; the law is softened in order to spare the companies (and the state banks supporting them) from bankruptcy and to shield their workers from unemployment. In contrast to corruption, soft law is not something Chinese officials like to talk about.

this part for the foreigner. The government of Chongqing knew perfectly well that the paper plant should be closed immediately. In fact, it had tried to shut the plant months earlier (just as the unnamed official quoted earlier had bragged), but the local people and leaders complained a lot, so the government backed off. It was afraid of social unrest.

This is the crux of the Chinese environmental problem. The government knows the environment needs protecting, but it fears the social consequences. Bluntly put, it worries that doing the right thing environmentally could be political suicide.

### 3 A Long Nightmare of Deprivation

The government would like to protect the environment for a very simple reason: senior officials have come to realize that environmental degradation costs money — indeed, it threatens to derail China's entire economic-modernization program. Li Yining, a grand old man of market economics, who was one of the masterminds of China's transition to private enterprise, told me in an interview that inadequate ecological protection was one of the few things that could prevent China's economy from growing at 10 percent a year for a very long time. Acid rain, for example, causes \$2.8 billion worth of damage to forests, agriculture, and industry in China every year. Air pollution raises health-care costs and lowers workers' productivity. Deforestation worsens the floods that already kill thousands of Chinese every year. The list goes on. The official China Daily estimates that the annual cost of China's environmental degradation is seven percent of the gross domestic product. Vaclav Smil, a geographer at the University of Manitoba and a leading expert on China's environment, calculates the cost at no less than 10 to 15 percent of GDP. If Smil is correct, then the much-celebrated growth of China's economy is, in effect, being canceled out by associated environmental degradation. In short, the economy is running hard but poisoning its own future. The problem, of course, is that faithfully implementing environmental laws would require closing hundreds of thousands of factories and throwing tens of millions of people out of work.

The Chinese people have long and bitter experience with scarcity and are understandably eager to leave it behind. As recently as 1949 life expectancy was only thirty-nine years, a level not seen in Europe since the Industrial Revolution. All Chinese over forty have firsthand memories of the greatest man-made disaster of the twentieth century, the famine caused by Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward campaign. As Jasper Becker, the Beijing bureau chief of the South China Morning Post, documents in *Hungry Ghosts* (1997), the famine killed some 30 million people from 1959 to 1961 and brought starvation, misery, and even cannibalism to rural China.

14. For what reasons do some Chinese officials fear, and at the same time want to protect the environment?

15. In complete sentences that you write in your own words, give 2 examples of why they fear AND want environmental protection

15. Why do older Chinese think the Great Leap Forward was a disaster?

in China is leaded (Beijing switched to unleaded gas in June), and 80 percent of the coal isn't "washed" before being burned, people's lungs and nervous systems are bombarded by an extraordinary volume and variety of deadly poisons. One of every four deaths in China is caused by lung disease, brought about by the air pollution and the increasingly fashionable habit of cigarette smoking. Suburban sprawl and soil erosion gobbled up more than 86 million acres of farmland from 1950 to 1990 -- as much as all the farmland in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. Farmland losses have continued in the 1990s, raising questions about China's ability to feed itself in years to come, especially as rising incomes lead to more meat-intensive diets.

Even the government's official policy pronouncements, which invariably overaccentuate the positive, admit that environmental degradation in China will get worse before it gets better. For China's newfound wealth has only whetted its citizens' appetite for more. China's huge population wants to join the global middle class, with everything that entails: cars, air-conditioners, closets full of clothes, jet travel. Rising consumer demand has already resulted in chronic widespread electricity shortages. Thus China plans to build more than a hundred new power stations over the next decade, adding 18,000 megawatts of capacity every year -- roughly the equivalent of Louisiana's entire power grid. By 2020 its coal consumption will have doubled, if not tripled. All this will not only worsen the country's acid-rain and air-pollution problems; it will endanger the entire planet, by accelerating the global warming that scientists say is already under way.

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Right after the explosion at the paper factory I had lunch with Hu Jiquan, a top government economist in Chongqing. Keen to encourage foreign investment, Hu was pledging that the local environment would improve in years to come, thanks to tougher law enforcement. "We will close factories if we have to," Hu said. "We've already closed more than two hundred of them." Having just returned from the chlorine waterfall, I couldn't help challenging this rosy vision, and Hu was honest enough to concede that short-term economic considerations often do override environmental goals in China. "The trouble is, if we close that factory, many workers will lose their jobs, and our government would rather support the workers than protect the water," he said with a shrug.

Hu then extended his explanation, though he first told Zhenbing not to translate this part for the foreigner. The government of Chongqing knew perfectly well that the paper plant should be closed immediately. In fact, it had tried to shut the plant months earlier (just as the unnamed official quoted earlier had bragged), "but the local people and leaders complained a lot, so the government backed off. It was afraid of social unrest."

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[http://www.theatlantic.com/atlantic/  
issues/97nov/china.htm](http://www.theatlantic.com/atlantic/issues/97nov/china.htm)

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Today the average Chinese life-span is about seventy years, yet scores of millions still live in desperate poverty. In one village I visited in Sichuan province, on a very cold day when my feet were only just comfortable inside heavily insulated hiking boots, I watched a grim-faced peasant woman washing her family's clothes in the river, her bare feet dangling in the frigid water. On the other side of the village a man, also barefoot, stamped around on a pile of loose, moist coal, looking like an eighteenth-century European peasant crushing grapes for wine. In fact he was manufacturing the briquettes of fuel whose carcinogenic combustion would provide what little heat he and his neighbors enjoyed in their windowless mud huts.

Now that China is at last awakening from its long nightmare of deprivation, the Communist Party's tattered legitimacy depends on keeping the economic expansion going, and extending it to the many regions that still lag behind. Yet the marketplace reforms that have sparked double-digit economic growth in China have also brought pain to vast portions of the population. As a result, there has been much more social unrest in China in recent years than most outsiders realize. The mass occupation of Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the army's subsequent massacre of unarmed demonstrators are well known. But similarly militant protests took place at the same time in cities and towns throughout China; that news did not reach the outside world because there were no foreign journalists on hand to report it. Recently, as the transition from state-organized economy to private-market free-for-all has touched the lives of more and more Chinese, thousands of wildcat strikes and street demonstrations have occurred across the country, especially in Manchuria, a bastion of heavy industry, where unemployment rates now exceed 30 percent. WE DON'T WANT DEMOCRACY, WE WANT TO SURVIVE, declared one protest banner in the city of Shenyang.

All this has left Party leaders determined to keep the economy growing no matter what. They believe that Tiananmen Square was not primarily about politics -- about the issues of democracy and human rights that dominated Western news reports -- but about economics. There is truth to this. Hundreds of thousands of average Chinese followed the students into the streets not only because they yearned to breathe free but also because they were angry about hyperinflation, corruption, and their own uncertain economic prospects. The Party saw its life flash before its eyes in 1989, and it got a second warning in 1991, when its erstwhile "big brother," the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, fell from power. The Chinese Communists are determined not to suffer the same fate. As Deng Xiaoping warned his fellow Party leaders after Tiananmen Square, if the Party cannot improve the welfare of the people, the

people will go into the streets.

## Environmental Revolts

**B**UT there is a Catch-22. The people, it seems, will also go into the streets if their local environment becomes intolerably polluted -- if, for example, they are deprived of safe drinking water.

