

KIT KAT CLUB
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CHINA TODAY: A NEW CHINA? OR AN OLD CHINA REVISITED?

A BILLION PEOPLE, AT LEAST TWENTY PER CENT OF THE WHOLE WORLD'S POPULATION AND POSSIBLY CLOSER TO TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT -- CHINA TODAY. A POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY WHICH ENCOMPASSES TERRITORY ALMOST ONE AND A HALF TIMES THAT OF THE UNITED STATES -- CHINA TODAY. A CENTURY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL UPHEAVAL WITH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES FOR ITSELF AND THE WORLD -- CHINA TODAY. A MYSTERIOUS BLEND OF TRADITIONALISM AND REVOLUTION, BOTH INFECTED BY IDEOLOGY AND PRAGMATISM, TRYING TO FIND A PATTERN FOR THE FUTURE -- CHINA TODAY.

WHETHER FOCUSING ON ALL THAT HUMANITY, OR ON THE MASSIVE GEOGRAPHY, OR ON THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS, OR ON THE INTELLECTUAL QUESTIONS, ONE CANNOT ESCAPE THE IMPERATIVE OF BEING INTERESTED IN CHINA TODAY. WHATEVER THE FOCUS, THERE IS "SO MUCH" OF CHINA; AND THE "SO MUCH" OF CHINA PROMISES OR THREATENS SO MUCH CONSEQUENCE.

ONE COULD ATTEMPT TO BEGIN WITH THE PRESENT, MAKE AS MANY ANALYSES AS POSSIBLE OF THE CONTEMPORARY CHINESE SCENE, AND THEN PROJECT AND STRATEGISE INTO THE NEXT DECADE OR GENERATION. BUT AS WITH ALL NATIONS, HISTORY IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PRESENT; WITH CHINA, MORE SO. WITH ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST CENTURY, AND IN PARTICULAR IN THE PAST GENERATION, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CATAclysmic EVENTS HAVE USHERED IN A NEW CHINA. THERE IS THE

POSSIBILITY THAT THE PASSING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE RED GUARD, AND THE PASSING OF MAO AND HUA, HAVE ENDED THE FOUR THOUSAND PLUS YEAR HISTORY OF OLD CHINA AND BEGUN A NEW CHINA.

BUT THERE IS ALSO THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE EVENTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HAVE ONLY BEEN DISRUPTIVE INTERLUDES TO AN OLD CONTINUUM. THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHINA TODAY IS AN OLD CHINA REVISITED.

WHAT I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DO IS TO PROVIDE A BACK-DROP FOR OUR CURRENT STUDIES AND RESPONSES. WHEN WE HEAR OR READ (OR OBSERVE, AS SEVERAL OF YOU HAVE RECENTLY BEEN TO CHINA) ABOUT CHINA TODAY, WE NEED TO HAVE AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT THAT KEEPS US ALERT TO THE DIFFICULTY OF SIMPLE OR ABSOLUTE JUDGMENT. WITH RESPECT FOR THE SCOPE AND COMPLEXITY OF CHINESE CULTURE AND APOLOGY FOR THE TELESCOPING OF CHINESE HISTORY, I BEGIN TO HANG THE BACK-DROP.

CONFUCIAN ORTHODOXY WOULD PLACE THE BEGINNING OF THE FORMAL, RECORDED HISTORY OF CHINA AT 2852 B.C. THE CONFUCIAN SCHOLARS WANTED TO REACH BACK AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH THE BEGINNING AND AS A RESULT THEIR HISTORY IS MINGLED WITH LEGEND AND MYTHOLOGY. AS A STARTING POINT THEY USE THE AGE OF THE THREE SOVEREIGNS AND THEN THE AGE OF THE FIVE RULERS. TO ILLUSTRATE THE SPIRITUAL AND ETERNAL ORIGINS OF CHINA THERE IS NO HESITANCY TO STATE HISTORY IN THE REALM OF LEGEND AND MYTH. (REMEMBER THE FEATS OF MAO?)

