

# China in Perspective

An Orientation Guide



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# China CiP

## Introduction

During China's several thousand years of imperial history, successive dynasties kept a kind of peace and order over a vast section of eastern Asia known as the Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo*). Surrounding kingdoms and states paid tribute to the Chinese emperor to acknowledge his superior status. Yet the empire's boundaries shifted in response to internal weaknesses and external threats of armies from the steppes. Walls were built and extended to keep out those referred to as "northern barbarians." In the mid-19th century, the British arrived by boat on China's coast, only to learn that the emperor had no interest in trading with them. They used their superior military power to forcibly establish ports in China's key coastal regions and to market opium. Marxism, which offered a powerful critique of imperialism, resonated with Chinese trying to understand China's diminished status in a world dominated by more powerful states. A communist movement emerged and established a new government in 1949. Its leadership experimented, often at great cost, with different approaches to economic growth. Collectivized farming and central planning of industrial production gave way to the market reforms unveiled in late 1978. This led to China's reintegration into the world economy on highly different terms.

After five decades in power, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was founded in a small room in Shanghai in 1921, no longer portrays itself as revolutionary, but as the only institution capable of maintaining stability in a country with over 1 billion people. The fourth generation of CCP leaders, who came to power in the early 2000s, lack their predecessors' traditional claims to legitimacy—namely, personal suffering on behalf of a better future for the Chinese people. The first generation, led by Mao Zedong, had fought the civil war and endured great deprivation, including the Long March (1934–1935) to the interior in retreat from the Nationalist government. The second generation had risked being branded "rightists" in criticizing Mao Zedong over his Great Leap Forward campaign, which was motivated by the belief that largely agrarian China could "overtake Britain in 15 years." It resulted in starvation and led to the Cultural Revolution, which destroyed untold millions of lives. Many were forced from power and sent to the countryside, even Deng Xiaoping, who later took the country down the path of marketization. His son was left paralyzed after being forced by Red Guards to jump from a window during a college "struggle session." The third generation, too, were often victims of the Cultural Revolution. As a result, the fourth generation has re-emphasized China's historic victimization at the hands of the West.<sup>1</sup> The younger generation, having come of age in an era of unprecedented prosperity, is incredibly sensitive to perceived slights.

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<sup>1</sup> China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy. Gries, Peter Hays. "Introduction [p. 4]." 2004. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The PRC's meteoric rise as an exporter since the 1980s has enabled China to regain some of its lost stature as "the Middle Kingdom." Other countries perceive the need to avoid antagonizing China because it holds foreign currency reserves of over USD 2 trillion, of which U.S. dollars comprise 65–70%. As a result, the U.S. and other countries minimize their criticism of China's domestic policies, in order to facilitate cooperation on mutual interests.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Council on Foreign Relations. Huffington Post. Lewis, Nicole. "China's Foreign Exchange Reserves: Unintentional Means to a Strategic End." 13 January 2010.

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/21189/chinas\\_foreign\\_exchange\\_reserves.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F15608%2Fnicole\\_e\\_lewis](http://www.cfr.org/publication/21189/chinas_foreign_exchange_reserves.html?breadcrumb=%2Fbios%2F15608%2Fnicole_e_lewis)

## Chapter 1: Geography

### Introduction

China encompasses almost the entire East Asian landmass, and it has over 22,000 km (13,670 mi) of land boundaries with 14 countries (only Russia has as many neighbors).<sup>3</sup> China's longest boundaries are with the two countries to its immediate north: Russia (which borders China along two separate stretches) and Mongolia. South of Russia, along China's northwestern frontier (known as the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region), lie four countries of Central Asia, three of which were part of the Soviet Union until its dissolution in 1991. The northernmost of these is Kazakhstan, which connects to the Junggar Pendi (Dzungarian Basin) of northern Xinjiang through the pass known as the Dzungarian Gate. Further south, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan border China along the Tian Shan (Tien Shan) and Pamir Mountains.



© Phillip Capper  
Tien Shan mountains

South of Afghanistan, China borders Pakistan and India in the Kashmir region, a site of prolonged territorial disputes between the three countries. In this region, China maintains administrative control over Aksai Chin, a sparsely populated, high-altitude desert that India also claims. Northwest of Aksai Chin, the Chinese also control a part of Kashmir known as the Trans-Karakoram Tract, which Pakistan ceded in 1964. India does not acknowledge this cession, and thus, it also claims this region, which includes the world's second-highest mountain peak, K2.

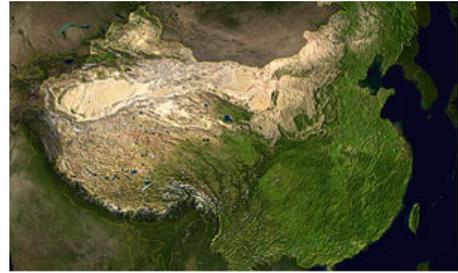
Continuing east through the Himalayan range that spans its southwestern border, China is adjacent to Nepal, Bhutan, and additional portions of India. East of the Indian boundary, China borders the Southeast Asian countries of Burma, Laos, and Vietnam. From the edge of Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin, China's 14,500 km (9009 mi) of coastline stretch along the South and East China Seas north to the Korea Bay in the Yellow Sea. There, China abuts its neighbor, North Korea, which adjoins the southeastern part of Manchuria at China's northeastern corner.

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<sup>3</sup> CIA World Factbook. "China." 27 January 2010. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

## Area

China is the fourth-largest country in total area, after Russia, Canada, and the United States. Its 9,596,690 sq km (3,705,303 sq mi) feature the highest points in the world (in the Himalayas of its southwestern regions) and one of the lowest in its northwestern basins (in the Turfan Depression). Nearly 70% of the country is covered by mountains, hills, or plateaus.<sup>4</sup> Basins and plains make up the remainder of the topography. The plains, which are the heart of China's agricultural regions, are mostly in the eastern parts of North and South China. China's area includes 23 provinces, 4 municipalities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Chongqing), 5 autonomous regions with minority groups (Tibet, Guangxi, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Ningxia), and two Special Administrative Regions (Hong Kong and Macau). There are more than 3,400 islands.



DLIFLC  
Map of China

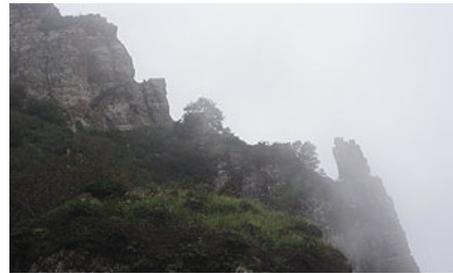
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<sup>4</sup> Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

## Geographic Divisions

There are numerous ways to divide China into geographic regions. In the past, one simple classification was “China proper,” or “the core region of the Chinese empire.” In general, the western (Tibet, Xinjiang, Qinghai) and northern (Inner Mongolia, Manchuria) areas of modern China tended to fall outside this defined area, and thus became “Frontier China” or “Outer China.” Today, within China, such distinctions are not used or even acknowledged. Many areas outside “China proper” are also the country’s ethnic minority regions, and Chinese leaders are quite sensitive about ethnic separatist aspirations in some of these remote areas.



© Fanghong / Wikimedia.org  
Taihang Shan Mountains

Also common are the terms “North China” and “South China,” which correspond to divisions at various times in China’s history, when both northern and southern dynasties existed. The divide between the two Chinas is usually given as the Qin Ling (Tsinling Mountains) to the west and the Huai He (Huai River) to the east. Under this classification, the two major rivers of China—the Huang He (Yellow River) and the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River)—and their tributaries are neatly contained in the northern and southern parts of China, respectively. Climate, agriculture, and language differ between the two regions. In terms of ethnicity, however, the people of both the north and south are overwhelmingly Han Chinese.

China can also be divided into regions based on topography.<sup>5</sup>

### *The Eastern Highlands*

In central Shandong Province, midway between Beijing and Shanghai, begins a series of hills and mountains that span to the other side of the Yellow Sea in eastern Northeast China (Manchuria) and trend from southwest to northeast toward the western border with Russia. To the far north in this group lies the Xiao Hinggan Ling (Lesser Khingan Range), which borders Russia along the Amur River, in Heilongjiang Province. This range extends 640 km (400 mi) northeast from the Songhua (Sungari) River, a tributary of the Amu River. The Xiao Hinggan Ling is connected to the Da Hinggan Ling (Greater Khingan Range) mountains by the Yilehuli range to the west. The hills and mountains within



© Daniel Bairstow  
Three Gorges at the Yangtze River

<sup>5</sup> ThinkQuest.org. China, an Inner Realm. “Beauty: The Land of China: Land Regions.” 1998.

[http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/land\\_regions.html](http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/land_regions.html)

Manchuria contain some of China's largest forest reserves. Thus, they are the nation's primary source of timber production.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Mongolian Border Uplands*

On the northern end of this region is the Da Hinggan Ling (Greater Khingan Range), which borders the Manchurian Plain to the east and Mongolia to the west. The Da Hinggan Ling is bounded on the north by the Amur River and on the south by the Xar Moron River. To the south are also two mountain ranges that run north to south—the Taihang Shan (T'ai-hang Mountains) and Luliang Shan (Lu-liang Mountains). These lie between the northern loop of the Huang He and the Huabei Pingyuan (North China Plain). Between these two ranges, and within the lower portion of the northern loop of the Huang He, lies an area known as the Huangtu Gaoyuan (Loess Plateau). The soil, known as loess, consists of fine-grained, yellowish brown glacial debris that is easily eroded by wind and water. The Huang He (Yellow River) gets its name from the extensive loess sediment that it absorbs as it courses through this region.<sup>7</sup>

### *The Eastern Lowlands*

The Eastern Lowlands are the agricultural heartland of China. From north to south, this region consists of the Dongbei Pingyuan (Northeast or Manchurian Plain), the Huabei Pingyuan (North China Plain), and the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River) valley. The Dongbei Pingyuan is drained by the Songhua and Liao Rivers, the latter flowing to the Yellow Sea. The Huabei Pingyuan is the largest flat lowland and is traversed by the Yellow Sea. Despite their agricultural output, the Eastern Lowlands are extensively urbanized and contain 6 of China's 10 largest metropolises, including Shanghai and Beijing, the 2 largest. Even the rural areas in this region are densely populated. The Dongbei Pingyuan is known as an agricultural and industrial area, and it also features extensive coal and iron-ore mining operations.