"There were social revolts along the Huai River, so the State Council [China's Cabinet] *had* to react," one retired senior government official told me, recalling the most dramatic government crackdown on pollution to date. The Huai region, located about 200 miles northwest of Shanghai, is the most densely populated of China's seven major river basins: 110 million inhabitants share 108,000 square miles of land. The river had been severely polluted for years, but it got drastically worse in July of 1994, when a sudden flood of toxins turned the river black and deadly for weeks. Hundreds of thousands of people were left without drinking water, several thousand were treated for dysentery, diarrhea, and vomiting, and 26 million pounds of fish were killed.

Popular outrage took many forms, including pelting local officials with eggs when they blocked foreign journalists from filming the river. The most extraordinary moment came when a top leader from Beijing, Song Jian, the elderly chairman of the State Council's environment committee, arrived to inspect the site. Somehow one brave and resourceful peasant managed to give Song a glass of river water to drink. Song took a sip of the putrid brew; then he turned to the local and provincial officials flanking him and shrewdly invited them to drain the glass. These officials had ignored earlier pleas to close the paper, leather, and dyeing factories whose waste fouled the Huai. Song told them they would be sacked if the offending factories were not shut promptly. Last summer the government closed 999 paper mills and untold numbers of other factories.

If Beijing fears social unrest so much, why did it shut all those factories? One reason, said the retired senior government official, was that "for years no boy from [certain villages in] the Huai River area has been healthy enough to pass the physical examination required to enter the army." Even more important, said other observers, these factories were "township and village enterprises," or TVEs -- small, privately owned plants that employed no more than a few dozen workers each. TVEs employed at most tens of thousands of moonlighting peasants who had never stopped working in their fields. Against that fact the government had to weigh the anger of the many hundreds of thousands of people who relied on the Huai for their drinking water -- people who had already demonstrated a capacity for protest. There was no question which group should be placated.

Beijing went national with the campaign against TVEs in August of last year, when the State Council ordered some 60,000 heavily polluting factories to close. "That sounds like a big number, but in a country as large as China it amounts to only one percent of the total number of enterprises and workers," Ye Requi, a deputy administrator of the National Environmental Protection Agency, told me. Ye nevertheless argued that the closings "show the seriousness of the government in this area." Unfortunately, TVEs account for only a fraction of



China's pollution -- estimates range from five to 30 percent. To make a real dent in the problem, state-owned enterprises like the Chongqing Paper Factory would have to be closed. But fear of social unrest makes that problematic, as it does the recent pledge by Party leaders to end state ownership of 10,000 of China's 13,000 largest industrial enterprises.

Thus China's leaders find themselves in a box. They can, in the name of economic growth, leave the big factories and other environmental hazards essentially undisturbed and hope that the resulting pollution and ecological destruction do not trigger either unmanageable popular protest or long-run economic stagnation. Or they can clamp down, clean up, and face the double short-term risk of a stalled economy and a wrathful proletariat. Not an enviable choice, but for Chinese leaders not a difficult one either. As Chen Qi, the top environmental official in Liaoning, a region of bitter winter cold and 30 percent unemployment, explained to me, "Heavy pollution may kill you in a hundred days, but without enough heat and food you die in three."

### The Collapse of the One-Child Policy

**T**HE most pervasive environment-related myth about China is that couples are allowed to have only one child. But in truth the one-child policy has long been "more slogan than reality," in the words of a top Chinese demographer. The Party was forced by popular resistance to back off from the policy -- another example of social unrest driving government decisions. Enraged peasants were actually attacking and killing local Party leaders and their families.

When one Party boss in southern China forced a woman to abort in her seventh month of pregnancy, he lived to regret it. The woman and her husband already had a daughter, but like all Chinese peasants, they wanted a son -- the only old-age insurance available in China. During the abortion it was discovered that the woman had been carrying two sons -- twins. When the father heard this news, Steven W. Mosher reports in *Broken Earth* (1983), he exploded in a murderous rage and ran through the village to the house of the Party leader. There the father grabbed the leader's two sons, aged eight and ten, and hurled them down the courtyard well. He then leaped in after them, closing the circle of death with suicide.

Such attacks apparently convinced Beijing that the one-child policy posed a threat to Party authority. In 1984, five years after the policy was inaugurated, it was relaxed, though in rural areas only.

Today the one-child family is all but unheard of in rural China, where nearly three out of four Chinese live. In my six weeks of travel, which took me from Liaoning and Hebei provinces in the north through Shanxi and Sichuan in the middle west to Hunan and Guangdong in the south, I talked with scores of peasant families. I was the first foreigner that some of these peasants, especially the children, had ever seen. Every family I met had at least two children; many had three or four, and some had five or more. In a village near the Pearl River I shot baskets with a boy of ten who shyly told me that he was the youngest of seven. It seems that the only Chinese who do adhere to the one-child target are urban dwellers -- especially those who work directly for the government and

thus can be easily monitored, and penalized through the withholding of salaries, promotions, and the like.

All of which casts strong doubt on official claims regarding China's population: that Chinese women average only two births each; that the population will not reach 1.5 billion until 2030; that it will peak at 1.6 billion in 2046. Although some newly affluent families are, in the familiar demographic pattern, having fewer children, the gross numbers are almost certainly greater. The truth is that no one knows exactly how big China's population is, or how fast it is growing.

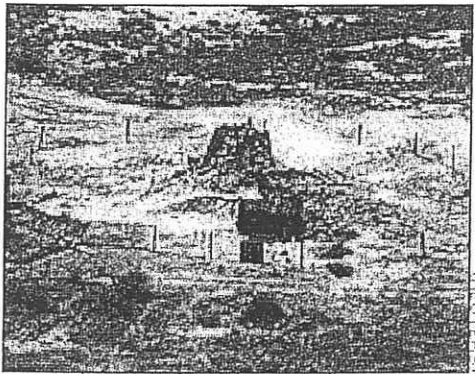
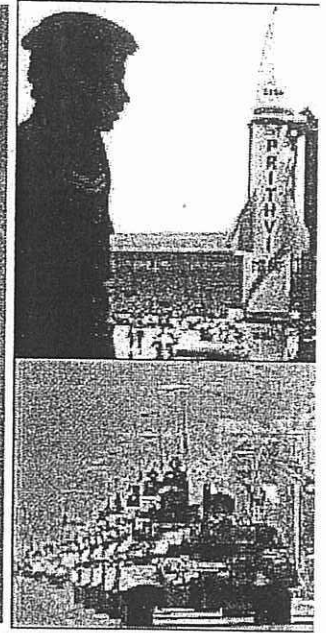
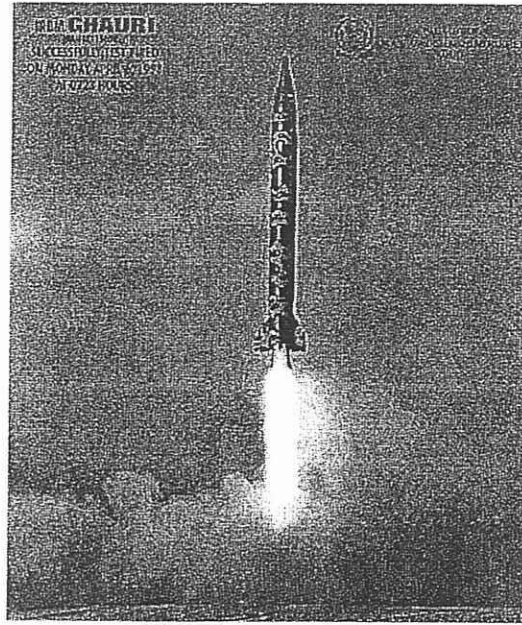
"Ten years ago China had a reputation for having the best population statistics in the world, because there was no way for its people to hide what they were doing from the government," Gu Baochang, the associate director of the official China Population Information and Research Center, told me. "But today Chinese figures have become very questionable. The problem is, the local Party leaders compete with one another to post the lowest birth rate, just as they compete to have the highest economic growth rate.... So at each level of authority the targets get tightened. If the central government sets a target of eighteen births per thousand people this year, the provincial leaders tell county officials no, they must achieve sixteen, and the county leaders tell village officials no, it must be fourteen." The regrettable results, Gu added, include a renewed coercion of women, continued abortions of female fetuses, and underreporting of the nation's true birth rates up the chain of command.

