

Secession II.
Historical Legacy and
Chinese Foreign Policy

I. The Great China



1, China is special among the four ancient civilizations

- Geographically isolated from other civilizations
- Historically continuity and longevity is arguably the longest, with some connections but not war with other civilizations
- Culturally greatness, resilience, strong absorbing power. Sinify whoever comes to China (Chinese melting pot)

2. Great China in the World prior to the Opium War (1840)

- A “world order” of China’s own making (天下 or “All Land under Heaven”; 天子 or the “Son of the Heaven”)
- Long-assumed superiority of China’s civilization, values, institutions, and resources

- China was far from isolated before the Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.)

Welcomed foreign traders, visitors, materials goods, and faiths. Buddhism from India and Islam from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey

Expansive, tolerant, proud of its centrality, making universalist claims for its civilization,

Run relations with neighbor through trade, marriage, alliance, gifts and war if necessary.

Sino-centric Tribute system

II, Declined China

China became weak, divided, and defensive under the Song dynasty

Mongol conquest of the whole of China in 1276, the first time that all China came under foreign rule (Yuan Dynasty)

Ming dynasty (1368-1644) endorsed Neo-Confucianism to legitimize itself and tried to return to the greatness of Han (206 B.C. – A.D. 220) and Tang

Ming's defensive isolation, with foreign trade actively discouraged and private foreign travel for Chinese people prohibited, the Great Wall was strengthened.

Blind Neo-Confucianism induced Chinese rulers about the centrality of China, its invulnerability, cultural superiority, richness, and self-sufficiency

- Comparing Western Europe that was rapidly advancing arts, technology, and sciences (reconnaissance, Great Discovery, colonialism, and industrial revolution)

- The climax of the Chinese myth during the (Manchu) Qing dynasty (1644-1911)

Manchus as minority non-Chinese rulers being integrated into the Han tradition, reaffirming the Chinese myth of centrality and superiority

No concept of the modern international system, no need for fundamental changes or fresh ideas, no sense of independence and modernization

III. Chinese World Order

- The tribute system: Hierarchical, Moral Based, Sino-Centric
 - Neighboring polities sent missions to the Chinese court to pay deference as an insurance policy for possible protection and against being attacked

“A hard core of 威 (*wei*, force) surrounded by a soft pulp of 德 (*de*, virtue)”

In comparison with the Westphalian system (anarchic, equality of sovereignty, power based)

- Distorted Chinese views of the world

Hua Xia (华夏, China) and Yi Di (夷狄, barbarian peoples)

“Barbarians” to kowtow (叩头), to come and be transformed and so share in the benefits of Chinese civilization

Example

In 1793, Emperor Qian Long replied to King George III of England:

Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated into every country under Heaven and Kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and by sea. As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures ...

■ **As to your entreaty to send one of your nationals to be accredited to my Celestial Court and to be in control of your country's trade with China, this request is contrary to all usage of my dynasty and cannot possibly be entertained. It is true that Europeans, in the service of the dynasty, have been permitted to live at Peking, but they are compelled to adopt Chinese dress, they are strictly confined to their own precincts and are never permitted to return home. You are presumably familiar with our dynastic regulations. Your proposed Envoy to my Court could not be placed in a position similar to that of European officials in Peking who are forbidden to leave China, nor could he, on the other hand, be allowed liberty of movement and the privilege of corresponding with his own country; so that you would gain nothing by his residence in our midst.**

- **Moreover, our Celestial dynasty possesses vast territories, and tribute missions from the dependencies are provided for by the Department for Tributary States, which ministers to their wants and exercises strict control over their movements. It would be quite impossible to leave them to their own devices. Supposing that your Envoy should come to our Court, his language and national dress differ from that of our people, and there would be no place in which to bestow him. It may be suggested that he might imitate the Europeans permanently resident in Peking and adopt the dress and customs of China, but, it has never been our dynasty's wish to force people to do things unseemly and inconvenient. Besides, supposing I sent an Ambassador to reside in your country, how could you possibly make for him the requisite arrangements? Europe consists of many other nations besides your own: if each and all demanded to be represented at our Court, how could we possibly consent?**

The thing is utterly impracticable. How can our dynasty alter its whole procedure and system of etiquette, established for more than a century, in order to meet your individual views? If it be said that your object is to exercise control over your country's trade, your nationals have had full liberty to trade at Canton for many a year, and have received the greatest consideration at our hands. Missions have been sent by Portugal and Italy, preferring similar requests. The Throne appreciated their sincerity and loaded them with favours, besides authorising measures to facilitate their trade with China. You are no doubt aware that, when my Canton merchant, Wu Chao ǎping, was in debt to the foreign ships, I made the Viceroy advance the monies due, out of the provincial treasury, and ordered him to punish the culprit severely. Why then should foreign nations advance this utterly unreasonable request to be represented at my Court? Peking is nearly two thousand miles from Canton, and at such a distance what possible control could any British representative exercise?