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<sup>6</sup> China Hiking Adventures Inc. "Forests." No date. <http://www.china-hiking.com/ChinaStatus/naturalresources/Forests.htm>

<sup>7</sup> National Geographic.com World Wildlife Fund. "Central China Loess Plateau Mixed Forests." 2001.

<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/wildworld/profiles/terrestrial/pa/pa0411.html>

### *The Central Uplands*

Located between the Tibetan Plateau to the west and the Eastern Lowlands to the east are mountains collectively known as the Central Highlands. The most well known of these ranges are the Qin Ling (Tsinling Mountains), which run east–west and form a watershed dividing the tributaries of the Huang He to the north and the Chang Jiang to the south. These mountains also provide the south with some protection from the cold northern winds, and they block portions of the north from much of the southern, summer monsoon moisture.<sup>8</sup>



© gudi&cris / flickr.com  
Gobi desert

Wheat is cultivated north of the Qin Ling and rice is the main crop south of the mountains, where the air is warm and humid.<sup>9</sup> There are a number of large lakes in this region as well, such as Lake Poyang.

### *The Sichuan Pendi (Szechwan Basin)*

The Sichuan Pendi (also called “Red Basin” for the red sandstone found there) is a region of low hills and valleys completely surrounded by mountains and high plateaus, making it one of the foggiest places in China.<sup>10</sup> The Pendi is a major agricultural region and also densely populated. The Chang Jiang (Yangtze River) flows through the southern part of the Basin and is joined by the southward-flowing Jialing Jiang (Jialing River) at Chongqing, the most populous city of central China. This industrial metropolis is located at the far end of the immense reservoir behind the Three Gorges Dam. Pollution is a problem in the rivers and streams that feed into the Chang Jiang at Chongqing. Because the reservoir reduces the river’s flushing capacity, new solid waste and wastewater infrastructure has been developed<sup>11</sup> to prevent it from becoming the world’s largest cesspool.<sup>12</sup> In May 2008, a 7.9 magnitude earthquake hit Sichuan Province, killing nearly 70,000 people and injuring hundreds of thousands.<sup>13</sup>

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8 TimberPress.com. Wharton, Peter, Brent Hine and Douglas Justice. “An Excerpt from ‘The Jade Garden: New and Notable Plants from Asia.’” 2010. <http://www.timberpress.com/books/excerpt.cfm/9780881927054>

9 ThinkQuest.org. China, an Inner Realm. Beauty: The Land of China. “Land Regions.” 1998. [http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g\\_land\\_regions.html](http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g_land_regions.html)

10 World Wildlife Fund. “Sichuan Basin Broadleaf Forests (PAO437).” 2001. [http://www.worldwildlife.org/wildworld/profiles/terrestrial/pa/pa0437\\_full.html](http://www.worldwildlife.org/wildworld/profiles/terrestrial/pa/pa0437_full.html)

11 The World Bank. China. “Chongqing: A More Livable City.” 19 June 2008. <http://go.worldbank.org/JLFUCOIHT0>

12 BBC News, International Version. Mackie, Nick. “China’s Murky Waters.” 23 November 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4462574.stm>

13 USGS. “Magnitude 7.9 – Eastern Sichuan, China.” 12 May 2008. <http://earthquake.usgs.gov/eqcenter/eqinthenews/2008/us2008ryan/#summary>

### *The Xinjiang-Mongolian Uplands*

This immense northern region encompasses several large deserts and arid basins divided by towering mountain ranges. At the far eastern end of the region is the southern portion of the Gobi Desert, which extends northward into Mongolia. To the southwest, separated by the Daqing Shan (Daqing Mountains) of the Mongolian Border Uplands region, lies the Mu Us Shamo (Ordos Desert), a desert surrounded by the northern loop of the Huang He on three sides and the Loess Plateau to the south.

Moving westward, the Tengger Shamo (Tengri Desert) and Badain Jaran Shamo (Badain Jaran Desert) of Nei Mongol (Inner Mongolia) Province give way to the two great basins of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the far west—the Tarim Pendi (Tarim Basin) and the Junggar Pendi (Dzungarian Basin). These two areas are divided by the western ranges of the Tian Shan (Tien Shan). Within the Tarim Pendi lies the vast Taklimakan Shamo (Takla Makan Desert), a sandy, barren wasteland that remains largely uninhabited outside the oasis towns and villages on its northern and southern fringes. To the northeast of the desert is the Turpan Pendi (Turfan Depression), which lies 154 m (504 ft) below sea level. Despite the aridity of the region, fruit is grown in the Turpan Pendi using irrigation techniques.

The most highly populated areas of Xinjiang are in the Junggar Pendi. Although dry by most standards, the Junggar Pendi receives more rainfall than the Tarim Pendi and the desert areas to the west. The oil and coal deposits within the Junggar Pendi are some of China's largest.

### *The Tibetan Highlands*

The entire southwestern region of China is made up of the Tibetan Highlands. Most of this region consists of a high-altitude plateau surrounded by some of the world's highest mountains. The Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, and the western half of Sichuan Province comprise the majority of this region, although parts of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Gansu Province, and Yunnan Province are within its limits. Despite its large size, it is the least populated region within China, largely due to its extreme elevations, which are over 3,050 m (10,000 ft) in most places. The largest cities lie in the far south of the region, near the Himalayas, and close to the Yarlung Zangbo Jiang (Brahmaputra River). In 2006, the last leg of an ambitious railway project was completed, linking Lhasa, the capital of Xizang, to the large city of Xining on the northeastern edge of the plateau.<sup>14</sup>



© schmaeche / flickr.com  
Tibetan Highlands

<sup>14</sup> The New York Times Online. Kahn, Joseph. "Last Stop, Lhasa: Rail Link Ties Remote Tibet to China." 2 July 2006.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/02/world/asia/02tibet.html>

### *The Southern Uplands*

Occupying all of southeastern China, the Southern Uplands are relentlessly hilly. The largest tract of level land is found in the Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou (Pearl River Delta), where the large cities of Guangzhou (Canton) and Shenzhen are located. The region's tropical climate and rich soil make it a productive agricultural area.<sup>15</sup> In recent years, economic and population growth in this area has been fueled by the creation of Special Economic Zones to take advantage of the region's proximity to Hong Kong. To the west, the hills become more mountainous. Much of eastern Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces in the western part of the region consists of limestone plateaus. In some areas, these plateaus have weathered to produce striking landscapes of limestone towers, such as the Stone Forest near Lunan in Yunnan Province. The heights of these hills range from 30 to 182 m (100 to 600 ft).<sup>16</sup>

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15 ThinkQuest.org. China, an Inner Realm. Beauty: The Land of China. "Land Regions." 1998.  
[http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g\\_land\\_regions.html](http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g_land_regions.html)

16 ThinkQuest.org. China, an Inner Realm. Beauty: The Land of China. "Land Regions." 1998.  
[http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g\\_land\\_regions.html](http://library.thinkquest.org/20443/g_land_regions.html)

## Climate

China is situated between the world's largest land mass (Eurasia) and the world's largest ocean (Pacific Ocean), and its climate reflects the tug of war between the dominant air masses of these areas. Siberia creates cold, dry air flowing from the north, northeast, and northwest, while tropical air masses from the Pacific bring moist air from the south and southwest. China's topography sometimes blocks the winds carrying these air masses. Notably, the Qin Ling (Tsinling Mountains) block the south- and southwestward advance of the northern air masses during winter, helping to keep South China, particularly the western portions, significantly warmer than North China.<sup>17</sup>



© Ariel Steiner  
Mountains in Diging

During late spring and summer, moist winds from the southwest bring the summer monsoons. During this time, the Siberian high-pressure system gradually retreats, and the frontal boundary between the tropical and continental air masses shifts north with it, bringing increasing rain to the northern areas. Annual precipitation in China tends to decrease from the southeast to the northwest, although high mountains or low basins may be unusually dry or wet.<sup>18</sup> Temperatures in China generally follow a north-to-south pattern: average temperatures increase and annual temperature ranges decrease.<sup>19</sup> As with precipitation, elevation affects temperature, with higher areas usually having more extreme daily patterns and longer winters.

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17 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "China: Climate: Air Masses." 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-70980/China>

18 The Climate Source, Inc. "PRISM 1961–1990 Mean Annual Precipitation Mainland China." November 2002. [http://www.climate-source.com/cn/fact\\_sheets/chinappt\\_xl.jpg](http://www.climate-source.com/cn/fact_sheets/chinappt_xl.jpg)

19 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "China: Climate: The Air Masses." 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-70980/China>

## Biodiversity

Due to its diverse topography and climate, China has a wide range of ecosystems. They support a remarkable variety of plant and animal species, many of which are exotic and extremely rare. But as China's human population has grown, increased agricultural, industrial, and urban development has quickly transformed the landscape. The habitat loss, environmental degradation, and pollution from such development have placed enormous pressure upon the many forms of wildlife and vegetation. Recent reports estimate that nearly 40% of mammal species are endangered and a substantial majority of flowering (86%) and non-flowering plant species (70%) are threatened.<sup>20</sup>



© Proggie / flickr.com  
Snake wine

China's rampant, illegal wildlife trade (in which poachers and smugglers kill, capture, or harvest endangered animal and plant species for their high commercial value) further threatens species. The trade is fueled partly by the demand for exotic culinary dishes (served in restaurants throughout China). Its growth also relies on the heavy demand for traditional Chinese medicines made from certain wildlife and plant species, such as tiger bone, tortoise shell, bear gall bladder, and wild ginseng. China recently enforced its restrictions on the wildlife trade by shutting down several online auctions selling animal parts.<sup>21</sup> But the scarcity of certain animals and animal products has escalated their value on the market. This has further motivated poachers and smugglers to pursue their trade, particularly as Chinese consumers grow richer. Chinese authorities recently estimated that the multi-billion USD wildlife trade followed drug smuggling and arms running as the region's profitable, illegal industries.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, China's most well-known species of animals are also its most endangered. Perhaps the most famous is the giant panda. The few remaining members of this rare group live in high mountain forests in the south-central region, primarily in Sichuan, Gansu, and Shaanxi provinces. Small numbers of the Siberian tiger and the South China tiger (which is close to extinction) are thought to exist in the northeastern and southeastern areas, respectively. Although its numbers are also small, the snow leopard is distributed throughout the western half of the country. It is mainly found in the Himalayan and Karakoram Ranges, and the Tibetan Plateau. Several species of increasingly rare ungulates (hoofed animals) are scattered throughout the southwestern region, including Marco Polo sheep, the Tibetan antelope, and white-lipped deer. Other

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<sup>20</sup> The New York Times. Yardley, Jim. "China's Turtles, Emblems of a Crisis." 5 December 2007.