Yet even scrupulously honest reporting would not change the fundamental fact that Chinese leaders waited too long to attack the problem. In the late 1950s Mao brushed aside warnings about the approaching difficulties, arguing that China could always produce its way out of trouble, since "every mouth is born with two hands attached." Not until 1971, when the population already exceeded 850 million, did China begin pursuing birth control in earnest. The "later, longer, fewer" program urged later marriages, increased spacing between children, and a limit of two children per family. It was both less coercive and more successful than the subsequent one-child policy, reducing average births per woman from 5.8 in 1970 to 2.8 by 1977 -- a remarkable achievement. But it was not enough. Because the base number -- China's population -- was already so large, even this lower rate of growth translated into huge absolute increases.

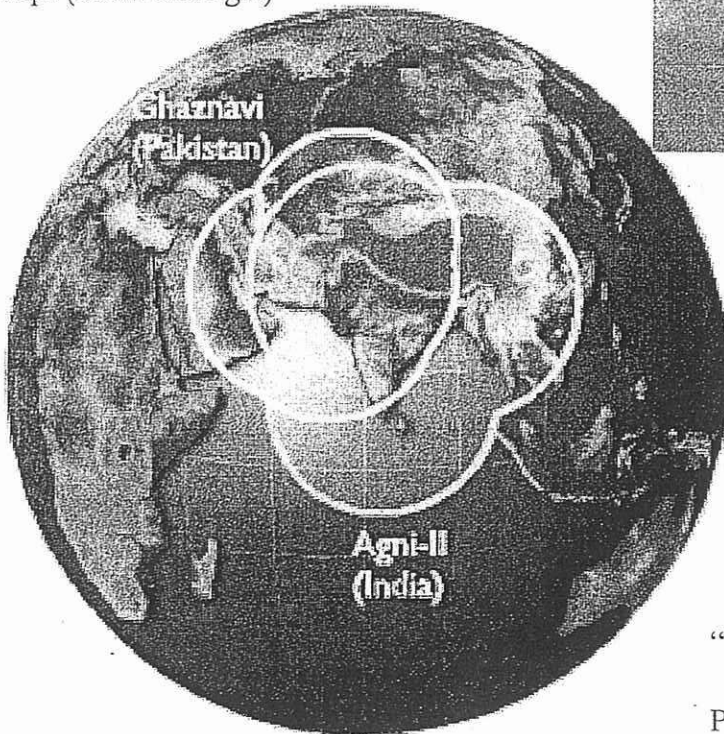
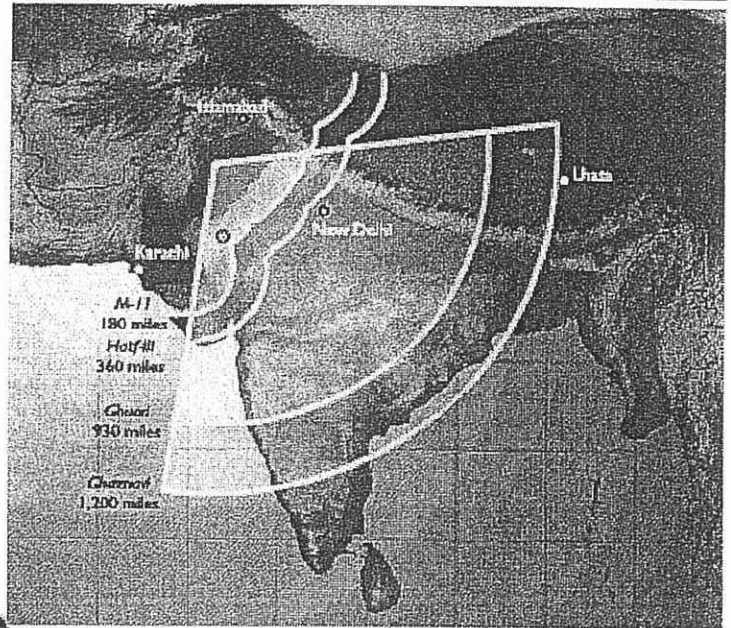
That dynamic still operates today, which may be why President Jiang in 1996 spoke of reanimating the one-child policy. Even if the official Chinese claim of 2.0 births per woman is accurate, that amounts to an annual increase of 15 million people. "So even though China has reduced its fertility as much as possible," Gu explained to me, "the total population is still growing as much as it was in the early 1970s, when women were having four or more children each."

Population growth is probably China's most important environmental issue, because it magnifies all others. For example, China ranks near the very bottom in global comparisons of per capita supplies of arable land, fresh water, and forests. This is in part because so much of China's land is arid, and in part because Mao, in his mad Great Leap Forward, ordered millions of trees to be cut down. But the country's gargantuan population makes a bad situation worse.

Both India and Pakistan first tested nuclear devices in 1998, when Global Studies was last taught at Windsor High. Both nations have a powerful military, and ongoing tensions. They have fought three wars since independence in 1947. Pakistan is a predominately Muslim state, and India has a sizeable Muslim minority. Evidence suggests that Pakistan began developing a nuclear capability in the 1980s, and received \$1.5 billion from Arab countries in the 1970s, according to The Nation magazine (6 July 1998). More recent evidence suggests China provided Pakistan with key components for nuclear-capable missiles.

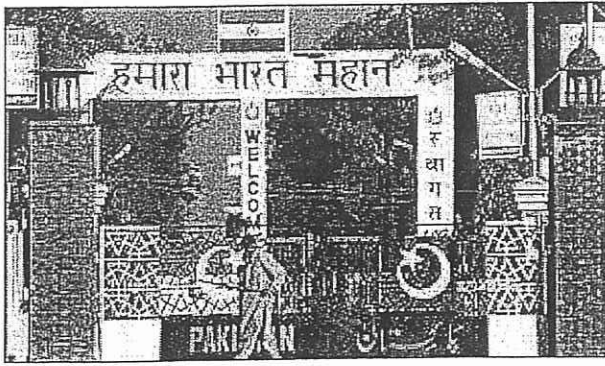


a picture of Pakistan's first atom bomb test. The presumed range of Pakistan's missiles are shown in the maps (below and right)



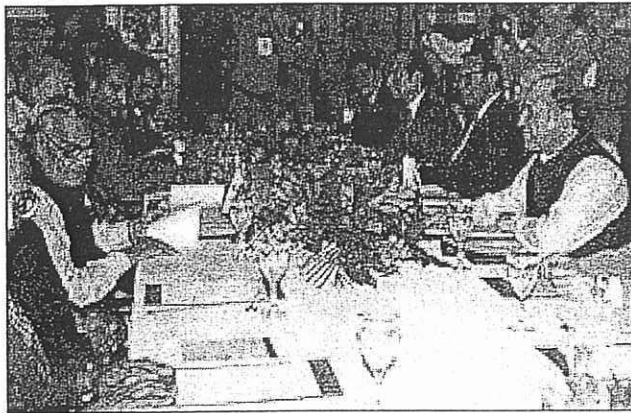
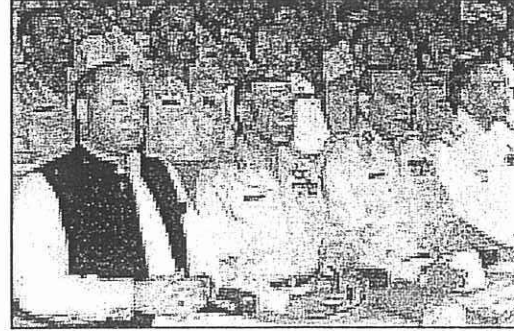
“What scares them when they try to sleep at night”  
 --from a website that shows “Support for Pakistan’s Nuclear Might”  
<http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/Quarters/5795/>





After both India and Pakistan shocked the world with their nuclear test, The leaders of both nations met at the border town of Lahore, and reached an agreement known as the Lahore Agreement. These pictures appeared on the major news websites at that time.