IV. Collapse of the Qing dynasty and A humiliated China

European industrialization versus Chinese
stagnancy

Western missionaries

Foreign traders were restricted to the port of
Canton (Guangzhou) where business was
conducted without treaty arrangements

The Opium War

All Western traders took part in the opium trade,
a very profitable product

Commissioner Lin Zexu forced the foreign
traders to surrender their opium and have it
burned in Guangzhou

The British refused the Chinese demand,
resulting in the Opium War of 1840

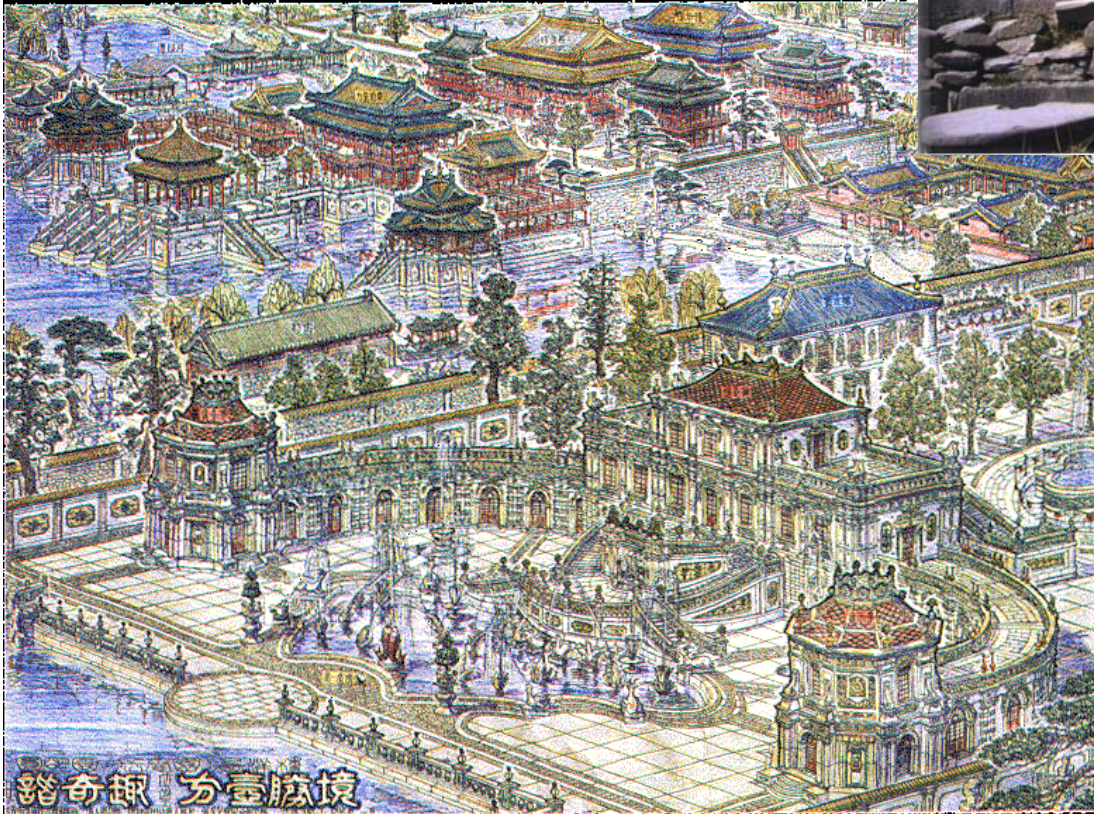
The Nanjing Treaty of 1842 with Britain,
followed by the Wangxia Treaty of 1844 with
America, marked China's century-long
humiliation and semi-colonial status



第一次鸦片战争形势图



Old summer palace map and ruins



■ The loosing of sovereignty

Maritime customs, postal services, right to establish factories, build railways, etc., leased territories (concessions) with foreign troops stationed