[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/05/world/asia/05turtle.html?\\_r=2&scp=1&sq=china+turtles&st=nyt&oref=slogin&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/05/world/asia/05turtle.html?_r=2&scp=1&sq=china+turtles&st=nyt&oref=slogin&oref=slogin)

<sup>21</sup> National Geographic News Online. Barclay, Eliza. "China Cracks Down on Illegal Online Wildlife Trade." 29 February 2008.

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2008/02/080229-china-internet.html>

<sup>22</sup> Terra Daily. Wong, Stephanie (AFP). "Illegal Wildlife Trade in China Undiminished by Bans and Health Threats." 12 February 2007. [http://www.terradaily.com/reports/Illegal\\_Wildlife\\_Trade\\_In\\_China\\_Undiminished\\_By\\_Bans\\_And\\_Health\\_Threats\\_999.html](http://www.terradaily.com/reports/Illegal_Wildlife_Trade_In_China_Undiminished_By_Bans_And_Health_Threats_999.html)

rare species, such as the giant salamander, Bactrian camel, Chinese alligator, and Yunnan golden monkey, indicate the extensive diversity of fauna within China.

More prevalent animals include deer, foxes, wolves, wild pigs, several varieties of primates, pheasants, herons, and many other types of birds. China also has various species of highly venomous snakes, including several varieties of cobras, pit vipers, and kraits (a type of cobra). Most of these species are found in the subtropical forests, coasts, and marine waters of southeastern China. Some are also present in the deserts, plateaus, and alpine regions. The most famous may be the king cobra (the world's largest venomous snake) and the Chinese cobra (capable of spitting venom), which both can be found in the southeast, particularly in forests near Vietnam and Laos. More deadly and prone to strike, however, are the Russell's viper, the brown-spotted pit viper, and several varieties of krait, including the Chinese, or many-banded, krait with alternating bands of yellow and brown. In general, many of China's venomous snakes can be quite aggressive, particularly when startled, cornered, or disturbed, and human fatalities from snakebites are common.<sup>23</sup>



© Chi King / flickr.com  
Pandas eating bamboo

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<sup>23</sup> Armed Forces Pest Management Board. AFPMB Living Hazards Database. "Venomous Animals." 14 March 2008.

[http://www.afpmb.org/pubs/living\\_hazards/snakes.html](http://www.afpmb.org/pubs/living_hazards/snakes.html)

## Major Rivers

China is a country of many rivers, but two in particular—the Chang Jiang and the Huang He—are noteworthy because of their great lengths and their central roles in the development of Chinese civilization. Other rivers to the south and north are regionally important as well.



© kindsir / flickr.com  
Yellow River at Xining

### *Chang Jiang (Yangtze River)*

Literally translated as “Long River,” the Chang Jiang, at 6,300 km (3,915 mi), is Asia’s longest river and the third longest in the world. Its drainage basin is 1,808,500 sq km (698,265 sq mi) and encompasses virtually all of South China except the southernmost ranges of the Southern Uplands. Three of China’s seven largest cities (Shanghai, Wuhan, and Chongqing) lie on the Chang Jiang or its delta. Some of the most agriculturally productive areas in all China are found on the river’s lower reaches.

Like many major Chinese rivers, the Chang Jiang originates in the Qing Zang Gaoyuan (Tibetan Plateau). Known locally as the Tongtian He (Tongtian River), it flows generally eastward to the eastern edge of the plateau, where it turns to the south and descends rapidly within a narrow valley. This stretch of the river is known as the Jinsha Jiang (Jinsha River).<sup>24</sup> The river loops around mountain barriers and through narrow gorges before turning northeast, where it forms the boundary between Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces for about 800 km (500 mi).<sup>25</sup> It eventually enters the Sichuan Pendi (Szechwan Basin) where, at the large city of Chongqing, it becomes a major transportation artery connecting the interior to Shanghai. After the Communist government came to power in 1949, it detonated all the dangerous rocks and shoals to accommodate river craft, ending 1,000 years when “traveling [upriver] to Sichuan was more difficult than climbing to the sky.”<sup>26</sup>

The recent Three Gorges Dam project has generated great controversy, due to the massive resettlement required and the geologic hazards it poses. For example, if the reservoir level is rapidly lowered or raised, the water pressure may change enough to trigger earthquakes, a phenomenon known as “reservoir-induced seismicity.”<sup>27</sup>

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24 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. “Yangtze River.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9110538/Yangtze-River>

25 Discover Yangtze.com. “The Source to Yichang.” 2009.

[http://www.discoveryangtze.com/yangtzediscovery/the\\_source\\_to\\_yichang.htm](http://www.discoveryangtze.com/yangtzediscovery/the_source_to_yichang.htm)

26 Global Executive Forum, University of Colorado, Denver. “Flowing Through History: The Mighty Yangtze River.” October 2000. [http://www.ucdenver.edu/academics/InternationalPrograms/CIBER/GlobalForumReports/Documents/Flowing\\_through\\_History\\_Yangtze\\_River.pdf](http://www.ucdenver.edu/academics/InternationalPrograms/CIBER/GlobalForumReports/Documents/Flowing_through_History_Yangtze_River.pdf)

27 International Rivers. “Three Gorges Dam: The Cost of Power.” October 2008.

[http://www.internationalrivers.org/files/3Gorges\\_factsheet.lorez\\_.pdf](http://www.internationalrivers.org/files/3Gorges_factsheet.lorez_.pdf)

The lower course of the Chang Jiang flows through a relatively level plain dotted with lakes, marshes, and numerous river channels.<sup>28</sup> The river widens as several tributaries flow into it from the hills and mountains north and south of the plain. The river reaches the East China Sea in a large delta region that includes the city of Shanghai. Upstream from this point, near the city of Zhenjiang, the river connects with the Grand Canal, which stretches from Beijing in North China to the city of Hangzhou, south of the Chang Jiang. Much of the northern end of the Grand Canal is no longer navigable.

### *Huang He (Yellow River)*

The Huang He plays as central a role to North China as the Chang Jiang does to South China. The river stretches for 5,464 km (3,395 mi), often through arid regions bordering on desert climate. The Huang He has a drainage basin of 750,000 sq km (290,000 sq mi), and like the Chang Jiang, its headwaters lie in the central regions of the Qing Zang Gaoyuan (Tibetan Plateau). Its waters are heavily silt-laden, making it the muddiest of all the world's large rivers.<sup>29</sup> In the Huang's lower reaches, where an extensive set of levees and dikes have generally prevented sedimentation on the river's floodplain, these sediments have created a riverbed that is higher than the surrounding land. The resulting floods are notoriously devastating, often leading to the loss of thousands of lives. Accordingly, the river is known as "China's Sorrow."<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, one-third of the river is unsafe for drinking and unusable for agricultural or industrial purposes.<sup>31</sup>



© saucy\_pan / flickr.com  
North bank of the Huang He

Much of the river's silt accumulates in its middle stretch through the Huangtu Gaoyuan (Loess Plateau), where the river flows mostly southward and forms the border between Shaanxi and Shanxi Provinces. The river shifts eastward where the Wei He (Wei River) joins it from the west, and ultimately it flows to the northwest and to its mouth at Bo Hai (Gulf of Bohai). In recent years the river has dried up before reaching its mouth, largely due to decreasing rainfall and extensive upstream irrigation that has increasingly diverted river water. In 1997, for example, no water reached the mouth for 226 days of the year.<sup>32</sup> An ambitious South-to-North Water Diversion Project is underway that will redirect water from the southern Chang Jiang to northern China. The project is expected to cost USD 62 billion and is planned to be completed in 2050. The most technically demanding aspects of this project are some planned upstream canals in the Qing Zang Gaoyuan

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28 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Yangtze River: The Lower Course." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-48041/Yangtze-River>

29 TravelChinaGuide.com "Geographical Introduction of the Yellow River." 26 December 2006. <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/yellow-river/geographical-intro.htm>

30 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Huang He." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/274303/Huang-He>

31 The Guardian UK. Environment. Branigan, Tania. "One-Third of China's Yellow River 'Unfit for Drinking or Agriculture.'" 25 November 2008. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2008/nov/25/water-china>

32 China.org.cn. China Daily. "Yellow River Delta Shrinking 7.6 Square Kilometers Annually." 1 February 2005. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005/Feb/119497.htm>

(Tibetan Plateau) that would move additional water into the Huang He near its headwaters.<sup>33</sup>

### *Huai He (Huai River)*

The Huai He (Huai River) lies between the Huang He and Chang Jiang, and has traditionally been considered part of the boundary between South and North China. It is far shorter than its northern and southern siblings, at 1,100 km (660 mi). Its basin covers four provinces: Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, and Anhui, draining an area of 174,000 square km (67,000 sq mi).<sup>34</sup> This very flat plain is prone to poor drainage, and even blockage, by silt deposits from the Huang He during one of its periodic changes.<sup>35</sup> Despite periodic dredging to ease water flow, flooding remains an endemic problem in the lower reaches during periods of heavy rain.<sup>36</sup> The Huai He basin is a densely populated, grain-growing region, where the water supply has been affected by toxins from industrial waste.<sup>37</sup>

### *Zhu Jiang (Pearl River)*

The Zhu Jiang is actually a short river beginning where a number of rivers empty into the Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou (Pearl River Delta) in southeastern China. It is also sometimes understood as the general system of rivers that flow into this confluence.<sup>38</sup> The longest of these rivers is the Xi Jiang (West River), which flows primarily eastward from highlands in Yunnan Province for 1,957 km (1,216 mi). Like the Chang Jiang, the river has various names (Nanpang Jiang, Hongshui He, Hun Jiang). Other rivers flowing into the Zhu Jiang are the Bei Jiang (North River), the Dong Jiang (East River), and the Liuxi He (Liuxi River). The Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou plain is densely populated and the fastest growing in China. Guangzhou (Canton), Shenzhen, and Dongguan all lie in the delta region and are among the ten most populated cities in China.<sup>39</sup> Interlaced in the delta regions between the large cities are numerous rice paddies.<sup>40</sup> The river has become heavily polluted from industrial waste and raw sewage.<sup>41</sup>