Pakistan is ruled by a military council, which overthrew the last democratically elected government prior to this meeting in 1998. Pakistan's leader, wearing a black vest in the image to the right, also is shown below after signing this agreement with Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee.



Although the terms of this agreement have helped defuse tension between these two nations, the Kashmir problem remains unsolved. Pakistan's growing Islamic fundamentalist culture, support of Kashmiri separatist guerillas, and undemocratic military government make this a troubled region for US policy makers.

### Lahore Declaration

The governments shall:

- ▶ Intensify efforts to resolve all issues, including Kashmir
- ▶ Refrain from intervening and interfering in the other's internal affairs
- ▶ Intensify the process for an early positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda
- ▶ Take immediate steps to reduce accidental or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons... and elaborate measures for confidence building to prevent conflict
- ▶ Re-affirm their commitment to the goals and objectives of Saarc
- ▶ Re-affirm their condemnation of terrorism, and their determination to combat it
- ▶ Promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms

## “India’s Tunnel Vision”

How is the movement against Indian rule in Kashmir changing?

How has India made mistakes in ruling Kashmir?

## “U.S., Vietnam plan Agent Orange Study

What is Agent Orange?

Why is it still a problem?

What are the other important consequences of the Vietnam War?

How might you connect this story with our study of the Middle East?

## “A Bomb is Born-India and Pakistan’s nuclear programs”

Why is George Perkovich such an important expert that *Newsweek* interviewed him on this topic?

(Note: “excerpts” are parts of a larger work. “Nehru” he refers to was India’s first prime minister)

What is Perkovich’s assessment of Nehru’s role in developing a nuclear bomb program for his nation?

What was the role of Homi Bhabha?

Why is the India-Pakistan rivalry a problem for US officials, and example of power struggles in Asia?

For what reasons is Pakistan so dangerous? (give two reasons)

Why does he think South Asia is getting more dangerous?



India wants to be seen as an emerging great power, like China. It diminishes India's sense of self-regard to be equated with small and incompetent Pakistan. There's real resistance to U.S. officials who say, "You really have to work on this relationship with Pakistan." The Indians say, "Why do you always equate us with Pakistan? Don't you realize we're vastly superior to Pakistan?"

Is Pakistan still ahead in the missile race?

Pakistan today has a greater capacity to put nuclear warheads on missiles and launch them tomorrow than India does. Pakistan has two competing missile programs, which wasn't known until recently. The A.Q. Khan Labs have the Ghauri missile, assisted by North Korea. The Pakistan Atomic Energy Organization has missiles, too, assisted from China. They're racing each other for money and prestige, for the title of the great providers of Pakistan's strategic might. That raises the threat to India, because the Pakistanis are under pressure to go forward.

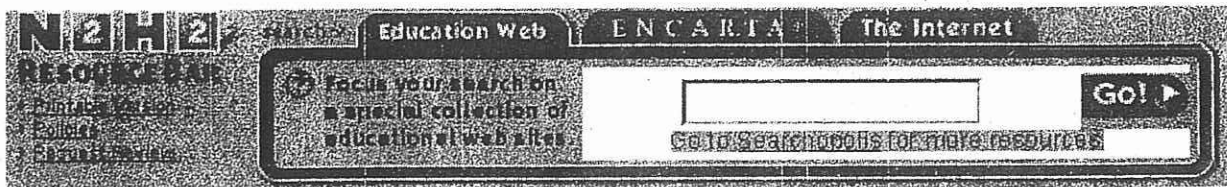
So is Pakistan the problem?

You've got scientists in Pakistan who are out of control, especially A.Q. Khan. He's kind of a mad scientist. He makes outrageous statements. He's doing business with North Korea, procuring missiles. He's a bad dude. One of the key questions for Musharraf Parvez, the new leader, is whether he can rein this guy in. In India you've got much more sober scientists, but the government is struggling to figure out how you put limits on these guys. They're national heroes.

Where does the arms race go from here?

In April of '98, India does one missile test. So Pakistan does two. India then tests five nuclear weapons; Pakistan claims they tested six. They didn't really, but claim to. That's the mentality: anything you can do, I can do one better. Leaders in both countries say they don't want an arms race, but they have done nothing to avoid one. You're going to see more missile tests, and there will be leaks at some point that Pakistan has warheads either on its missiles or standing right by the missiles. They're creeping toward a situation like what we and the Soviets had, where you have forces on alert that are ready to go on a moment's notice. That's where it gets real dangerous in South Asia.

(end)



## A Bomb is Born - India and Pakistan's nuclear programs

Date: Sat, 29 Jan 2000

From: Harsh Kapoor <aiindex@mnet.fr>

South Asians Against Nukes Post  
29 January 2000

Newsweek International,  
January 24, 2000

### A Bomb is Born

Pakistan has two missile programs, which wasn't known until recently. They're racing each other for money and prestige." - George Perkovich

No westerner has come TO know the nuclear frontier in South Asia better than George Perkovich. His new book, "India's Nuclear Bomb," offers startling insights on how and why Nehru, the great peacemaker, and his chief scientist Homi Bhabha began preparing the nuclear option as early as the 1950s. Perkovich is director of the Secure World Program at the W. Alton Jones Foundation, and debriefed many top Indian officials to shed new light on this top-secret field. He breaks ground on the dueling 1998 nuclear tests in South Asia, and reveals an internal arms race in Pakistan. He spoke with NEWSWEEK's Tony Emerson in New York.

#### *Excerpts:*

EMERSON: You draw a picture of Nehru as much more hardheaded than popularly believed. PERKOVICH: He was. He made so many speeches where he said, in seemingly categorical terms, we're not going to build the bomb. On the other hand, he was knowingly working with Bhabha, who was developing a capability that could produce a bomb. Nehru was hardheaded and shrewd and did not want to forestall an option they might want down the road.

How did Bhabha become the unchallenged czar of the bomb?

This is very important, and it's a problem to this day. Here was this charismatic, brilliant physicist, educated in Cambridge. He has offers at Princeton and other places. He comes back to India and says, "Look, I'm willing to stay here, but I want to create this grand nuclear establishment and you, the government, have to endow me with the resources." The government was glad to have someone who could put India on the map, technologically. Nehru essentially gave Bhabha carte blanche. Nuclear policy was made between those two over dinner. There were no checks and balances.

And that pattern still holds? Essentially, yes. If you chart through the '60s, '70s and '80s, the scientists have been on their own. Bhabha was interested in nuclear explosives as a sign of prowess, not as a military instrument.

You argue that it's "supercilious" for India to downplay the threat from Pakistan. Why?