FU HSI WAS THE FIRST OF THE THREE SOVEREIGNS. HE WAS AN INVENTOR AND A TEACHER, AND AS SUCH HE BECAME A LEADER OF THE PEOPLE. HIS SUCCESSES WERE ATTRIBUTED TO HIS MIRACULOUS BIRTH, HIS MOTHER CONCEIVING HIM WHEN SHE STEPPED ON THE FOOTPRINT OF A GIANT. HIS SUCCESSES LED TO DESCRIPTION BEYOND THAT OF MERE MORTAL, HE WAS OF A DRAGON'S BODY AND A MAN'S HEAD. EVERY GREAT KING MUST HAVE A GREAT QUEEN -- THE LEGEND OF FU HSI INCLUDES NU WA. SHE WAS CREDITED WITH MENDING A HOLE IN THE SUN WITH COLORED STONES (RAINBOW), AND WITH BLOTTING UP A FLOOD WITH THE ASHES OF REEDS.

HUANG TI WAS THE FIRST OF THE FIVE RULERS. THIS WAS A NAME WRITTEN TO COINCIDE WITH THE NAME SUPREME GOD WHO RULED AMONG THE GODS. THE LAST OF THE FIVE RULERS WAS YU. HIS FATHER HAD FAILED TO CONTROL A GREAT FLOOD AND YU WAS ORDERED TO THE TASK. HIS SUCCESS WAS THE PROOF OF HIS POWERS TO RULE. AS THE LAST OF THE FIVE RULERS HE IS THE FIRST OF THE HSIA DYNASTY. THIS FIRST OF CHINESE DYNASTIES HAS SOME QUESTION AS TO ITS HISTORICITY, BUT THERE APPEARS TO BE SOME APPROXIMATE TRUTH MIXED WITH LEGEND. THE HSIA, IF HISTORICAL, WOULD HAVE BEEN 2205 - 1766 B.C.

WITH THE SHANG WE ARE IN AUTHENTIC HISTORY. THE ARCHEOLOGICAL WORK IN THIS CENTURY HAS VERIFIED WHAT THE HISTORIANS HAD CONCLUDED. SO, AT THIS POINT, I WANT TO GIVE YOU A CHRONOLOGY, AT LEAST APPROXIMATE, FOR THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CHINA FROM 2852 B.C. TO THE PRESENT. SOME OF THE DYNASTIES ARE VERY SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIABLE IN TERMS OF RULERS, YEARS AND EVENTS; WITH OTHERS THERE IS SOME QUESTION OR CONFUSION, USUALLY RELATED TO CONFUSION AND CHAOS OF RIVALRY AND WAR COMPOUNDED BY DISORDERS OF FLOODS AND FAMINES.

(DISTRIBUTE SHEETS; MAKE BRIEF COMMENTS RE: POLITICAL,
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HIGHPOINTS.)

WHAT I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DO FOR MYSELF IS TO STUDY EACH OF THE DYNASTIC PERIODS SEEKING TO DISCERN CHINESE THOUGHT AND POLICY AT THE TIME. IN DOING SO I HAVE TRIED TO KEEP CONTEMPORARY CHINA IN MIND, LOOKING FOR SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES IN THOUGHT AND POLICY. TONIGHT I WILL "PICK AND CHOOSE" IN THE INTEREST OF TIME, BUT I HOPE THAT IT WILL HELP PROVIDE CONTEXT AND GIVE SOME CLUES TO THE QUESTIONS: A NEW CHINA? OR AN OLD CHINA REVISITED?

FIRST, A LOOK BACK INTO THE CHOU PERIOD, 1122 - 249 B.C., BECAUSE THAT IS THE BEGINNING OF CONFUCIANISM. NO BIOGRAPHY OF CONFUCIUS WAS WRITTEN UNTIL ALMOST THREE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH. BY THAT TIME SO MUCH THAT WAS LEGENDARY AND MYTHICAL HAD EVOLVED IN FOLKLORE THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE FACT FROM FICTION. BUT TRUTH WAS PERCEIVED IN THE LEGENDS AND MYTHS AND SUCH TRUTH WAS BELIEVED. THE MAN CONFUCIUS, FACT AND FICTION, IS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND POWERFUL INFLUENCES IN CHINA'S HISTORY. CONFUCIANISM WAS NOT A RELIGION BUT A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY WITH VERY SPECIFIC ETHICAL TEACHINGS. THE BASIC TENETS OF A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY ARE UNIVERSAL AND APPLIED TO THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY, OVER AGAINST A RELIGION WHICH IS APPLICABLE TO A CERTAIN SET OF RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS IN A CERTAIN SET OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. THE POINT OF UNIVERSALITY IS IMPORTANT. THE CHINESE FROM EARLY ON BELIEVED THAT CHINA WAS THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE AND EVERYTHING BEYOND CHINA WERE PERIPHERAL APPENDAGES. ANYTHING TO BE