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33 Water-Technology.net "South-to-North Water Diversion Project, China." [No date]. [http://www.water-technology.net/projects/south\\_north/](http://www.water-technology.net/projects/south_north/)

34 Encyclopædia Britannica. "Huai River." 2009. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/274230/Huai-River>

35 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Huai River." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9041336/Huai-River>

36 International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent. Information Bulletin. "China Floods." 14 July 2003. <http://www.ifrc.org/docs/appeals/rpts03/chinafloods03a5.pdf>

37 Radio Free Asia. China. "Activists Defend China's Huai River." 20 July 2009. <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/huairiver-07202009102105.html>

38 My Opera.com. "The Pearl River." 21 April 2006. <http://my.opera.com/guangzhou/blog/show.dml/227477>

39 Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. "World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision Population Database." 2008. <http://esa.un.org/unup/>

40 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Pearl River Delta." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9058880/Pearl-River-Delta>

41 Greenpeace. "Poisoning the Pearl: An Investigation Into Industrial Water Pollution in the Pearl River Delta." 2009. <http://www.greenpeace.org/raw/content/china/en/press/reports/pearl-river-delta-2009.pdf>

### *Hai He (Hai River)*

Similar to the Zhu Jiang (Pearl River), the Hai He is a short stretch of river running to the Bo Hai (Gulf of Bohai) from the city of Tianjin, and the general name given to the system of rivers that feed into it. The drainage area for this river system is about 280,500 sq km (80,500 sq mi), including almost all of Hebei province.<sup>42</sup> These rivers are vital because they provide water to the cities of Beijing and Tianjin, China's second- and sixth-largest cities. The rivers, like the Huang He (Yellow River) to their south, carry large sediment loads over a flat plain, and flood periodically. They also often slow to a trickle during dry periods. One of the goals of the South-to-North Water Diversion Project is to bring badly needed water to the Hai He system from the Chang Jiang.

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<sup>42</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica. "Hai River System." 2009. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/251717/Hai-River-system>

## Population and Cities

China is the world's most populous country, estimated to have 1.33 billion people as of July 2009.<sup>43</sup> Over 40% of the population is urban, a percentage that has been steadily increasing for many years.<sup>44</sup> Many rural areas are densely populated and lie within the limits of one city or another. The population distribution is heavily skewed toward the eastern part of the country, with major population centers located in the Huabei Pingyuan (North China Plain), the Dongbei Pingyuan (Northeast or Manchurian Plain), the Changjiang Pingyuan (Chang Jiang Plain), the Sichuan Pendi (Szechwan Basin), and the Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou (Pearl River Delta). There are nearly 100 metropolitan areas with over 1 million people, including the two megacities—Beijing and Shanghai.



© James Jin  
View of Beijing

### *Beijing (Peking)*

The city of Beijing, which literally means “northern capital,” claimed a population of 17 million in early 2009.<sup>45</sup> Approximately 25% are migrant workers who are generally not included in official population statistics.<sup>46</sup> It has been the Chinese capital since 1267 C.E., except for five decades during the late 14th to early 15th century and a stretch from the 1920s to 1940s. The first modern incarnation of Beijing was built by Yuan (Mongol) dynasty leader Kublai Khan. Later, during the Ming Dynasty, the Yuan city (known then as Dadu) was abandoned and a new Beijing was built to the southwest. Today, Beijing is a municipality governed directly by the central government. Lying within a mountain bay formation in the northernmost portion of the Huabei Pingyuan (North China Plain), Beijing is not centrally located within China. But it has traditionally been important as a transportation link on the routes to Mongolia to the north and the Dongbei Pingyuan (Northeast or Manchurian Plain) to the northeast.

Traditionally, Beijing was known primarily as a center of government, education, and culture. Since 1949, the city has developed significant business and manufacturing sectors. More recently, it has developed a high-technology sector, centered in the northwestern part of the city in an area known as Zhongguancun. Located near Qinghua University and Beijing University, China's top universities, Zhongguancun has

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43 CIA World Factbook. China. “People.” 25 November 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

44 Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. “World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision Population Database.” 2008. <http://esa.un.org/unup/>

45 The China Post. Local News. “Beijing Population at Nearly 17 mil. in 2008.” 27 January 2009. <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/china/local-news/beijing/2009/01/27/193705/Beijings-population.htm>

46 Chinese urban population figures vary widely, partly due to whether migrant workers, who lack local residency permits (hukou), are counted. The figures given after the cities exclude non-residents.

developed some of the same synergies between research universities and new technology-related businesses as have Silicon Valley and suburban Boston.<sup>47</sup> The “brain drain” that China experienced in the 1980s and 1990s has ebbed. There is now a “brain gain” in which highly accomplished academics return home to pursue their vocations after completing graduate degrees, and sometimes long careers, abroad.<sup>48</sup>

Beijing is one of the most popular tourism destinations in China, due largely to the tremendous amount of Chinese history that can still be viewed around the city. Tourism revenue for 2009 is expected to be USD 35 billion, up 8% from the year before.<sup>49</sup> In the center of Beijing lies the Forbidden City, which was the Imperial Palace during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Today it is also known as the Palace Museum. To the southeast and northwest of central Beijing lie the Temple of Heaven and the Summer Palace, two well-known remnants of the Ming and Qing eras, respectively. Both are UNESCO World Heritage sites, as is the Forbidden City.<sup>50</sup> Yet they offer little escape from a changing landscape. Several sections of the Great Wall afford a view of high rise towers, which are part of the ever-expanding capital metropolis. The city now boasts 4 million cars, and approximately 10,000 new ones are added each week as the ring roads (or beltways) that define the city’s limits continue to increase.<sup>51</sup>



© Kirk Siang  
Forbidden City, Beijing

The city does not just expand outward, however; in recent years, historic Beijing has undergone substantial “inward” or urban renewal. Traditional residential neighborhoods, distinguished by courtyard-style housing connected by alleys (*hutong*), have largely disappeared and been replaced by upscale apartment complexes—a change that has elicited criticism. Nonetheless, many residents have been happy to move into housing with amenities such as indoor plumbing. Other recent architectural additions to the city include the new Terminal 3 at the Beijing Capital International Airport (the largest terminal in the world), a new National Center for the Performing Arts, a National Stadium (known as the “bird’s nest”), and a National Aquatics Center.

Part of the facelift was driven by Beijing’s hosting the Olympic Games in 2008, and the need to present an image of a modern country to the world. Yet, as a longtime resident of Beijing observed in 2007, “[T]he very importance of the Games—as China’s coming-out

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47 MSNBC.com. Rogers, Michael. “Can China Build Its Own Silicon Valley?” 23 May 2005.

<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7915125/>

48 The New York Times. LaFraniere, Sharon. “Fighting Trend, China is Luring Scientists Home.” 6 January 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/07/world/asia/07scholar.html?scp=1&sq=china%20northwestern%20princeton&st=cse>

49 Xinhuanet. “Official: Beijing Tourism Revenue to Reach \$35 bln in 2009. 18 December 2009

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content\\_12667603.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content_12667603.htm)

50 UNESCO World Heritage Centre. “World Heritage List.” 2007. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>

51 BBC News, Asia Pacific. Bristow, Michael. “Beijing ‘Now Has 4m Vehicles.’” 18 December 2009.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/asia-pacific/8418101.stm>

ball as a Great Power—increases pressure for short-term fixes of the ‘sweep it under the carpet’ variety. Examples will almost certainly include shutting down factories months before to improve air quality, banning Beijingers from using their cars to reduce congestion, and sending home the three million or so rural migrants upon whose labour the city depends for many vital functions. None of this is sustainable.”<sup>52</sup> This is exactly what happened. (Population estimate: 11 million.<sup>53</sup>)

### *Shanghai*

Shanghai, China’s largest metropolis and one of the largest cities in the world, is a port city on the Changjiang Sanjiaozhou (Yangtze River Delta). The heart of the city is actually located a bit inland, along the Huangpu Jiang (Huangpu River). Traditionally, most of Shanghai could be found on the west bank of the Huangpu, and divided into northern and southern sections by the Suzhou He (Suzhou Creek), which flows into the Huangpu from the west. In recent years, the government has focused on developing the eastern side of the Huangpu (known as Pudong) as a financial and commercial center, by designating it as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1990. Since then, the headquarters of the Chinese Stock Exchange, the Oriental Pearl Tower (the tallest tower in Asia), and the Shanghai Pudong International Airport have all been built.

Shanghai’s status as China’s preeminent commercial metropolis is of relatively recent origin, the result of China being forced open to the world in the mid-19th century. In 1842, following the First Opium War, it was designated as a treaty port in the Treaty of Nanking. As such, it opened up to foreign trading concessions for the British, French, and Americans, and later the Japanese. After the Sino-Japanese War in the mid 1890s, foreign powers developed a light industrial base in their Shanghai concessions to take advantage of the area’s resources, cheap labor supply, and access to cotton. Perhaps as a punishment for its interaction with foreigners, Shanghai languished during the first 30 years of Communist rule. It was forced to send most of its revenue to Beijing, which decided where it would be spent. After economic reforms were introduced in 1979, the city was allowed to retain much more of the revenues generated by local enterprises. This led to a tremendous rejuvenation and eventual expansion across the river in Pudong. Its port has become the world’s busiest, handling about 25% of China’s trade.<sup>54</sup>

Most residents have shallow roots in Shanghai. Their identity cards (*hukou*) list an ancestral home in one of the surrounding provinces. Yet they are proud to be Shanghaiese, prompting other Chinese to grumble that they have a superiority complex. Still, Shanghai retains a special place in the Chinese imagination, drawing visitors from around the country to glimpse China’s future. Urban planners face a population whose average age is rapidly rising. As a result, the city encourages Shanghai couples to have a second child, although it has not provided any financial incentives to ensure that there

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52 The New York Times, Expert Roundtable. “China Choking on Growth: Answers from Nick Young.” 15 October 2007. <http://china.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/15/answers-from-nick-young/>

53 Nations Online. “The Most Populated Cities in China.” 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

54 Consul General of the United States, Shanghai, China. “About the Consulate.” No date. [http://shanghai.usembassy-china.org.cn/about\\_the\\_consulate.html](http://shanghai.usembassy-china.org.cn/about_the_consulate.html)

will be enough workers to support retirees.<sup>55</sup> It is also in the process of relaxing the conditions for outsiders to get a Shanghai *hukou*. Prior applicants needed at least 7 years of residence, to have contributed to the city's social welfare and income tax bureaus, and a job as a mid-level or higher technical specialist.<sup>56</sup> This excluded many with skills valuable to Shanghai's economy. (Population estimate: 15.7 million.<sup>57</sup>)

### *Guangzhou*

The largest city in southern China, and historically the heart of the region, is Guangzhou (Canton). Due to its location at the delta and proximity to the South China Sea, Macau, and Hong Kong, Guangzhou is called the South Gate of China. Guangzhou today is the capital of Guangdong Province but was formerly the capital for three Chinese dynasties. The city was home to Sun Yat-sen, the first provisional president of the Republic of China, who was instrumental in overthrowing the Qing dynasty. Trained as a medical doctor, Sun founded National Guangdong University in Guangzhou shortly before his death in 1925. It was also the first place the British secured trading rights. Given this illustrious history, many residents resent the rise of nearby Hong Kong, at the other end of the Pearl River Delta, to a position of preeminence. As Cantonese like to point out to visitors, Hong Kong was just a fishing village when it was ceded by the Qing Dynasty to Britain in the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 (along with the right to conduct trade in four other cities).