It is an outcry heard in Burma and from oppressed people throughout the world:

# All We Want Is Our Freedom

Last May, Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi was released after spending 19 months under house arrest. It was the second time she had been detained by the military dictatorship that rules Burma. Now, although she is allowed to speak and travel the countryside, she continues to be monitored and harassed. On March 20, Aung San Suu Kyi, 57, will be honored with the \$1 million Al Neuharth Free Spirit of the Year Award,

which is given annually to "the person in the news who has stirred our hearts by demonstrating the human capacity to dream, dare and do." While she will not attend the awards ceremony, for fear that she would be denied readmission to Burma, here—in this essay for PARADE—Aung San Suu Kyi shares her passion to gain for her people something that we in democratic countries too often take for granted: our freedom.

**T**RAVELING across Burma, I ask people why they want democracy. Very often the answer is, "We just want to be free." They do not have to elaborate. I understand what they mean. They want to be able to live their lives without the oppressive sense that their destiny is not theirs to shape. They do not want their daily existence to be ruled by the orders and whims of those whose authority is based on might of arms.

When I ask young people what they mean by freedom, they say that they want to be able to speak their minds. They want to be able to voice their discontent with an education system that does not challenge their intellect. They want to be able to discuss, criticize, argue; to be able to gather in the thousands or even hundreds of thousands to sing, to shout, to cheer. Burma's young people want to play out the vitality of their youth in its full spectrum of hope and wonder—its uncertainties, its arrogance, its fancies, its brilliance, its rebel-



Burmese protesters outside their country's embassy in Bangkok: The ruling military dictatorship renamed the country Myanmar in 1989, but pro-democracy activists insist it should still be known as Burma.

liousness, its harshness, its tenderness. What do the women of Burma want? They tell me that they want to be free from the tyranny of rising prices that make running a household an exhaust-

ing business. They want to be free from the anxiety that their husbands might be penalized for independent thinking—or that their children might not be given a fair chance in life. Many—

too many—long to be free from having to sell their bodies to support their families.

The farmers and peasants I meet want to sow and plant as they wish, to be able to market their produce at will, unhampered by the coercion to sell it to the state at cruelly low prices. They struggle daily with the land. They do not want unreasonable decrees and incomprehensible authority to add to their burden.

And what about those of us in the National League for Democracy? Why are we working so hard to free our country? It is not that we see democracy through a haze of optimism. We know that democracy is a jewel that must be polished constantly to maintain its luster. To prevent it from being damaged or stolen, democracy must be guarded with unremitting vigilance.

We are working so hard for freedom because only in a free Burma will we be able to build a nation that respects and cherishes human dignity.

As I travel through my country, people often ask me how it feels to have been imprisoned in my home—first for six years, then for 19 months. How

BY AUNG SAN SUU KYI

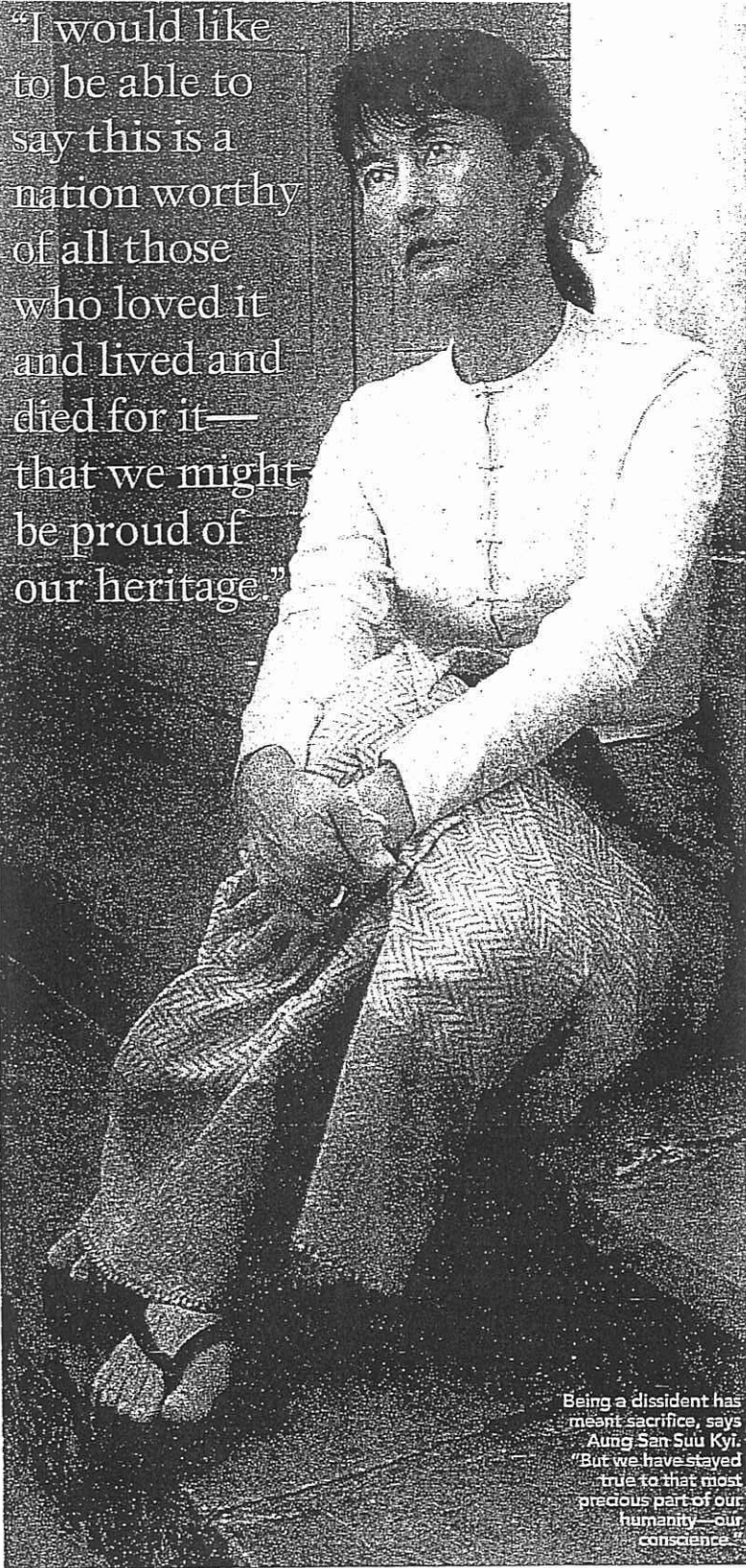
PHOTOGRAPH BY ERNIE ADAMS FOR PARADE

PAGE 4 • MARCH 9, 2003 • PARADE MAGAZINE

Photos by Shikhan/Reuters (democratic) and Shikhan/Reuters (A14)



"I would like to be able to say this is a nation worthy of all those who loved it and lived and died for it—that we might be proud of our heritage."



Being a dissident has meant sacrifice, says Aung San Suu Kyi. "But we have stayed true to that most precious part of our humanity—our conscience."



Aung San Suu Kyi's husband, Michael Aris, and their sons, Alexander (l) and Kim, at the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize ceremony that she was not permitted to attend. Aris died of cancer in 1999 after the military junta denied his request to visit his wife one final time.

could I stand the separation from family and friends? It is ironic, I say, that in an authoritarian state it is only the prisoner of conscience who is genuinely free. Yes, we have given up our right to

stayed true to that most precious part of our humanity—our conscience.