TRUE OR GOOD HAD TO BE SO IN CHINA. THERE WAS A MANDATE OF HEAVEN, A CALL FOR UNIVERSAL ATTENTION, ON CHINA. CHINA, HER LEADERS AND HER PEOPLE, WERE UNDER THE MANDATE TO BE THE FINAL PROOF OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TRUTH. (RECALL MAO'S NEED TO BE THE ULTIMATE TRUTH OF MARXIST - LENINIST PHILOSOPHY; WATCH CLOSELY TO SEE HOW TODAY'S PRAGMATISTS DEFEND CHINA'S EFFORTS.)

CONFUCIAN TEACHINGS PUT THE ONUS OF RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP ON THE GOVERNMENT SO THAT FAITH, FOOD AND DEFENSE WERE ENDURING. THERE WAS THE NEED TO FULFILL THE MANDATE OF HEAVEN. LOSS OF THE MANDATE WOULD JUSTIFY OVERTHROW. NEW RULERS AND NEW DYNASTIES, WITH THE MOST CRUEL RECRIMINATIONS AGAINST THE OLD, WERE THE RESULT OF THE LOSS OF THE MANDATE. (NOTE THE PURGES AND PUNISHMENTS OF RECENT YEARS.)

BUT CONFUCIANISM WAS CLOSE TO UNIVERSAL RELIGION FOR THE PEASANT MASSES. OBEDIENT ATTITUDE AS WELL AS OBEDIENT BEHAVIOR EVOLVED FROM CONFUCIUS' TEACHING. ONE SHOULD BE SURE OF ONE'S OWN ETHICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CONFINES OF FAMILY AND POSSIBLY VILLAGE. ONE SHOULD NOT BE DISTRACTED FROM ONE'S OWN ETHICAL OBLIGATIONS BY PAYING ATTENTION TO OR GETTING INVOLVED WITH THE BUSINESS OF OTHERS SUCH AS THE GOVERNMENT, POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS. LOOKING AT THE EFFECTS ON THE MASSES, ONE MIGHT THINK KARL MARX WAS THINKING OF CONFUCIANISM WHEN HE SPOKE OF THE OPIATE OF THE MASSES. THOUGH UNIVERSALISTS IN THEIR OWN SCHOLARLY, COSMOPOLITAN WAY, THEY WERE UNINTENDED PROVINCIALISTS IN THEIR EFFECT. (MAO'S UNLEASHING OF THE RED GUARD INCLUDED TAKING DEAD AIM AT THE CONFUCIANISTS.)

FROM THE TIME CONFUCIANISM WAS DECLARED THE STATE PHILOSOPHY IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C., KNOWLEDGE OF CONFUCIAN TEACHING WAS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE BUREAUCRACY. OVER A PERIOD OF TIME THE SYSTEM OF EXAMINATIONS FOR CIVIL SERVICE DEVELOPED AS THE ENTRY TO THE GENTRY. WE MOVE TO THE MING PERIOD AND WE SEE THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM AS THE CLASS SYSTEM OF CHINA. THE GENTRY WERE THE PRIVILEGED CLASS BECAUSE THEY HAD EARNED IT BY THEIR KNOWLEDGE, AND THEIR PRIVILEGE WAS EXERCISED BY GOVERNMENT POSITION AND OPPORTUNISTIC ENTERPRISES AND LAND HOLDINGS. WITH GREAT INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC POLICY, AND CERTAINLY ON THE EXECUTION OR ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC POLICY, THEY HAD EVERYTHING TO GAIN BY MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO. THE STABILITY OF THE GENTRY WAS A MAJOR FACTOR IN PREVENTING DISINTEGRATION, BUT IT ALSO PREVENTED CHANGE, SOMETIMES WHEN CHANGE WAS NECESSARY OR INEVITABLE AND NECESSARILY HAD TO BE MORE DRASTIC AND EXPLOSIVE. (AGAIN, RECALL THE EFFORTS OF REVOLUTIONARIES SUCH AS SUN YAT-SEN OR MAO TSE-TUNG TO STIR UP THE MERCHANTS AND THE FARMERS TO OVERTHROW THE POWER OF THE GENTRY.)