© shenxy / flickr.com  
Guangzhou at night

Even under communism, Guangzhou was a conduit for commerce conducted with businesses in capitalist countries. Since 1957 the city has hosted the biannual Chinese Export Commodities Fair, the largest trade fair in mainland China.<sup>58</sup> Guangzhou has been in the forefront of economic and social change, because of its historic linkages to the outside world and resident kinship ties to émigré communities all over the world. It has even developed a synergistic relationship with Hong Kong as the Pearl River Delta develops into one extended manufacturing and financial center.<sup>59</sup> (Population estimate: 9.4 million.<sup>60</sup>)

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55 Businessweek, Eye on Asia. Balfour, Frederik. "Shanghai Pushes 'Two Child' Population Policy." 24 July 2009.

[http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/blog/eyeonasia/archives/2009/07/shanghai\\_pushes.html](http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/blog/eyeonasia/archives/2009/07/shanghai_pushes.html)

56 The Japan Research Institute United. Asia Monthly. Oizumi, Keicichiro. "Shanghai Faces Population Policy as Industrialization Progresses." September 2009. <http://www.jri.co.jp/english/periodical/asia/2009/shanghai/>

57 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

58 Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia. "Guangzhou." 2005. <http://columbia.thefreedictionary.com/Guangzhou>

59 Stanford University. Rohlen, Thomas. "Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta: 'One Country, Two Systems' in the Emerging Metropolitan Context." 2000. <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/11897/Rohlen2000.pdf>

60 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

## *Shenzhen, Dongguan*

South of Guangzhou and close to the border with Hong Kong, these two cities in the Pearl River Delta were farming communities prior to 1979, but now best reflect the transformation created by market reforms. Shenzhen was the first Chinese Special Economic Zone established by the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Subsequently, it has become one of China's leading ports. Its unique geographical position at the head of Hong Kong's



© Ken Neoh  
Shenzhen City

Kowloon Peninsula allows Shenzhen to have deep-water container port terminals on both the city's eastern and western sides. Shenzhen is now the global procurement headquarters for Wal-Mart, and Dongguan has been transformed into a factory district. A largely female workforce that has been recruited from the interior lives in dormitories and enables factories to run around the clock in continuous shifts. In both cities, migrants outnumber residents by eight to one.<sup>61, 62</sup> Tensions exist between residents, who often are employed as managers by the factory owners in Hong Kong or Taiwan, and workers, who may possess similar levels of education but have limited opportunities for advancement and may easily be replaced.<sup>63</sup> Yet the government has little to fear from migrant worker lay-offs when orders decline, as they have since the onset of the global recession in 2008. A scholar explains, "While state enterprise workers see employment as a taken-for-granted entitlement, rural migrants simply move on to search for another job in the case of layoff."<sup>64</sup> (Population estimates: Shenzhen, 7.2 million; Dongguan, 4.8 million.<sup>65</sup>)

## *Wuhan*

The city of Wuhan, capital of Hubei Province, is the largest urban area in central China, and developed as a transshipment port for commodities shipped from the southwest to Shanghai. For much of its history, it was a joining (conurbation) of three cities (Hanyang, Hankou, and Wuchang) that were located on opposite sides of the Han Shui (Hanyang, Hankou) and Chang Jiang (Wuchang). As commerce expanded, the Chinese government consolidated the three cities into the city of Wuhan in 1927.<sup>66</sup> Wuhan was the scene of major political uprisings, including the famous Battle of Red Cliffs, and the Wuchang

61 Shenzhen.gov.cn. "Shenzhen Firms Encouraged to Hire the Needy." 15 May 2006. [http://english.gov.cn/2006-05/15/content\\_280707.htm](http://english.gov.cn/2006-05/15/content_280707.htm)

62 Overseas Young Chinese Forum. Perspectives. Mingjiang Li. "The Rural-Urban Divide in Chinese Social Security: Political and Institutional Explanations." 31 December 2005. [http://www.oycf.org/Perspectives/31\\_12312005/4.pdf](http://www.oycf.org/Perspectives/31_12312005/4.pdf)

63 East Asia Forum. Fang, Cai. "A Tale of Two Cities: Chinese Labor Market Performance in 2009 and Reform Priority in 2010." 25 December 2009. <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2009/12/25/a-tale-of-two-cities-chinese-labor-market-performance-in-2009-and-reform-priority-in-2010/>

64 East Asian Background Brief No. 424, National University of Singapore. Litao, Zhao. "Return Rural Migration in China: A Source of Social Instability or a Force for Rural Transformation?" 9 January 2009. <http://www.eai.nus.edu.sg/BB424.pdf>

65 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

66 Wuhan. History. "Wuhan History 1500 BC–1995 CE." No date. <http://www.wuhan.com/cmarter.asp?doc=316&node=283>

Uprising of 1911. The latter destabilized a weakened Qing Dynasty and set off a chain of events that led to the founding of the Republic of China (which fled to Taiwan in 1949). Wuhan's location on China's major inland waterway and near coal and iron ore resources helped it become one of Communist China's largest areas for state-run steel and iron industries. Later, workers who once enjoyed "the iron rice" of lifetime job security were ill-prepared to find comparable work in the private sector after massive layoffs.<sup>67</sup> Despite this reversal and continued reliance on aging industrial plants, Wuhan's future looks bright. As costs have risen in other cities, such as Shanghai, more foreign investment has poured into cheaper Wuhan. In addition, only Beijing and Shanghai surpass Wuhan in the quality and number of universities. Two of these universities, Wuhan University and the Huazhong University of Science and Technology, have helped the city become a world center of optoelectronic information technology, leading to the city's moniker as the "Optics Valley of China."<sup>68</sup> (Population estimate: 7.5 million.<sup>69</sup>)

### *Tianjin*

Along with Beijing, Shanghai, and Chongqing, Tianjin is one of China's four municipalities that are administered directly by the central government.<sup>70</sup>

The urban area of Tianjin is inland and lies on the Hai He (Hai River), although port facilities on Bo Hai (Gulf of Bohai) are within the municipality limits. The port of Tianjin is one of the two busiest in North China. Tianjin's position between Beijing and the sea has been a key factor in its development.

The modern city took shape after the capital was moved to Beijing from Nanjing. Beginning as a garrison town, Tianjin quickly grew and over time became the main commercial gateway to Beijing. During the late 1850s, Tianjin became embroiled in the Second Opium War, after which the Treaties of Tientsin opened the city up to foreign trading concessions. Periodic rebellions and anti-foreign hostilities continued throughout the 19th century.<sup>71</sup>

Commerce has always been important in Tianjin because of its port and transportation links to Beijing, Northeast China (Manchuria), and South China, yet manufacturing has increasingly become an important segment of the city's economy. Heavy industries have traditionally been dominant, but the government has recently concentrated on diversifying the manufacturing base. The Binhai New Area, a specially earmarked



© Stephen Zopf  
City street in Tianjin

67 The New York Times. WuDunn, Sheryl. "Wuhan Journal; Layoffs in China: A Dirty Word But All Too Real." 11 May 1993. <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/05/11/world/wuhan-journal-layoffs-in-china-a-dirty-word-but-all-too-real.html?pagewanted=1>

68 School of Architecture, Carnegie-Mellon University. Yang, Xiaody and Ying Hua. "Wuhan vs. Pittsburgh: Urban Transformation of Old Industrial Cities under Globalization Impacts." 2004.

[http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/cityfutures/papers/webpapers/cityfuturespapers/session2\\_6/2\\_6wuhan.pdf](http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/cityfutures/papers/webpapers/cityfuturespapers/session2_6/2_6wuhan.pdf)

69 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

70 Municipalities are political entities that may fall within provincial boundaries but have separate governance. For provincial officials to enter municipality government office complexes, they must make an appointment first.

71 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Tientsin: Evolution of the City." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-15120/Tientsin>

development zone, has been the focus of much of this effort, with notable success. In 2006, over 50% of Tianjin's economic growth came from Binhai businesses.<sup>72</sup> Foreign electronics companies such as Motorola and Samsung have located production facilities in the area, and over 10% of the world's cell phones are now made in Binhai.<sup>73</sup> New port facilities are also being developed as the government strives to make Tianjin the Shanghai or Shenzhen of North China.<sup>74</sup> (Population estimate: 7.4 million.<sup>75</sup>)

### *Chongqing*

Chongqing was the nation's capital from 1938 to 1946, when the Nationalist government had been forced to abandon its capital in Nanjing (Nanking) and move inland after the Japanese occupation. In 1997, Beijing made Chongqing its fourth municipality, which absorbed the easternmost districts of Sichuan Province. The new municipality is immense in size and population, but only a relatively small percentage of the municipality's populace lives within the metropolitan area of Chongqing. The city lies on the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River) in the southeastern part of the Sichuan Pendi (Szechwan Basin). Chongqing is considered a gateway city for the government's Western Development Strategy. It represents an ambitious attempt to spread economic growth to western and northern areas that have largely been bypassed during the economic boom of the last three decades. This vast area includes all of China's five Autonomous Regions, where much of China's ethnic minority population lives, and contains important pockets of natural resources. Chongqing is the westernmost navigable point on the Chang Jiang.



