To Beth—
with love and gratitude

Cover Photos: Fireworks explode over the National Stadium, known as the Bird’s Nest, during a rehearsal for the opening ceremony for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games: CORBIS-NY© Diego Azubel/epa/Corbis, All Rights Reserved; Temple of Heaven, Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests, circular building with three-tiered roof, Beijing, China: Dorling Kindersley Media Library/Chester Ong © Dorling Kindersley.

Cover Designer: Margaret Kenselaar
Manager, Visual Research: Beth Brenzel
Manager, Rights and Permissions: Zina Arabia
Image Permission Coordinator: Nancy Seise
Manager, Cover Visual Research & Permissions: Karen Sanatar

Credits and acknowledgments borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on appropriate page within text and on page 481.
## Contents

Preface ix  
Notes on Pronunciation xii  
List of Maps xiii

### Part 1  
**From the Heights to the Depths: Challenges to Traditional Chinese Identities, 1780–1901**  

1. **Identities**  
   - History and Identity 4  
   - Associational Identities: Lineages and Families 6  
   - Associational Identities: Social Connections 8  
   - Associational Identities: Relations to the “Other” 10  
   - Spatial Identities: Native Place 11  
   - Spatial Identities: Village and Marketing Communities 13  
   - Spatial Identities: Macroregions and Provinces 14  
   - Suggestions for Further Reading 24

2. **Chinese and Manchus** 25  
   - Patterns in the Early Qing 26  
   - Preserving a Manchu Identity 28  
   - Buying Into Chinese Culture 29  
   - Dealing with the Other 33  
   - Identity and Change: The Qianlong Emperor in the Late Eighteenth Century 35  
   - Identity Crisis 37  
   - Emerging Problems 41
The Daoguang Emperor 43
Suggestions for Further Reading 45

3 The Opium War and the Treaty System: Challenges to Chinese Identity 46
The Early Western Role 47
China and the West: Mutual Perceptions 50
Opium: The Problem and the War 51
The Unequal Treaty System and Its Impact on Chinese Identity 54
The Missionary and Cultural Imperialism 61
Suggestions for Further Reading 65

4 An Age of Rebellion: Defiance of and Commitments to Traditional Chinese Identities 66
Traditional Rebellions 66
The Taiping War (1851–1864): Attempting to Revolutionize Identity 69
Guerrilla Warfare: The Nian Rebellion (1853–1868) 79
Muslims versus Chinese: Clashes in Ethnic Identity 82
Suggestions for Further Reading 85

5 The Power of Traditional Cultural Identity: Chinese Reactions to Continuing Threats 86
Unwilling to Change (or Holding to That Old-Time Identity) 87
Self-Strengthening 88
The Loss of Tributary States: Ryōkyō, Korea, and Vietnam 94
The War with France and the Impact of Self-Strengthening 100
Identity and Perception: The Roles of the Empress Dowager 103
Suggestions for Further Reading 105

6 The Devastating Nineties: Destroying Traditional Identities 106
Ideology for Change: Kang Youwei’s Intellectual Bomb 107
Political and Cultural Earthquake: Defeat by the “Dwarf People” 108
A New Phase of Imperialism: Carving the Melon 110
The Reform Movement and the Hundred Days: Clashing Identities 112
The Boxer Catastrophe: Which Identity Now? 118
Suggestions for Further Reading 124

Part 2 “No Checking the Tides of Change”: Reconstructing Social, Cultural, and Political Identity, 1901–1928 125

7 Revolutionaries: Manchu and Anti-Manchu 125
The Stirrings of a New China in Macrregional Cores 126
The Manchu Reform Movement: Education 128
The Manchu Reform Movement: Military Change 130
The Manchu Reform Movement: Constitutionalism 132
The Anti-Manchu Revolutionary Movement 136
The 1911 Revolution 138
Suggestions for Further Reading 142

8 Selecting Identities: The Early Republic 143
Legacies of the Revolution 144
The Presidency of Yuan Shikai 145
Capitalists to the Fore 148
The Power of the Gun 151
China Totters on the World Stage 156
Suggestions for Further Reading 160