MOST RECENTLY, CURRENTLY, THE GENTRY OF MODERN TIMES, THE NON-CONFUCIAN BUREAUCRATS, ARE THE RESISTING FORCE TO TENG'S PROGRAM FOR CHANGE. BETWEEN FIFTEEN AND TWENTY MILLION BUREAUCRATS, THOUGH MARXIST OR MAOISTS IN ORIENTATION, ARE RELUCTANT TO SEE THE UNPREDICTABLE CHANGES OF THE TENG PRAGMATISTS. THEY MAY CLING TO IDEOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS BUT THEY LOOK OR SOUND A LOT LIKE THE STATUS QUO PROTECTORS OF OLD.

BECAUSE OF THEIR VAST NUMBERS, THE CHINESE HAVE BEEN FEARED OR TALKED ABOUT IN FEARFUL TERMS BY MANY PEOPLE IN COUNTRIES FAR

REMOVED FROM CHINA. BUT CHINA HAS NO HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION OUTSIDE OF HER OWN IMMEDIATE SPHERE, AND THAT HAS BEEN A SPHERE OF FEAR. FROM THE OPIUM WAR TO THE VIETNAM WAR THERE HAS BEEN A NEAR PANIC OF FEAR OF THE NEW BARBARIANS, THE WESTERNERS INCLUDING RUSSIA. WHEN YOU ARE SURE THAT YOU ARE THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE AND THAT THE MANDATE OF HEAVEN IS UPON YOU TO DEMONSTRATE UNIVERSAL TRUTH, ENCROACHMENT AND DEFEAT IS MORE THAN PHYSICAL SUFFERING -- IT IS ALSO HUMILIATING AND DEBASING. (NOTE MAO'S RADICAL TURN FROM THE SOVIETS WHEN HE PERCEIVED THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE USING CHINA WITH SOME DISDAIN. AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN TODAY REPORT PAINSTAKING DIFFICULTY IN NEGOTIATING COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS -- CHINA'S PRAGMATISTS UNDER TENG KNOW WHAT THEY WANT BUT THEY WILL DELAY GETTING IT IF THEY FEAR BEING USED AND HUMILIATED.)

THE REVOLUTION WHICH OVERTHREW THE CH'ING DYNASTY IN 1912 AND THE FERMENT FOR REVOLUTION BOTH IN THE KMT AND THE CCP CAME LARGELY FROM THE CHINESE WHOSE HUMILIATION WAS INCREASED BY GOING ABROAD AND FURTHER INCREASED BY THE CONDITIONS THEY SAW ON RETURNING HOME. THESE CHINESE, THOUGH NOT ALL OF THEM STUDENTS, WERE GENERALLY CLASSIFIED AS "THE RETURNING STUDENTS." TODAY THERE ARE CHINESE STUDENTS IN MANY COUNTRIES; ONE CHINESE WOMAN IS STUDYING AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AFTER HAVING STUDIED IN THREE COUNTRIES IN EUROPE. IN ADDITION TO STUDYING STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITIES THERE ARE TRADE DELEGATIONS OF BUSINESSMEN, ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS TRAVELING THE WORLD. WHAT WILL THEIR COMMITMENT BE TO CHINA'S FUTURE? WILL THEY