© Sam Burney  
City of Chongqing

Following World War II, the central planning authorities in Beijing targeted the mountainous valleys around the Chongqing region as the center of a large, western industrial base. Many of these industries were created to supply defense-related needs, where they were less vulnerable to attack from outside powers. The staff and workers, relocated from other parts of China, often had limited contact with local residents because the factories were self-contained communities. As China began to shrink its military industrial complex in the 1980s and shift to a market economy, many of these factories were encouraged to move out of the mountain valleys and relocate in or near Chongqing to focus on producing consumer goods.<sup>76</sup> The need to turn a profit meant that excess

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72 ChinaDaily.com.cn. BizChina. Shanghai Daily. "Binhai: Tianjin's 51.4% Growth Provider." 22 January 2007.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-01/22/content\\_789259.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-01/22/content_789259.htm)

73 ChinaDaily.com.cn BizChina. Xinhua. "Binhai has 10% of Mobile Phones." 25 January 2007.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-01/25/content\\_792442.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-01/25/content_792442.htm)

74 ChinaDaily.com.cn. BizChina. Ding Qingfen. "Investors Move In on New Tianjin Port." 9 February 2007.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-02/09/content\\_805697.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2007-02/09/content_805697.htm)

75 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

76 People's Daily Online. Xinhua. "China's Military Industry Enterprises Come out of Mountains to World Market." 6 May 2004.

[http://english.people.com.cn/200405/06/eng20040506\\_142474.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200405/06/eng20040506_142474.html)

staff had to be furloughed.<sup>77</sup> Today, industry in Chongqing is focused on automobiles and motorcycles, food, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, tourism, and construction.<sup>78</sup> As new infrastructure abounds, and foreign and domestic investment in the city increases, Chongqing is rapidly becoming one of the fabled “boom” cities of China. Chongqing’s polluted air and water is also well-known, and the city is often included in lists of the world’s most polluted metropolises.<sup>79</sup> (Population estimate: 6.6 million.<sup>80</sup>)

### *Shenyang*

The three northeastern provinces of China (Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang) are collectively referred to as Northeast China (Manchuria). The central lowlands of this region contain several major cities that are known for their heavy industries. The largest of these cities is Shenyang, which lies on the Hun He (Hun River), a tributary of the Liao He (Liao River). The Liao He is the primary river of southern Northeast China. During much of the Qing Dynasty, Shenyang lay within the Willow Palisade, a trench-and-tree “barricade” that served as the boundary for the migration of Han Chinese from the south. This barricade defined the region of Manchuria in which existing Han Chinese migrants might live (Mongol areas lay to the east, Manchu-controlled regions to the north, and Korean areas to the west). Shenyang was referred to as Mukden for much of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the city was under Russian, and later, Japanese control. Shenyang served as a base for the Communist invasion of mainland China after the city was wrested from Chinese Nationalist troops in the fall of 1948.<sup>81</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia.org  
Mukden Palace, Shenyang

After the Communists came to power, Shenyang became a center of state-owned heavy industry, and one of the top manufacturing centers in China. But in the 1980s, when China moved from a centrally planned economy to a market-based one, Shenyang (and the Northeast as a whole) lost ground relative to southern parts of the nation. Today, Shenyang’s economy remains heavily invested in industry, although it is more diversified than in the past. In 2003, the government launched the “Rejuvenate the Northeast” initiative. This project aimed at using state, internal, and foreign investment to launch projects to wean Shenyang and other Northeast cities from the outdated, less competitive public industries.<sup>82</sup> Since then, foreign investment has increased dramatically for

77 Shanghai Daily. “When Weapons Factory 420 Becomes 24 City Of the Future.” 13 March 2009.

[http://www.china.org.cn/culture/2009-03/13/content\\_17437934.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/culture/2009-03/13/content_17437934.htm)

78 Chongqing Municipal Government. About Chongqing. “Advantages.” 12 June 2007.

<http://english.cq.gov.cn/ChongqingGuide/MountainCity/1916.htm>.

79 BBC News, UK Version. Luard, Tim. “Paying the Price for China’s Growth.” 14 October 2004.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3743332.stm>

80 Nations Online. “The Most Populated Cities in China.” 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

81 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. “Shen-yang.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9067279/Shen-yang>

82 People’s Daily Online. “China’s Strategy to Rejuvenate Old Industrial Bases in Northeast.” 19 July 2004.

[http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200407/19/eng20040719\\_150069.html](http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200407/19/eng20040719_150069.html)

Shenyang businesses (over 15.4 million yuan, or USD 2 billion in 2005).<sup>83</sup> By 2009, in January alone over 20 foreign investment projects were introduced in Shenyang, totaling USD 330 million.<sup>84</sup> (Population estimate: 4.9 million.<sup>85</sup>)

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83 ChinaDaily.com.cn. BizChina. "Booming Investment in Shenyang." 29 April 2006. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2006-04/29/content\\_584267.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2006-04/29/content_584267.htm)

84 China Daily. Regional. "Shenyang Spends \$530 m Foreign Investment in Jan." 2 March 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/regional/2009-03/02/content\\_7527138.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/regional/2009-03/02/content_7527138.htm)

85 Nations Online. "The Most Populated Cities in China." 2010. [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china\\_cities.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/china_cities.htm)

## Environmental Concerns

As China's economy has expanded, the country's environmental issues have become a matter of national and global importance. With the world's largest population, China has long placed the need to exploit its resources for sustenance and economic purposes over environmental concerns about the sustainable use and management of such resources. Reports over the last decade, however, have documented the severity of some of China's environmental problems. According to the World Bank, China has 20 of the 30 most polluted cities in the world.<sup>86</sup> A rise in birth defects across the country, particularly in Beijing, may be related to pollution.<sup>87</sup> The Chinese government has made pollution control a priority. Ahead of the 2009 climate summit, China announced it would cut carbon intensity levels<sup>88</sup> by nearly half.<sup>89</sup> At the summit, China stated that to protect the environment, it has focused on pollution reduction and energy conservation, laws and regulation, new and renewable energy, and forestation.<sup>90</sup> But these efforts will not impact total carbon emissions, which are expected to increase in the next decade.<sup>91</sup>

### *Air Pollution*

Approximately 70% of China's energy production comes from coal, the nation's most plentiful energy resource.<sup>92</sup> Resulting high concentrations of sulfur dioxide and soot have led to increased amounts of acid rain throughout China and the adjoining areas of Asia. China is also the world's second largest emitter of carbon dioxide (after the United States), producing 17% of the world's total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from energy.<sup>93</sup> Overall, China is responsible for



© sheilaz413 / flickr.com  
Air pollution in Linfen City

roughly one third of global air pollutants, and the country now has the world's highest annual rate of premature deaths caused by air pollution. An estimated 656,000 Chinese

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86 World Bank. China. "China Quick Facts." No date. <http://go.worldbank.org/4Q7SC8DU50>

87 BBC News. Asia Pacific. McGivering, Jill. "Beijing Birth Defects Rise Again." 15 September 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8257151.stm>

88 The carbon intensity level is the amount of carbon dioxide produced per unit of the gross domestic product.

89 United Nations Climate Change Conference. News. "China Sets Target to Cut Carbon Intensity." 26 November 2009. <http://en.cop15.dk/news/view+news?newsid=2717>

90 Xinhuanet. "Premier: China Makes Most Intensive Efforts in Energy Conservation, Pollution Reduction." 18 December 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content\\_12667577.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content_12667577.htm)

91 Xinhuanet. "Premier: China Makes Most Intensive Efforts in Energy Conservation, Pollution Reduction." 18 December 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content\\_12667577.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/18/content_12667577.htm)

92 Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy. "Country Analysis Briefs: China [p. 17]." July 2009. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/pdf.pdf>

93 Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy. "Country Analysis Briefs: China [p. 13]." July 2009. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/pdf.pdf>

die each year from diseases related to air pollution.<sup>94</sup> It was recently discovered that air pollution has reduced the amount of light rainfall by as much as 20% in the past 50 years.<sup>95</sup> Dust and sandstorms also contribute to pollution in China.<sup>96</sup>

### *Coal Mining and Production*

Coal exacts a high environmental price in China even before it is burned. According to a recent World Bank report, Shanxi Province, the heart of China's coal belt, is home to three of the world's most polluted cities, including Linfen City, which is ranked as the most polluted city in the world.<sup>97</sup> Much of Shanxi's coal, which is relatively high in sulfur, is distilled in coking plants. This process also adds pollutants to the environment.<sup>98</sup> Sinking



© Adam Cohn  
Coal factory

ground above the mines and coal wastes that enter groundwater and surface water systems add to the negative environmental effects.<sup>99</sup> While government officials readily acknowledge the seriousness of the health effects, the process of remediation is costly and has been slow to be implemented. During 2008, despite high prices and its environmental impact, China burned 7% more coal, amounting to 43% of coal use globally.<sup>100</sup> China is already the world's number one producer of coal.<sup>101</sup> In 2009 it announced that it must increase coal production 30% by 2015 to fulfill its energy needs.<sup>102</sup> China obtains 70% of its energy and 80% of its electricity from coal.<sup>103</sup> In

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94 National Geographic News. Platt, Kevin Holden. "Chinese Air Pollution Deadliest in the World, Report Says." 9 July 2007.