Here is what I want most for my people: I want the security of genuine freedom and the freedom of genuine security. I would like to see the crippling fetters of fear removed, that the people of Burma may be able to hold their heads high as free human beings. I would like to see them striving in unity and joy to build a safer, happier society for us all. I would espe-

cially like to see our young people stride confidently into the future, their richness of spirit soaring to meet all challenges. I would like to be able to say: "This is a nation worthy of all those

who loved it and lived and died for it—that we might be proud of our heritage." These are not dreams. These constitute the reality toward which we have been working for years, firm in our faith that the will of the people will ultimately triumph. ■

### She Has a Spine of Steel...

Over the years I have photographed many of the world's great human-rights leaders, including Vaclav Havel, Desmond Tutu, the Dalai Lama, Rigoberta Menchu Tum, Pope John Paul II, Oscar Arias Sanchez and Elie Wiesel—many of them for PARADE. But even among this group, Aung San Suu Kyi stands out.

Because the Burmese authorities monitor her life and movements so closely, she is seldom interviewed or photographed. (I only got to meet her by accompanying Al Neuharth and Charles L. Overby from the Freedom Forum.) And when she is photographed, she is famously shy and impatient because, as she told me, "I like to think that I'm not different from other people." It is striking how petite she is—maybe 5 feet 3, 100 pounds—and how she exudes such a quiet dignity. Yet Aung San Suu Kyi has a spine of steel.

The week before we met, she had traveled from Rangoon, where she lives, to Arakan State, where more than 25,000 mainly young people had turned out to greet her. The authorities responded by sending fire engines to intimidate the crowd: "I suppose they meant the people to understand that if they didn't disperse, they would be hosed down," she told us. How did she handle the situation? "I got on top of a fire engine to address the crowd." The authorities backed down, and the fire engines pulled away. "The trip was a great success," she said, "because the people showed that they wouldn't give in to fear." —Eddie Adams



Aung San Suu Kyi at home with a painting of her father, Gen. Aung San, who was instrumental in winning Burma's independence in the mid-1940s after more than half a century of British rule. Gen. Aung San was assassinated by rivals in 1947 when his daughter was just 2.

[www.parade.com](http://www.parade.com)

For links to more on Aung San Suu Kyi and her struggle to win democracy for her nation, as well as more on Burma and its history, visit [www.parade.com](http://www.parade.com) on the Web.

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# Freed dissident embraces struggle 5/7/2

Suu Kyi renews vow  
to fight for democracy

LOS ANGELES TIMES

JAKARTA, Indonesia — Pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, freed from house arrest Monday by Myanmar's military government, called her release "a new dawn for the country," and said she will continue her peaceful struggle for political change.

Speaking publicly for the first time in more than 19 months, the Nobel Peace Prize winner said the government had placed no conditions on her release. She said she expects to travel soon to different parts of Myanmar, which was known as Burma before the junta renamed it.

"I must do everything I can to make sure democracy comes to Burma quickly, and comes in the right way," Suu Kyi, 56, told reporters hours after the regime announced she was free to leave her home in Yangon, the capital.

Her release was welcomed by the United States and other nations that have imposed



DAVID LONGTREATH / Associated Press

Myanmar pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, right, prays Monday at the Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon, Myanmar.

sanctions on Myanmar's regime because of its suppression of democratic rights.

"I'm very pleased that she has been released and allowed to participate in political life once again," U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said in Washington. It was unclear, however, whether the regime has any intention of bringing democracy to the impoverished nation. Some critics contended that the government released Suu Kyi only to ease international pressure on Myanmar.

# RIGHTS: Ruling in Unocal case a setback for multinational corporations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

their alleged complicity with repressive foreign regimes in human-rights abuses.

At least 10 similar lawsuits are pending around the United States against corporations, including ChevronTexaco and Coca-Cola, and human-rights lawyers have several other cases waiting in the wings. With Wednesday's ruling, they are likely to move forward.

"That's an enormously big decision," said Robert Benson, a Loyola Law School professor and longtime critic of Unocal's participation in the Myanmar pipeline. "This now makes it the leading case" in this area of the law.

Added Terry Collingsworth, a lawyer for some of the plaintiffs: "Unocal was saying you can't hold us liable because we didn't hold the gun. That's the classic Nuremberg defense: We weren't the Nazis. We merely profited from them. Now this court has clarified that you cannot knowingly assist a crime and claim you are not responsible."

Corporations usually succeed in getting such cases dis-

missed before trial, but the Unocal case, thrown out of federal court, was refilled in a state court and is set to go before a Los Angeles jury in February.

Lawyers for the 13 Burmese villagers pressing their grievances from a refugee camp in Thailand said the decision was a huge victory, both for them and as an example for courts to follow in similar lawsuits.

Officials at Unocal were considering their appeals options and confident the company would prevail, said Daniel M. Petrocelli, a lawyer Unocal brought into the case about a month ago.

"What the case is about is whether a private American company can be held responsible for the actions of a foreign military regime when the company itself didn't do any of the offending conduct," Petrocelli said.

A French company ran the pipeline project, and Unocal's involvement was as an investor, he said.

"No Unocal person participated in any acts of wrongdoing," he said. "Unocal does not have, nor ever had, any control over

the actions of the Myanmar military. The company does not direct countenance or condone the violation of any person's human rights, and it certainly did not aid or abet the violation of anyone's human rights. And if that is the standard that is applied in this case, we are confident we will meet that standard."

The legal battle began six years ago when Burmese villagers filed suit in U.S. federal court demanding Unocal pay tens of millions of dollars in damages for the alleged abuses committed by soldiers along the Yadana Pipeline.

A trial judge found the evidence suggested "Unocal knew that forced labor was being utilized and that the Joint Ventures benefited from the practice."

But he threw out the case because the company's conduct did not rise to the level of "active participation" — a liability standard the court borrowed from the Nuremberg war-crimes tribunals of German industrialists in the Nazi forced-labor program.

Lawyers for the villagers re-

sponded by filing a new lawsuit in Los Angeles County Superior Court, making many of the same charges under California law.

The lawyers also appealed the federal judge's dismissal, which led to Wednesday's ruling.

Although the appeals panel sent the case back to the lower federal court for trial, the villagers' lawyers said they would ask Superior Court Judge Victoria Gerrard Cheney to apply the new liability standard in the state trial.

tion of the crime," they wrote.

The ruling may encourage multinational corporations to apply U.S. workplace standards to operations abroad, said Christine Rosen, an associate professor at UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business.

"It should be a wake-up call to companies that they may be held to American standards of liability, that it now makes even more sense for them to apply American standards in labor relations and environmental affairs and so forth in the developing world," she said.

## Firms liable for foreign rights abuse

BY LISA GIRION

LOS ANGELES TIMES

LOS ANGELES — In a set-

back for multinational corporations, a federal appeals court ruled Wednesday that such companies can be held liable in U.S. courts for aiding and abetting human-rights violations committed abroad.

The ruling, which the panel said was unprecedented, came in a case that accuses El Segun-do-based Unocal Corp. of turning a blind eye to alleged human-rights abuses, including murder and rape, against Burmese villagers who were forced by Myanmar government soldiers to work on a \$1.2 billion natural-gas pipeline.

The decision by a panel of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Pasadena was seen as a breakthrough for foreigners seeking to hold multinational corporations accountable for

TURN TO RIGHTS, PAGE A13



Pol Pot (4/19/98) "one of the century's great mass killers...who drove Cambodia to ruin, causing the deaths of more than a million people," and who "launched one of the world's most terrifying attempts at utopia." (4/13/98) But in reference to Suharto, this same Mydans said (4/8/98) that "more than 500,000 Indonesians are estimated to have died in a purge of leftists in 1965, the year Mr. Suharto came to power." Note that Suharto is not even the killer, let alone a "great mass killer," and this "purge"--not "murder" or "slaughter"--was not "terrifying," and was not allocated to any particular agent.