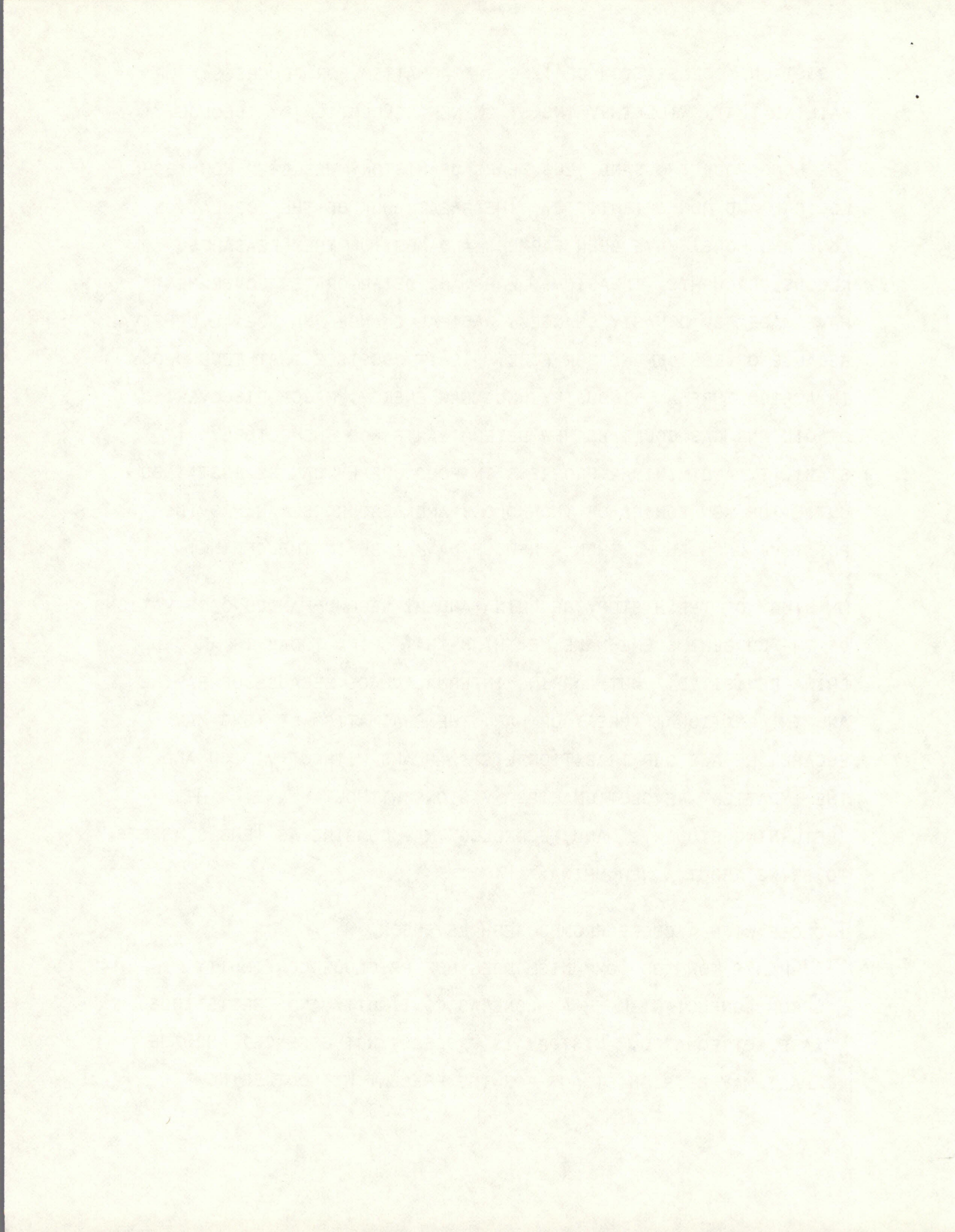
INSIST ON ACCELERATION OF TENG'S PRAGMATISM FOR PROGRESS? OR FAILING THAT, WILL THEY INSIST ON NEW REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY?

THE LONG FOUR THOUSAND PLUS YEARS OF HISTORY HAS BEEN NON-TECHNOLOGICAL AND NON-SCIENTIFIC. THE GREAT BULK OF THE POPULATION (80% AND MORE) HAVE BEEN FARMERS AND MOST OF THEM PEASANTS. FLOODS, DROUGHTS, INVASIONS, WARS AND DETERIORATED GOVERNMENT HAVE MADE FOR DYNASTY CHANGES, RADICAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL UPHEAVAL BECAUSE OF THE DEMAND FOR FOOD. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT TECHNOLOGY IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, NUCLEAR ENERGY, MAJOR DISCOVERIES OF OIL AND GAS COULD BE NEW DETERMINANTS FOR THE FUTURE? IF STABILITY AND MINIMAL PROGRESS IN FOOD SUPPLY CAN BE SUSTAINED UNTIL THE NEW FORCES OF TECHNOLOGY AND RESOURCES CAN PROVIDE POSITIVE CASH FLOW, THEN A NEW CHINA MAY BE IN THE OFFING.