9 Constructing a New Cultural Identity: The May Fourth Movement 162
The New Culture Movement: “Down with Confucius and Sons” 163
Language and Laboratories for a New Culture 167
The May Fourth Incident and Its Aftermath 170
Political Change First; Cultural Change Will Follow 174
Cultural Change First; Political Change Will Follow 175
Neotraditionalism 176
The Historical Significance of the May Fourth Movement 179
Suggestions for Further Reading 180

10 Drawing the Sword of Opposition: Identity Increasingly Politicized 181
The Birth of the Chinese Communist Party 182
Giving the Guomindang a New Identity 184
Things Fall Apart: Sun’s Death and the May 30th Movement 188
The Beginning of Mass Mobilization 191
The Emergence of Chiang Kai-shek and the Northern Expedition 193
Suggestions for Further Reading 200


11 Revolution in Retreat: The Nanjing Decade 201
Chiang Kai-shek 202
Military Power, Party Factionalism, and Residual Warlordism 203
Secrets of Chiang’s Ability to Retain Power 206
Chiang’s Record 212
Suggestions for Further Reading 220
12 Revolution Reborn: The Communists in the 1930s 221
   The Party: “So Widely Scattered and So Badly Mauled” 222
   Finding Its Way: The Party’s Factions 226
   The Jiangxi Soviet 227
   The Other Soviets 233
   The Long March 234
   Building the Base at Yan’an 238
   Suggestions for Further Reading 240

13 A Rising Clash of National Identities: China and Japan, The 1920s and 1930s 241
   A Case of Mistaken Identity 242
   Japanese Aggression Turns Manchuria into Manchukuo 246
   Japanese Aggression on the March 248
   The Xi’an Incident 255
   Marco Polo Bridge 257
   Suggestions for Further Reading 258

14 The Sino–Japanese War, 1937–1945 260
   The War’s General Course: An Overview 261
   The Exodus 268
   Soldiers and the Military 270
   Collaboration 272
   Wartime Propaganda 274
   The United States and China in Wartime: Rough Sledding 276
   The Communists in Yan’an, 1942–1945 278
   Wartime Guomindang China 282
   Suggestions for Further Reading 285

15 Toward Daybreak: Struggling for China’s Identity, 1945–1949 286
   The Situation at War’s End 287
   Economic Suicide 290
   Political Disaster 292
   Military Struggle 293
   Did Chiang Lose the War or Did Mao Win the War? 296
   Japan’s Colony, Taiwan 297
   Guomindang Relations with the Taiwanese: February 1947 and Its Impact 300
   Suggestions for Further Reading 304

16 Paths to the Future 305
   The Structure of the Communist Party-State 306
   The East Is Red: The Hallmarks of the Communist Revolution 309
   At War with the United Nations: The Korean War 315
Contents

The First Five-Year Plan (1953–1957) 317
The Taiwan Model: Authoritarianism and Reform 319
The Taiwan “Miracle” 321
Suggestions for Further Reading 325

17 Coming Unglued 326
“Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom!” (Then Cut Them Down) 327
The Great Leap Forward (and Backward) 330
The Worst Famine in History 336
The Sino-Soviet Split 338
Crack-Up 343
Suggestions for Further Reading 345

Part 4 From “Politics in Command” to the Glory of Getting Rich:
Contemporary Change and Identity, 1961–2009 346

18 Death Dance: The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 346
Why? 347
The Violently Radical Red Guard Phase, 1966–1969 349
The Mystery of Lin Biao 356
The Year of the Dragon 360
Mao in Retrospect 363
Suggestions for Further Reading 364

19 Economics in Command: The End of Communism
and the Flourishing of “Market Socialism” 365
Socialism with a Chinese Face 366
Opening the Window to the World 369
Government Action in Dealing with the Impacts of Reforms 375
Suggestions for Further Reading 389

20 “One World, One Dream”: China’s New World 390
Political Authoritarianism 391
Nationalism and International Relations 402
2008: Achievements and Problems 413
Suggestions for Further Reading 416