The use of the passive voice is common in dealing with Suharto's victims: They "died" instead of being killed ("the violence left a reported 500,000 people dead"--*New York Times*, 1/15/98), or "were killed" without reference to the author of the killings (e.g., *Washington Post*, 2/23/98, 5/26/98). In referring to East Timor, Mydans (*New York Times*, 7/28/96) spoke of protestors shouting grievances about "the suppression of opposition in East Timor and Irian Jaya." Is "suppression of opposition" the proper description of an invasion and occupation that eliminated 200,000 out of 700,000 people?

The good and bad genocidists are handled differently in other ways. For Suharto, the numbers killed always tend to the 500,000 official Indonesian estimate or below, although independent estimates run from 700,000 to well over a million. For Pol Pot, the media numbers usually range from 1 million-2 million, although the best estimates of numbers executed run from 100,000-400,000, with excess deaths from all causes (including residual effects of the prior devastation) ranging upward from 750,000 (Michael Vickery, *Cambodia*; Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*).

Pol Pot's killings are always attributed to him personally--the *New York Times*' Philip Shenon (4/18/98) refers to him as "the man responsible for the deaths of more than a million Cambodians." Although some analysts of the Khmer Rouge have claimed that the suffering of Cambodia under the intense U.S. bombing made them vengeful, and although the conditions they inherited were disastrous, for the media nothing mitigates Pol Pot's responsibility. The only "context" allowed explaining his killing is his "crazed Maoist-inspiration" (*New York Times*, 4/18/98), his Marxist ideological training in France and his desire to create a "utopia of equality" (*Boston Globe* editorial, 4/17/98).

With Suharto, by contrast, not only is he not responsible for the mass killings, there was a mitigating circumstance: namely, a failed leftist or Communist coup, or "leftist onslaught" (*New York Times*, 6/17/79), which "touched off a wave of violence" (*New York Times*, 8/7/96). In the *New York Times*' historical summary (5/21/98): "General Suharto routs communist forces who killed six senior generals in an alleged coup attempt. Estimated 500,000 people killed in backlash against Communists."

This formula is repeated in most mainstream media accounts of the 1965-66 slaughter. Some mention that the "communist plot" was "alleged," but none try to examine its truth or falsehood. What's interesting is that the six deaths are seen as a plausible catalyst for the Indonesian massacres, while the 450,000 killed and maimed in the U.S. bombing of Cambodia (the *Washington Post*'s estimate, 4/24/75) are virtually never mentioned in connection with the Khmer Rouge's violence. By suggesting a provocation, and using words like "backlash" and "touching off a wave of violence," the media justify and diffuse responsibility for the good genocide.

The good genocidist is also repeatedly allowed credit for having encouraged economic growth, which provides the regular offset for his repression and undemocratic rule as well as mass killing. In virtually every article Mydans wrote on Indonesia, the fact that Suharto brought rising incomes is featured, with the mass killings and other negatives relegated to side issues that qualify the good. Joseph Stalin also presided over a remarkable development and growth process, but the mainstream media have never been inclined to overlook his crimes on that basis. Only constructive terror deserves such contextualization.

A *New York Times* editorial declared (4/10/98): "Time cannot erase the criminal responsibility of Pol Pot, whose murderous rule of Cambodia in the late 1970s brought death to about a million people, or one out of seven Cambodians. Trying him before an international tribunal would advance justice, promote healing in Cambodia and give pause to any fanatic tempted to follow his example."

But for the *New York Times* and its media cohorts, Suharto's killings in East Timor--and the huge slaughter of 1965-66--are not crimes and do not call for retribution or any kind of justice to the victims. Reporter David Sanger (*New York Times*, 3/8/98) differentiated Suharto from Iraq's Saddam Hussein, saying that "Mr. Suharto is not hoarding anthrax or threatening to invade Australia." The fact that he killed 500,000+ at home and killed another 200,000 in an invasion of East Timor has disappeared from view. This was constructive and benign terror carried out by a good genocidist.

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See also:

- [Whitewashing Suharto](#), by Jim Naureckas. *In These Times*, April 19, 1998
- [The Year of Dangerous Reporting](#), *Extra!*, July/August 1990
- [History That's Fit to Print \(Cambodia\)](#), January/February 1990
- [FAIR's Resources on East Timor and Indonesia](#)

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**Extra!**

September/October 1998

**Good and Bad Genocide****Double standards in coverage of Suharto and Pol Pot**By Edward S. Herman

Coverage of the fall of Suharto reveals with startling clarity the ideological biases and propaganda role of the mainstream media. Suharto was a ruthless dictator, a grand larcenist and a mass killer with as many victims as Cambodia's Pol Pot. But he served U.S. economic and geopolitical interests, was helped into power by Washington, and his dictatorial rule was warmly supported for 32 years by the U.S. economic and political establishment. The U.S. was still training the most repressive elements of Indonesia's security forces as Suharto's rule was collapsing in 1998, and the Clinton administration had established especially close relations with the dictator ("our kind of guy," according to a senior administration official quoted in the *New York Times*, 10/31/95).

Suharto's overthrow of the Sukarno government in 1965-66 turned Indonesia from Cold War "neutralism" to fervent anti-Communism, and wiped out the Indonesian Communist Party--exterminating a sizable part of its mass base in the process, in widespread massacres that claimed at least 500,000 and perhaps more than a million victims. The U.S. establishment's enthusiasm for the coup-cum-mass murder was ecstatic (see Chomsky and Herman, *Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*); "almost everyone is pleased by the changes being wrought," *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger commented (4/8/66).

Suharto quickly transformed Indonesia into an "investors' paradise," only slightly qualified by the steep bribery charge for entry. Investors flocked in to exploit the timber, mineral and oil resources, as well as the cheap, repressed labor, often in joint ventures with Suharto family members and cronies. Investor enthusiasm for this favorable climate of investment was expressed in political support and even in public advertisements; e.g., the full page ad in the *New York Times* (9/24/92) by Chevron and Texaco entitled "Indonesia: A Model for Economic Development."

The U.S. support and investment did not slacken when Suharto's army invaded and occupied East Timor in 1975, which resulted in an estimated 200,000 deaths in a population of only 700,000. Combined with the 500,000-1,000,000+ slaughtered within Indonesia in 1965-66, the double genocide would seem to put Suharto in at least the same class of mass murderer as Pol Pot.

**Good and bad genocidists**

But Suharto's killings of 1965-66 were what Noam Chomsky and I, in *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*, called "constructive terror," with results viewed as favorable to Western interests. His mass killings in East Timor were "benign terror," carried out by a valued client and therefore tolerable. Pol Pot's were "nefarious terror," done by an enemy, therefore appalling and to be severely condemned. Pol Pot's victims were "worthy," Suharto's "unworthy."

This politicized classification system was unfailingly employed by the media in the period of Suharto's decline and fall (1997-98). When Pol Pot died in April 1998, the media were unstinting in condemnation, calling him "wicked," "loathsome," and "monumentally evil" (*Chicago Tribune*, 4/18/98), a "lethal mass killer" and "war criminal" (*L.A. Times*, 4/17/98), "blood-soaked" and an "egregious mass murderer" (*Washington Post*, 4/17/98, 4/18/98). His rule was repeatedly described as a "reign of terror" and he was guilty of "genocide." Although he inherited a devastated country with starvation rampant, all excess deaths during his rule were attributed to him, and he was evaluated on the basis of those deaths.