MY STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND MY SECOND-HANDED OBSERVATIONS OF THE CURRENT SCENE MAKE ME THINK THAT CHINA TODAY IS AN OLD CHINA REVISITED. BUT BARRING INTERNAL CHAOS BECAUSE OF FAMINE AND INTERNATIONAL THREAT OR WAR, THE PRAGMATISM OF TENG MAY ESCAPE THE AGE OLD TRADITIONALISTS' PLANS WITHOUT VISION AND THE IMPATIENT REVOLUTIONARIES' VISIONS WITHOUT PLANS. THE "RETURNING STUDENTS" AND TECHNOLOGY MAY COMBINE AS TENG'S ASSETS TO BRING ABOUT A NEW CHINA.

I CLOSE WITH A QUOTE FROM JOSEPH LEVENSON.

"CHANGE TOWARDS COMMUNISM DOES NOT PRECLUDE CONTINUITY FROM CONFUCIANISM -- AS LONG AS CONTINUITY AND PERSISTENCE ARE NOT EQUATED. HISTORY IS PROCESS, NOT ESSENCE, AND THE PAST MAY BE SIGNIFICANT FOR THE PRESENT WITHOUT BEING



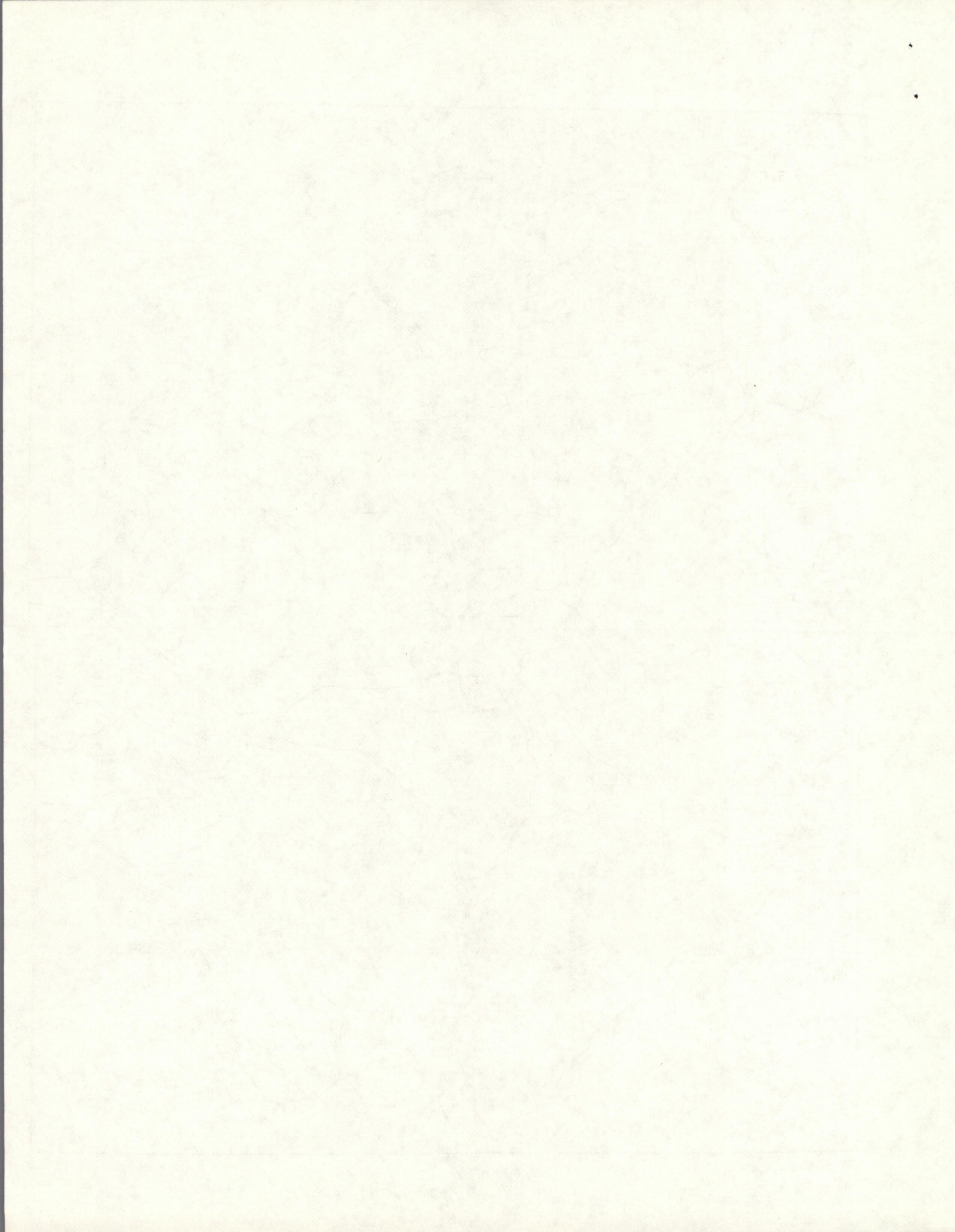
REENACTED IN THE PRESENT. . . . THEY (COMMUNISTS) SERVE
A REGIME CERTAINLY CONSCIOUS OF ITS CHINESE IDENTITY, JEALOUS
OF IT, BUT ITS LEADERS PROPOSE TO HAVE CHINESE HISTORY CULMIN-
ATE IN THEM, WITH THEIR NEW KINDS OF POWER; THEIR COMING IS
NOT MEANT TO BE (AND IT IS NOT) JUST THE LATEST BEAT IN AN
AGE-OLD RHYTHM OF IMPERIAL POWER WITHDRAWAL-AND-RETURN."
(JOSEPH R. LEVENSON, "MARXISM AND THE MIDDLE KINGDOM,"
DIPLOMAT, XVII, No. 196 (SEPTEMBER 1966), PP. 48-51.)