■ Foreign spheres of influence

Russia: Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang

Britain: (after Hong Kong) Yangtze Valley, Upper
Burma, Tibet

Germany: Shandong

France: Annam

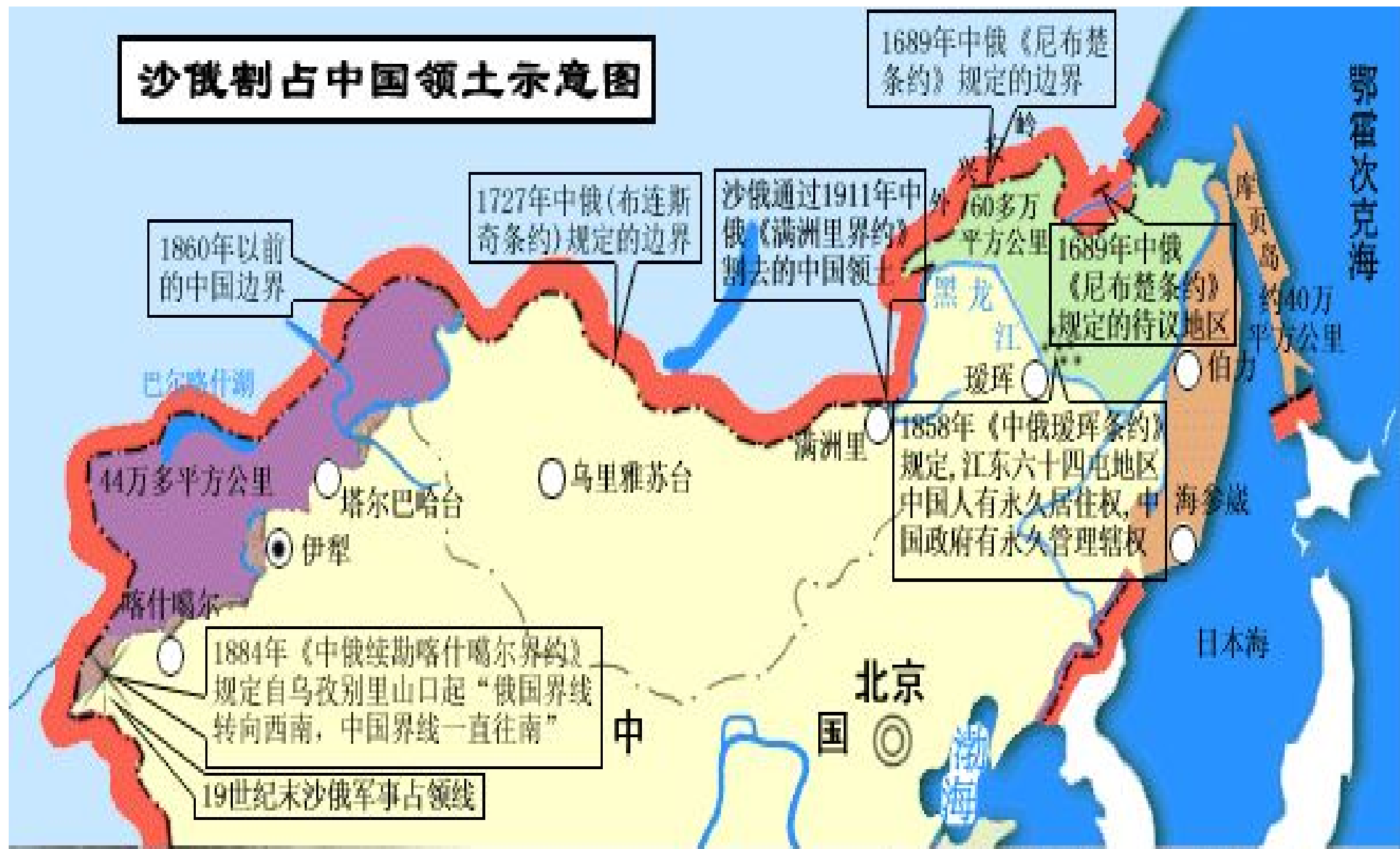
Portugal: Macau

Japan: Ryukyu Islands, Korea, Taiwan

Great power rivalry in disintegrating China

America's "Open Door" policy, 1899-1900

沙俄割占中国领土示意图



1858年中俄爱琿条约割占的中国领土

1860年中俄北京条约和1864年中俄勘分西北界约记割占的中国领土

1860年中俄北京条约割占的中国领土

1881年中俄伊犁条约及其以后五个勘界议定书割占的中国领土7万多平方公里

V. Relevance of the two sides of history to China today

The Great China

A continuous civilization and cultural pride (China threat and Chinese dream),

All Chinese under one rule as an important value (a myth),

Territorial integrity

Ethnic diversity: nation state, or multinational state?

Never a religious nation, China has maintained a strong and conservative ideology

From good emperor to benevolent government: legitimacy built on the country's size, unity, and the people's livelihood.

The Humiliated China

Sovereignty: a Western concept readily accepted at its face value – noninterference in Chinese politics, and sovereign rights higher than human rights.

Rule of international politics: law of the jungle or the weak are the prey of the strong

Internal turbulence invited external invasion, bringing collapse to the dynasty

For the first time in two millennia, China was defeated by outside forces that were unwilling to conform to the Confucian world order and too powerful to ward off, and that did not appear culturally inferior.