Although Suharto's regime was responsible for a comparable number of deaths in Indonesia, along with more than a quarter of the population of East Timor, the word "genocide" is virtually never used in mainstream accounts of his rule. A Nexis search of major papers for the first half of 1998 turned up no news articles and only a handful of letters and opinion pieces that used the term in connection with Suharto.

Earlier, in a rare case where the word came up in a discussion of East Timor (*New York Times*, 2/15/81), reporter Henry Kamm referred to it as "hyperbole--accusations of 'genocide' rather than mass deaths from cruel warfare and the starvation that accompanies it on this historically food short island." No such "hyperbole" was applied to the long-useful Suharto; one looks in vain for editorial descriptions of him as "blood-soaked" or a "murderer."

In the months of his exit, he was referred to as Indonesia's "soft-spoken, enigmatic president" (*USA Today*, 5/14/98), a "profoundly spiritual man" (*New York Times*, 5/17/98), a "reforming autocrat" (*New York Times*, 5/22/98). His motives were benign: "It was not simply personal ambition that led Mr. Suharto to clamp down so hard for so long; it was a fear, shared by many in this country of 210 million people, of chaos" (*New York Times*, 6/2/98); he "failed to comprehend the intensity of his people's discontent" (*New York Times*, 5/21/98), otherwise he undoubtedly would have stepped down earlier. He was sometimes described as "authoritarian," occasionally as a "dictator," but never as a mass murderer. Suharto's mass killings were referred to--if at all--in a brief and antiseptic paragraph.

It is interesting to see how the same reporters move between Pol Pot and Suharto, indignant at the former's killings, somehow unconcerned by the killings of the good genocidist. Seth Mydans, the *New York Times* principal reporter on the two leaders during the past two years, called

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## Cover: The Vietnam Question

Test of will: In Iraq, the scale is smaller, but there are echoes. How it compares with Vietnam—and doesn't.

By Evan Thomas

April 19 issue - While U.S. soldiers battled to regain control of Iraqi cities, President George W. Bush was on his ranch last week in Crawford, Texas, giving a tour of the local flora and fauna to a group of conservationists. He was uncharacteristically late for his tour guests because he wanted to watch his national-security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, testify before the 9/11 commission. (One of the reporters covering Bush joked that the president hasn't watched anything that long that wasn't a baseball game.) The president did not have much to say about the mess in Iraq, and aides said that he had no plans to give a major speech. A White House official explained that Bush wanted to hold off and let the military-operations spokesmen do the talking, though it has not gone unnoticed by Bush's aides that the president's recent nationwide addresses have been largely panned.

Earlier in the week Bush did surprise reporters by appearing before them after meeting with the family of Army infantryman Chris Hill, killed by a bomb in the Iraq town of Fallujah. "We've got to stay the course and we will stay the course," said Bush, who appeared teary-eyed. Hill's father-in-law, Douglas Cope, had not been eager for the meeting with the president because, he told NEWSWEEK, he was concerned that the encounter would be "political." But Cope reported that Bush was emotional and that the president told the dead soldier's family, "I promise this job will be finished over there." Cope added: "That really was what I wanted to hear. We cannot leave this like Vietnam."

It's the war that never seems to go away. Perhaps we should feel comforted that Bush had time for nature tours and wasn't hunched over a map in the White House basement like Lyndon Johnson during Vietnam, picking bombing targets at 2 a.m. But, having bet his presidency on Iraq, Bush knows that if the war spins out of control, he may end up like Johnson, a political casualty of war. Bush wants to be seen as a "war president" who is decisive and acts. But now comes the real test: can he persuade the American people to make the sort of sacrifices and long-term commitments that go with being the world's sole superpower in what increasingly looks like a clash of civilizations?

Hard questions—and public opinion—reflect the complexities and ambiguities facing the president and his team. According to the latest NEWSWEEK Poll, a majority (57 percent) of Americans still believe that going to war with Iraq was the right thing to do. But close to half (46 percent) say they are not confident that the United States will ever bring the country stability and democracy. And four in 10 Americans are very concerned that Iraq will become another Vietnam.

Sen. Robert Byrd is now calling for a "road map out of Iraq" and mournfully alludes to the "echoes of Vietnam." Another liberal warhorse has weighed in, too. "Iraq is George Bush's Vietnam," said Sen. Edward Kennedy. "Iraq has developed into a quagmire." Measured objectively, the comparison to Vietnam is something of a stretch. That war dragged on for more than a decade and cost 50,000 lives. There were times during the Vietnam War when America was losing 500 men a week. A year in, the death total in Iraq stands at 458 soldiers killed in action. In some ways, a more accurate analogy might be to Lebanon, where Israel plunged into a power vacuum of feuding religious factions during the 1980s and was trapped in a hellhole of bombings and kidnappings. Last week Islamic extremists in Iraq began hijacking foreign civilians, including three Japanese, and appeared to capture and hold hostage several American contractors. Bush could face a full-fledged hostage crisis—and confront the sort of dilemma Jimmy Carter did in Iran in 1980.

And yet to most Americans, Vietnam is the recurring nightmare. To anyone over the age of about 50, last week felt a little like the end of February 1968, when the Tet offensive was raging through the cities of South Vietnam and Americans were starting to wonder if the war would ever end. A year after Iraqi civilians (with the help of U.S. Marines) toppled Saddam's statue, America suffered through its worst week of combat since the supposed end of the war, with more than 40 soldiers dead and hundreds more wounded. During Tet, a Viet Cong suicide squad penetrated the American Embassy in Saigon before being gunned down. Nothing quite that dramatic happened in Baghdad. Yet Paul Bremer, the American proconsul, had to cancel an appointment



on the edge of the so-called Green Zone, where the Americans are headquartered, when security forces found an unexploded bomb possibly waiting for his arrival.

Though Senator Byrd got a little carried away with his prediction that Iraq would turn into a debacle of epic proportions (he recited "The Charge of the Light Brigade" on the Senate floor), and Senator Kennedy is, well, Senator Kennedy, there are, indeed, uncomfortable echoes of Vietnam in Iraq. So far they are heard mostly by the chattering classes. One significant difference between now and then—no draft—has kept down dissent in the heartland. Even so, it is possible to lay Iraq and Vietnam side by side and see disturbing parallels, as well as critical differences—both of which shed light on what must be done going forward.

For all the tremendous reforms by the military since Vietnam, the battlefield challenges are eerily similar. The generals are still torn between winning hearts and minds with soccer games and reconstruction projects—and going in hammer- and-tongs to obliterate the enemy. The experience of the Marines is illustrative. For most of the occupation in Iraq, the Marines regarded the U.S. Army as too heavy-handed. With its emphasis on heavy armor, the Army liked to stand back and bombard the enemy from afar with artillery and tanks. The Marines, by contrast, preferred to go in "light"—to make friends while patrolling the streets, even taking off the dark glasses that many Arabs find offensive.

The leathernecks are now finding, however, that the desert can be as deadly and confusing as the jungle. Because the Marines sent most of their tanks home, they found themselves badly missing their armor when Fallujah blew up last week (and even had to suffer the indignity of asking the Army to loan a few tanks). When Marines came under fire from a mosque, they had to call in an airstrike. A 500-pound bomb dropped from a jet, even a satellite-guided smart bomb, is a blunter instrument than a tank shell. Arab-language TV claimed that the bomb killed more than a score of civilians at prayer (a claim rejected by a Marine spokesman).

***Continued***

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***Page 3: Bush Seeks to Renew His Resolve***

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