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2007/07/070709-china-pollution.html>

95 UPI. Science News. "China's Air Pollution is Reducing Rainfall." 18 August 2009.

[http://www.upi.com/Science\\_News/2009/08/18/Chinas-air-pollution-is-reducing-rainfall/UPI-63481250606377/](http://www.upi.com/Science_News/2009/08/18/Chinas-air-pollution-is-reducing-rainfall/UPI-63481250606377/)

96 BBC News. Asia Pacific. "Beijing Pollution: Facts and Figures." 11 August 2008. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7498198.stm>

97 CBS News Online Edition. CBS Evening News. "The Most Polluted Places on Earth." 6 June 2007.

<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/06/06/eveningnews/main2895653.shtml>

98 People's Daily Online. Xinhua. "Shanxi Suspends Approval of Coking Projects." 2 June 2004.

[http://english.people.com.cn/200406/03/eng20040603\\_145197.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200406/03/eng20040603_145197.html)

99 The New York Times. Bradsher, Keith and David Barboza. "Pollution from Chinese Coal Casts a Global Shadow." 11 June 2006.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/11/business/worldbusiness/11chinacoal.html?ex=1307678400&en=e9ac1f6255a24fd8ei=5088partner=rssnyt&emc=rss&pagewanted=all>

100 The Guardian UK. Macallister, Terry. Business. "China Leads Escalation of Coal Consumption." 10 June 2009.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2009/jun/10/coal-usage-global-energy-survey>

101 The Guardian UK. Environment. Watts, John. "Two Faces of China's Giant Coal Industry." 15 November 2009.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/nov/15/china-coal-industry-mongolia-shaanxi>

102 Coal Mining. News. "China Coal Production Sparks Global Concern." 13 January 2009.

<http://www.miningcoal.com.au/news/china-coal-production-sparks-global-concern>

103 The Heritage Foundation. Issues. Scissors, Derek. "Ten Things About China and Climate Change." 2 November 2009.

<http://www.heritage.org/Research/EnergyandEnvironment/sr0068.cfm>

2008, it was estimated that coal was costing the country 7.1% of GDP in terms of environmental damage and social harm.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Greenpeace. News. "China's Coal Crisis." 27 October 2008. <http://www.greenpeace.org/china/en/news/coal-crisis>

## *Water Pollution*

Although China's water pollution does not receive as much publicity as its air pollution (water pollution affects Chinese more than regional or global neighbors), it seriously threatens the health of its citizens and economy. While 21% of the world's people live in China, the country possesses only 7% of the world's water. As increasing industrialization and rapid urbanization have polluted a scarce resource, the Chinese government has stressed water conservation practices and investment in water pollution-control technology.<sup>105</sup> Of China's largest lakes, 28 are polluted to the extent that 40% of the water tested as hazardous. In urban areas, underground waters are polluted and 90% of river waters are polluted.<sup>106</sup> By September 2008, the government had spent nearly USD 7.5 billion on water treatment projects, but only 881 projects were operational 5 months later.<sup>107</sup> The scope of the undertaking is vast; the government estimates that more than 70% of Chinese lakes and rivers are polluted.<sup>108</sup>



© Adam Cohn  
Water pollution

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105 China Daily. "China Says Water Pollution So Severe that Cities Could Lack Safe Supplies." 7 June 2005.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-06/07/content\\_449451.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-06/07/content_449451.htm)

106 China Daily. "Water, Air Pollution in China Still Serious." 24 February 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-02/24/content\\_7508856.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-02/24/content_7508856.htm)

107 China Daily. "Water, Air Pollution in China Still Serious." 24 February 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-02/24/content\\_7508856.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-02/24/content_7508856.htm)

108 BBC News, UK Version. Lim, Louisa. "China Warns of Water Pollution." 23 March 2005. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4374383.stm>

## Natural Hazards

China is prone to virtually every type of natural hazard. Although rare, volcanic eruptions occur in volcanic fields in the northeastern and western parts of the country. Earthquakes and flooding are by far the most deadly and destructive disasters, producing monumentally catastrophic events.

### *Earthquakes*

The most deadly earthquake in history and the worst recorded human natural disaster struck what is now Shaanxi Province in 1556, killing an estimated 830,000 people.<sup>109</sup> Many who died in this earthquake lived in cave homes that were unable to withstand the intense shaking of the earthquake and the resulting massive landslides. The deadliest 20th-century earthquake was the 7.8 magnitude earthquake in 1976 that destroyed the Hebei



© dcmaster / flickr.com  
Sichuan earthquake

Province city of Tangshan and killed at least 240,000.<sup>110</sup> (The world's second- and third-deadliest 20th-century earthquakes also occurred in China, in 1927 and 1920 respectively.) Tangshan was not built to withstand intense shaking of such magnitude, but the city has been completely rebuilt and is today the second-largest city in Hebei Province. Most recently, a 7.9 magnitude earthquake struck Sichuan Province in May 2008, killing at least 70,000 people. Entire towns were leveled, leaving roughly five million people homeless. A large percentage of structures suffered total devastation, including schools where students were crushed to death as buildings collapsed. This raised questions over whether seismic safety codes have been sufficiently enforced during China's building boom, and led to allegations that officials had overseen shoddy construction of schools in order to re-sell the high-quality materials that had been allocated for school construction.<sup>111</sup> Earthquakes have often put the government on the defensive because they were traditionally interpreted as celestial displeasure over misgovernment or a loss of the "mandate of heaven" to rule. Mao Zedong died a few months after the Tangshan earthquake, paving the way for Deng Xiaoping to come to power and initiate the economic reforms.<sup>112</sup>

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109 George Pararas Carayannis. "Historical Earthquakes in China." 2007. <http://www.drgeorgepc.com/EarthquakesChina.html>

110 Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences, Saint Louis University. "Ten 'Worst' Natural Disasters." 18 October 2005. <http://www.eas.slu.edu/hazards.html>

111 The New York Times. Wong, Edward. "China Admits Building Flaws in Quake." 4 September 2008. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/05/world/asia/05china.html>

112 Salon.com. Leonard, Andrew. "China's Earthquake and the Mandate of Heaven." 13 May 2008.

[http://www.salon.com/technology/how\\_the\\_world\\_works/2008/05/13/earthquake\\_in\\_china/print.html](http://www.salon.com/technology/how_the_world_works/2008/05/13/earthquake_in_china/print.html)

## Floods

Despite their devastating effects, earthquakes have not been the worst disasters to befall China. Of increased notoriety are the country's floods, some of which have killed millions of people, directly and indirectly. The eight deadliest floods during the 20th century all occurred in China, most before 1950.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>114</sup> The worst of these happened in 1931, when record summer rains caused flooding on several Chinese rivers, including the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), Huang He (Yellow River), and Huai He (Huai River). Breaches in the levees of the Grand Canal and the adjacent Gaoyou Hu (Lake Gaoyou) caused several cities immediately east of them to flood. Over 140,000 people drowned, and 3.7 million people died over the next 9 months from disease and starvation related to the disaster.<sup>115</sup> Flood control devices, such as upstream dams and downstream levees, together with pumping and more coordinated emergency preparation measures, have helped to reduce the loss of life from subsequent floods.<sup>116</sup>



© L i v / flickr.com  
Flooded street in China

Still, the 1990s were one of the worst decades on record, based on the number of severe floods. This is due largely to China's unique geography, where the most densely populated areas lie on near-flat eastern plains that receive drenching summer monsoons from the South China Sea. In addition, through increased sedimentation, levees have raised river and lake beds, exacerbating the flood conditions when rivers reach the flooding stage or levees are breached. New dams and water projects continue to be built throughout China, often with promised goals of reduced flooding. But history shows that China's massive rivers are not easily tamed. It is estimated that extreme weather, including flooding, annually costs the economy USD 30.6 billion, up from USD 22.2 billion in the 1990s.<sup>117</sup>

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113 The Disaster Center, International Disaster Database. "The Most Deadly 100 Natural Disasters of the 20th Century." No date. <http://www.disastercenter.com/disaster/TOP100K.html>

114 The Disaster Center, International Disaster Database "The Most Deadly 100 Natural Disasters of the 20th Century." No date. <http://www.disastercenter.com/disaster/TOP100K.html>

115 AboutGaoyou.com. Harnsberger, Steve. "Forgotten China Flood of 1931, The Most Devastating Flood of the 20th Century." 25 September 2007. [http://www.aboutgaoyou.com/history/floods/the\\_floods.aspx](http://www.aboutgaoyou.com/history/floods/the_floods.aspx)

116 Associated Programme on Flood Management, World Health Organization. Zhang Hai-lun. "China: Flood Management." January 2004. [http://www.apfm.info/pdf/case\\_studies/china.pdf](http://www.apfm.info/pdf/case_studies/china.pdf)

117 The Guardian UK. World News. Branigan, Tania. "Drought and Floods Threaten China's Economic Growth, Forecaster Warns." 30 June 2009. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jun/30/china-climate-change-warning>

## Geography Assessment

(1) The terms North China and South China are used mainly to describe the geographical division of China's two major ethnicities.

**False.** North China and South China correspond to the time in its history when a northern and southern dynasty existed. The ethnicity of both regions is overwhelmingly Han Chinese.

(2) The Tibetan Highlands are the most densely populated region in China.

**False.** The Tibetan Highlands, given their extreme elevations, are the least populated region within China.

(3) China is home to a variety of ecosystems due to its diverse topography and climate.

**True.** China's diverse topography and climate support a remarkable variety of plant and animal species, many of which are exotic and extremely rare.

(4) China's energy production is predominately from coal.

**True.** Approximately 70% of China's energy production comes from coal, its most plentiful energy resource.

(5) Floods have had a more devastating effect on China's population than earthquakes.

**True.** Despite their devastating effects, earthquakes have not been the worst disasters to befall China. Floods have been far worse.

## Chapter 2: History

### Introduction

The Chinese claim the oldest continuous civilization, going back some 4,000 years. They also have the oldest centralized state, dating to 221 B.C.E. While dynasties came and went, the imperial system remained intact (with some interruptions) until 1911.<sup>118</sup> For the Chinese, the emperor ruled everything under heaven (*tian xia*). Surrounding states paid tribute to him as the ruler of the Middle Kingdom (*Zhongguo*), which was the center of the universe. To govern, he relied on a staff of scholar-officials, who had passed rigorous examinations requiring years of study. Their advancement was determined by an intricate set of grades and rank. Thus, in addition to inventing gun powder, printing, paper, and the magnetic compass, the Chinese are credited with organizing the world's first bureaucracy.<sup>119</sup> Emperors did not answer to the people but to a celestial god, referred to as Heaven. Natural disasters were interpreted as a sign that Heaven had withdrawn its mandate to rule because the emperor had failed to look after the well-being of the people (due to excessive taxation, corruption, oppression, or other types of poor governance). Peasant-led rebellions occurred throughout Chinese history; successful ones established a new dynasty. Some view the government led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as a modern-day dynasty founded by Mao Zedong.<sup>120</sup> His death shortly after the deadly Tangshan earthquake in 1976 enabled Deng Xiaoping to come to power and lead the country in a new direction.