LEVENSON IS SURE OF A NEW CHINA. I AM NOT SO SURE. BUT THE
STAKES ARE VERY HIGH FOR A BILLION CHINESE -- AND FOR THE REST
OF US.

HARVEY STEGEMOELLER

/BG





Dynasties of China

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|------------------------|---|--|
| (2852 - 2205 B.C. | The Three Sovereigns and The Five Rulers) | |
| 2205 - 1766 B.C. | Hsia | |
| 1766 - 1122 B.C. | Shang | |
| 1122 - 249 B.C. | Chou | Confucius 551 - 479 B.C. 1122 - 771 West Chou 770 - 249 East Chou 771 ff. Interstate Warfare 403 - 221 Warring States Period |
| 221 - 207 B.C. | Ch'in | Great Wall - 1,700 miles - Unify China |
| 202 B.C. - 220 A.D. | Han | Liu Pang; Han Wu-ti 202 - 9 A.D. Former Han 9 - 23 A.D. Hsin Dynasty 25 - 220 A.D. Later Han |
| 220 - 380 | Three Kingdoms | Taoism; Buddhism |
| 256 - 420 | Tsin | 265 - 317 West Tsin 317 - 420 East Tsin |
| 420 - 589 | Southern and Northern dynasties | |
| 590 - 618 | Sui | Block Printing |
| 618 - 906 | T'ang | Cultural Achievements |
| 907 - 960 | Five dynasties | Disunity; Warlordism |
| 960 - 1279 | Sung | Cultural Achievements |
| 1260 - 1368 | Yüan | Mongols - 8 Banner System |
| 1368 - 1644 | Ming | Class System, Bureaucracy |
| 1644 - 1912 | Ch'ing | Manchus Opium War, 1839-42; Taiping Rebellion, 1851-64 Sino - Japanese War, 1895 Boxer Rebellion, 1900 |
| (1912 - | Republic) | Returning Students, 1912 ff. Sun Yat-sen, 1911-12 (d. 1925) May 4th Movement, 1919 Kuomintang (KMT), 1919, 1924 Chiang Kai-shek - Whampoa Academy Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 1921 Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) Chou En-lai Japanese 1937 Peoples Republic of China, 1949 Cultural Revolution Teng (Deng Xiao ping) |