- **The theme Chinese nationalism: restore China to its greatness and blot out the humiliation**
 - Sovereignty
 - Territorial integrity
 - Economic development
 - Global influence
- **The symbol of Chinese nationalism: The Great Wall and Empty Fortress**

VI. China's Road to revolution

1, Decayed China: Decadence in the Qing dynasty – corruption, incapability (Emperor Tongzhi under a regency dominated by Empress Dowager Ci Xi), abuses of power (e.g. Summer Palace), nepotism and cliquish favoritism, lack of risk-taking initiatives, encroached imperial power over provinces and localities

2, Rebellion

The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), among revolts often affiliated with secret societies (e.g. White Lotus Sect)

Hong Xiuquan under the influence of Protestant missionaries

The Heavenly Kingdom – almost a fatal challenge to Qing – was crushed by a coalition of Qing and Western powers (Ever-Victorious Army)

3, Self Strengthening Movement (洋务运动)

Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, among others, launched a movement of “enriching the nation and strengthening the army”

Learn from Western technology but not ideas -
Zhang Zhidong: “Chinese knowledge as the essence; Western knowledge for practical use”

4, One Hundred Days' Reform in 1898

The disastrous Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, cession of Taiwan and Liaodong Peninsula, “independence” of Korea

Kang Youwei's bold proposals were supported by the young Emperor Guangxu but rejected by Ci Xi

The Yihetuan (Boxers, or “militia united in righteousness”) Rebellion (1900): zealous anti-Western violence and anti-modern excesses

5, Revolution

Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen, 1866-1925):
revolution, not reform!

Xing Zhong Hui in Honolulu, 1894, and
Tong Meng Hui in Tokyo, 1905, aimed to
overthrow Qing

The success of the 1911 Revolution, Yuan
Shikai's dictatorship, and the warlords

VI, Revolution under Different Ideologies

1. The May 4th Movement (1919) and the efforts to renew Chinese culture
 - Inspired by Western ideas, Hu Shi and his associates led the new cultural movement that attacked traditional ideas and customs, advocating democracy (Mr. D), science (Mr. S), and modern education
 - Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, inspired by Russian Bolshevism, advocated social revolution and became first-generation Communist Party leaders

2. The Nationalist Party (Guomindang) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in coalition

- Ignored by Western powers, Sun accepted Soviet assistance and advice (1923) to reorganize Guomindang and to establish the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy

3, The Communist party

- Founding of the CCP (1921) following the Leninist model
- Sun's Three Principles of the People (1924): *Minzu* (People's Rule or "nationalism"), *Minquan* (People's Authority or "democracy"), *Minsheng* (People's Livelihood or "socialism")
- The first united front and success of the Northern Expedition followed by the split between Guomindang and CCP

4, The first united front to bring China to reunification

1, United front in 1923 under the leadership of Sun Zhongshan

Success unification by 1927

First split between the two parties

- CCP withdrew to the country side
- Japan invaded and occupied Northeast China to form the Manchu Guo
- Jiang's strategy of remove domestic trouble (disease of the heart) before fighting against foreign aggression (disease of the skin)

2 , second united front against Japan

Japanese invasion of all over China in 1937

- A new united front between CCP and KMT against Japan
- Mutual suspicions and tensions between GMD and CCP during the war; their respective strategies
- China's alliance with the United States after Pearl Harbor and its great power status
- Initial contact between the Americans and CCP in Yan-an

- 3, Civil War followed the WWII
 - CCP won and established the PRC
 - KMT defeated fled to Taiwan
 - The Taiwan problem

- Legacies of the Anti-Japanese War: China gained great power status (UN Security Council standing member) without becoming a stronger power
- Split between CCP and KMT led to split China PRC & ROC.
- Both CCP and KMT used nationalism to legitimize its rule in China.
- Modern Chinese nationalism closely related with Japanese aggression. Japan was the country that humiliated and devastated China most deadly, bitter memories, instead of memories of a winner, about military defeat, traitors (汉奸), atrocities like the Nanjing massacre have remained a these in Chinese history and modern Chinese politics.
- The relationship between learning from west and maintaining Chinese essence has remained the major theme in Chinese politics.

Relevance of modern history on China's foreign policy today

- Legitimacy and the war with Japan,
- The victimizers' mentality
- The debate between Chinese essence and foreign technology
 - All west (Soviet model and leaning to the Soviet side)
 - Isolation (cultural revolution)
 - Open up (All west again)
 - Build socialism with Chinese characteristics

- Questions:
- How and why is the traditional Chinese international system of “all under heaven” different from the Westphalian System?
- How does pre-revolutionary Chinese history shape Chinese nationalism?
- How does Chinese nationalism affect Chinese politics and foreign policy?
- How does the Chinese history of revolution affect current Chinese politics and foreign policy?
- How do you understand the impact of revolutionary diplomacy upon the founding of PRC?