21 A Question of Identity: The Republic of China on Taiwan
Since the 1970s 417
Birth of a Democracy 418
The Issue: The Relationship with the PRC 424
From Economic Miracle to Economic Problems 430
Contents

Diplomacy: Seeking Respect  433
Society in Flux  435
A Question of Identity  438
Suggestions for Further Reading  439

Epilogue: The Issue of Human Rights  440
Suggestions for Further Reading  446

Notes  447

Pronunciation Guide  466

Index  469

Credits  481
Preface

In October and November 2000, the central Chinese coastal city of Hangzhou sponsored an international fair. Named the West Lake Millennial Exposition for the city’s most famous tourist attraction, it was designed to showcase the new China in its international contexts. In the midst of China’s emergence as a growing world power, the exposition and its environs pointed to China’s profusion of political and economic identities at the opening of the twenty-first century. Though there were several sites in the city where exposition events were held, the center of the fair was a new, spectacularly modern stadium whose design reminded the onlooker of two enormous bridgeheads—and almost symbolically of the passage to a new China. The stadium complex included a hotel and huge glistening shopping emporiums. Yet little more than a decade ago, the stadium site was rice paddies—so rapid has been the city’s modernization. For all the glitz of the stadium, streets within a block were lined with the hovels of workers. The shopping emporiums stocked the latest in brand names from the West—clothing, cosmetics, and all manner of consumer products, whereas the overwhelming aroma emanating from the woks of street peddlers, like that of a century ago, was the pungent smell of chou doufu, or “stinky tofu.” Though China persists in calling itself Communist, all the money for the exposition came not from the government or the party but from private sources. The exposition trumpeted the international context of China’s growing modernity (no fewer than thirty-one Italian furniture makers were on hand, for example), yet at two archives I was denied access to materials because I was a waiguoren (foreigner). China is moving into the modern world with such speed that it is understandable that there are inevitable time warps. But such anomalies point to the transcendent questions of what China is and where China is going. These questions are crucial to us because in the twenty-first century China is a significant player in world affairs; if we hope to deal intelligently with China and its people, we must understand their past and present.

It is a truism (though one frequently forgotten in the presentist American culture) that one cannot understand the present and its identities without understanding the past. This
book, which is comprehensive in scope, examines the fundamental aspects and developments of the Chinese past. I have used the broad and important theme of “identities” to help shape much of the presentation—analyzing traditional identities and the array of modern identities that Chinese have tried to shape or have experimented with. It is a natural theme given the fact that the discourses of history and identity both attempt to delineate a meaningful past for a particular present. Further, in the making of history, individual and state actions depended in large part on how the individual and the state perceived their identities and how they were perceived by others with whom they had to interact.

This study begins in the last two decades of the reign of one of China’s greatest emperors, the Qianlong emperor (1736–1795). Although early textbooks of “modern” China often treated the salvoes of the Opium War (1839–1842) as the beginning of the modern period, recent work has shown that important changes foreshadowing developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were already underway in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Starting then, we see the dynamics that gave rise to the late-eighteenth-century developments when Chinese wealth and power were at their imperial peak. Analyzing that era also provides a baseline for understanding China’s rapid decline in the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century. In that period of decline and throughout its twentieth-century revolution, one of the most important problems facing individual Chinese and China as a nation was choosing appropriate political, social, cultural, and economic identities as contexts as situations changed.

Above all, this is a story of men and women whose choices shaped modern Chinese history in the often-startling directions in which it seemed to lurch. It is a dramatic story filled with some triumph but, more often than not, tragedy. It is a tale frequently bloody and violent, alternately soaring with hope and plunging into bleak despair. It compels our interest both as a history of an ancient civilization developing into a modern nation-state and as an account of how the Chinese have struggled and are continuing to work to find their identity in the modern world.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

I have made several changes in presentation in the third edition. I have substantially reorganized Chapter 2 to explore more fully the “genius” of the Chinese imperial system that gave rise both to the wealth and power of the Chinese state in the mid-to-late eighteenth century and to its admiration and acclaim in the West at the time. In light of suggestions by reviewers, I have completely reorganized Chapters 19 and 20. Chapter 19 focuses on the economic reforms since 1980 and their many social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental ramifications; this approach allows us to see the economic changes of the reform period as one piece rather than dealing with it and all other developments chronologically in two chapters as the second edition did. Chapter 20 analyzes the political, diplomatic, and cultural developments of the reform period, with special focus on the 2008 summer Olympic Games in Beijing, the spectacular success of which marked a milestone in China’s international reputation.
The cover of this third edition underscores the presence of the Chinese past in the Chinese present. In Ming and Qing China, the Chinese emperor went to the Temple of Heaven at the winter solstice to attend ceremonies where he prayed for good harvests in the coming year; it was a crucial ritual in the agricultural state. That architectural triumph (in 1998, it was named a UNESCO World Heritage Site) is coupled on the cover with the Beijing National Stadium (often called the “Bird’s Nest” because of its shape and configuration), a chief venue of the 2008 Summer Olympic Games—and thus a symbol of China today.

I would like to thank the following reviewers for their helpful suggestions: Sue Fawn Chung, University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Edward A. McCord, The George Washington University; and Tracy Lee Steele, Sam Houston State University.

R. Keith Schoppa
Baltimore, Maryland

www.mysearchlab.com Pearson’s MySearchLab™ is the easiest way for students to start a research assignment or paper. Complete with extensive help on the research process and four databases of credible and reliable source material, MySearchLab™ helps students quickly and efficiently make the most of their research time.
Notes on Pronunciation

In writing about Chinese developments before 1949 and in the People’s Republic since that time, I use the pinyin system of romanization in general use today. Names in pinyin are pronounced generally as written, with vowels often taking on the phonetic value of vowels in European romance languages and German. Consonants are generally pronounced as consonants in English, but there are three exceptions:

- **Q** is pronounced as *CH*—as in the name of the last Chinese dynasty, Qing, pronounced as if it were written Ching.

- **X** is pronounced as *HS*, in effect a softer version of *SH*, with the *H* producing a slight hiss—as in the name of China’s late-twentieth-century reformer Deng Xiaoping.

- **C** is pronounced as *TS*—as in the name of the important cultural leader Cai Yuanpei.

I have not used pinyin for Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, who are better known by these names than by their names in pinyin (Sun Yixian and Jiang Jieshi, respectively).

In writing about Chinese developments in Taiwan and about those men and women closely involved with Chiang Kai-shek’s government in the 1930s, I have used Wade-Giles romanization. This choice was made to respect the fact that the regime in Taiwan has not adopted the pinyin system and generally uses Wade-Giles, though romanization in Taiwan tends to be highly variable. Vowels, as in pinyin, generally take on the value of vowels in Spanish, Italian, and German. Most consonants are pronounced as in English, with these exceptions:

When the following consonants have an apostrophe after them, they are pronounced as in English: *ch’, k’, p’, and t’*. When they do not have an apostrophe, *ch* is pronounced as *j*, *k* is pronounced as *g*, *p* is pronounced as *b*, and *t* is pronounced as *d*. Further, *j* is pronounced as *r*. 
List of Maps

Late Imperial China, Its Macroregions and Their Cores  16
Macroregions in Relation to Provinces  17
The Qing Empire, Early Nineteenth Century  34
The Opium War and Initial Treaty Ports  56
Mid-Nineteenth-Century Rebellions  74
Northeast Asia, Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries  96
Southeast China and Vietnam  99
Foreign Spheres of Influence and the Boxer Uprising  113
The Northern Expedition, 1926–1927  194
Chinese Communist Activity, 1930s and 1940s  225
North China, Mid-1930s  251
The Sino–Japanese War, 1937–1945  265
Japanese-occupied Areas of China, 1937–1945  267
The Chinese Civil War, 1947–1949  295
The Korean War  316
The PRC, 2009  391
China’s Maritime Territorial Claims in Regional East Asia  406
Taiwan, 2009  432