© PHGCOM / Wikipedia.org  
Chinese sculpture, 14-10th  
century BCE

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118 British Museum. "Imperial China." No date. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/world\\_cultures/asia/imperial\\_china.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/world_cultures/asia/imperial_china.aspx)

119 The Heart of the Dragon. Clayre, Alasdair. "Chapter 1: Remembering Emperors and Rebels [p. 8]." 1985. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

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<http://www.sacu.org/maoobituary.html>

## Early History

*Homo erectus*, an ancestor of *Homo sapiens*, lived in what is now Asia and China. The first remains to be found in China are of the famous “Peking Man” (*H. erectus pekinensis*). Estimated to be 230,000 to 500,000 years old, this ancient specimen was excavated in the 1920s and 1930s from a cave near the village of Zhoukoudian, southwest of Beijing (the cave is now a UN World Heritage Site). Unfortunately, many of the fossilized remains of Peking Man disappeared during the evacuation of Beijing in World War II, and have never been rediscovered.<sup>121</sup> In 1963, older *Homo erectus* fossils were found in Lantian County, Shaanxi Province. This discovery pushed the known date of human habitation in China to more than 1 million years ago.<sup>122</sup> The latest fossil finds (1999) at Renzidong Cave in eastern China’s Anhui Province have yielded even older small tools that may have belonged to *Homo erectus*, along with the bones of slain animals. These suggest that *Homo erectus* was established in the area more than 2 million years ago.<sup>123</sup>



© Lillyundfrey / Wikipedia.org  
Scientific reconstruction of  
*Homo erectus*

Evidence of numerous Neolithic cultures has been found throughout China. Many of these archaeological sites are near the Huang He (Yellow River) and the upper stretches of its tributary, the Wei He (Wei River). There are also several sites in the south, near the mouth of the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), in Zhejiang Province. Archaeologists believe that by the end of the 3rd millennium B.C.E., two socially stratified, regional cultures had developed: the northern Longshan, centered along the lower and middle stretches of the Huang He, and the southern Liangzhu, along the lower Chang Jiang.<sup>124</sup> Discoveries in the eastern Sichuan Pendi (Szechwan Basin) and the Three Gorges area have also established the existence of separate Late Neolithic cultures in this region: the Shijiahe to the west and the Baobun to the east.<sup>125</sup>

121 UNESCO. “The Peking Man World Heritage Site at Zhoukoudian.” No date. <http://www.unesco.org/ext/field/beijing/whc/pkm-site.htm>

122 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. “Lantian Man.” 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9047144/Lantian-man>

123 Archaeological Institute of America. Archaeology. Vol. 53, No. 1. Ciochon, Russell, and Roy Larick. “Early Homo Erectus Tools in China.” January/February 2000. <http://www.archaeology.org/0001/newsbriefs/china.html>

124 www.chinaknowledge.de. Theobald, Ulrich. “China History-Prehistory: Prehistoric Cultures of China.” 2000. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Myth/prehistory-event.html>

125 China.org.cn. Beijing Youth Daily. “Three Gorges Civilization in the Neolithic Age.” 5 August 2003.

<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2003/Aug/71645.htm>

## The Ancient Dynasties

### *Xia Dynasty (~2100–1600 B.C.E.)*

The Chinese Bronze Age is commonly thought to have begun around the time of the Xia Dynasty.<sup>126</sup> Two of China's oldest historical texts contain a list of Xia rulers, beginning with Yu the Great, although some have claimed that these rulers are mythical.<sup>127</sup>

Most archaeologists believe that the Xia Dynasty was associated with Bronze Age sites found in northern Henan and southwestern Shanxi Provinces, collectively known as the Erlitou culture.<sup>128</sup> These archaeological findings have become compelling evidence for those who believe that the Xia rulers were real and not mythical.<sup>129</sup>



© Steve Weibel  
Statue of Confucius

### *Shang Dynasty (~1700–1046 B.C.E.)*

The latter part of the Shang Dynasty, unlike the Xia, left a record that confirms some aspects of the ancient historical texts. This record mostly consists of writings on tortoise shells and oxen shoulder blades. These artifacts are the earliest verified examples of Chinese writing. Known as the Anyang oracle bones, these inscribed bones and shells were discovered close to Xiaotun, a village near Anyang, northern Henan Province, in archaeological digs during the 1920s and 1930s. The oracle bones describe divinations performed for the last nine Shang rulers, who are believed to have governed from Xiaotun. Near the Xiaotun site are several plundered tombs that are thought to have been the final resting places of 11 of the last 12 Shang rulers.<sup>130</sup> The Xiaotun site is now called Yinxu (“ruins of Yin”) and was recently declared a World Heritage Site. The reign of the last 12 Shang rulers is sometimes referred to as the Yin-Shang Dynasty.

According to historical texts, the Shang Dynasty began with the overthrow of the last Xia ruler. The first Shang capital was initially located near present-day Cao Xian in western Shandong Province, but it was moved at least 5 times during the reigns of the first 18 Shang rulers. Ruins of one of these capitals have been found in present-day Zhengzhou,

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126 Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art. “Shang and Zhou Dynasties: The Bronze Age of China (from Timeline of Art History).” October 2004. [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/shzh/hd\\_shzh.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/shzh/hd_shzh.htm)

127 www.chinaknowledge.de. Theobald, Ulrich. “China History: Xia Dynasty (17th to 15th Cent. B.C.)” 2000. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Myth/xia.html>

128 National Gallery of Art. “The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Bronze Age China.” 2007. [http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/chbro\\_bron.shtm](http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/chbro_bron.shtm)

129 National Gallery of Art. “The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Bronze Age China.” 2007. [http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/chbro\\_bron.shtm](http://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/chbro_bron.shtm)

130 People's Daily Online. “Protection Top Priority for Yinxu Ruins.” 8 May 2002. [http://english.people.com.cn/200205/08/eng20020508\\_95294.shtml](http://english.people.com.cn/200205/08/eng20020508_95294.shtml)

the capital of Henan Province. Inscribed bronze vessels and jade carvings found in Shang ruins show a high degree of artisanship.<sup>131</sup>

### *Zhou Dynasty (1027–221 B.C.E.)*

The Zhou Dynasty lasted over 800 years, but only controlled most of the then-core of China early in its reign. For this reason, historians divide the dynasty into Western (early) and Eastern (late) Zhou periods.

### *Western Zhou (1027–771 B.C.E.)*

The Zhou people were western vassals of the Shang Dynasty, and lived in the Wei He (Wei River) valley of modern-day Shaanxi Province. Led by Ji Fa (Zhou Wuwang), the son of their recently deceased leader, the Zhou defeated the Shang forces in 1046 B.C.E. in the Battle of Muye. This marked the beginning of the Western Zhou Dynasty, whose capital was established near modern-day Xi'an in Shaanxi Province. The Zhou rulers extended their territory through a system of ceremonially giving over land to feudal lords. These lands initially consisted of walled cities. The feudal state generally increased in size as neighboring groups intermarried or accepted roles as vassals to the feudal lord. Over time, some feudal states grew significantly in stature and territorial reach. But the decentralized feudal structure led to a gradual fraying of dynastic loyalty and control, culminating in a series of skirmishes during the Eastern Zhou period.<sup>132</sup>

### *Eastern Zhou—Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 B.C.E.)*

In 771 B.C.E., northern barbarians swept into the Zhou capital, killing the king and forcing his son and the Zhou court into exile to the east. The Zhou established a new capital at the site of modern-day Luoyang in Henan Province. This marked the beginning of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, a period of slow decline that lasted over 500 years. The first half of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty is called the “Spring and Autumn Period,” after the title of a Confucian historical text that chronicled the times.<sup>133</sup> During this time, the Zhou kings served mostly as ceremonial leaders because the true military and political power was held by the kingdoms that had emerged from the Zhou feudal states. Strife between the Zhou territorial kingdoms increased, even as the economy boomed and the Iron Age brought advancements in transportation and communication. The Zhou “empire” actually expanded during this period as the non-Chinese areas near the margins were conquered and assimilated by the Zhou kingdoms.<sup>134</sup>

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131 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Keightley, David N. “China: The First Historical Dynasty: The Shang Dynasty.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9067119/Shang-Dynasty>

132 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Cho-yun Hsu. “China: The Chou and Ch'in Dynasties: The Chou Feudal System.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71634/China>

133 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. “Spring and Autumn Period.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9069246/Spring-and-Autumn-Period>

134 ThinkQuest.org. “The Zhou Dynasty.” No date. <http://library.thinkquest.org/12255/library/dynasty/zhou.html>

### *Eastern Zhou—Warring States Period (476–221 B.C.E.)*

The last 250 years of the Zhou Dynasty were a period of intense political, social, and cultural change. As the Zhou kingdoms continued to battle for dominance, resulting in frequent changes in territorial alliances and regions of control, the Zhou feudal system essentially disintegrated. Power increasingly shifted from the feudal lords to the administrators of the kingdoms.<sup>135</sup> Urbanization increased during this time as well. Culturally, two of the great strains of Chinese religion and philosophy—Taoism and Confucianism—were products of this period and the years immediately preceding it. Laozi (Lao Tzu), the author of the *Tao Te Ching*, and Kong Fu Zi (Confucius) are thought to have been contemporaries during the period of the Zhou Dynasty decline, although some scholars question whether Laozi was a real person.<sup>136</sup>

### **The Early Imperial Era**

#### *Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.)*

By the third century B.C.E., the kingdom of Qin, centered in the Wei He (Wei River) valley, had become the dominant power among the warring states. In 256 B.C.E., they deposed the last Zhou ruler and, over the next 35 years, systematically defeated all the remaining states to their east, south, and north. By 221 B.C.E., the Qin controlled the entire territory of the former Zhou Dynasty, as well as additional areas to the north and south. Thus began the Qin Dynasty, China's briefest but perhaps most influential dynasty.



© don.lee / flickr.com  
Terracotta warriors in Xian

Moving beyond the feudal system, the Qin administered its local regions through a structure of counties and prefectures—a pattern of organization that still exists in modified form in present-day China.<sup>137</sup> In this way, the Qin created China's first empire.<sup>138</sup> Fear of invading tribes from the north, east, and west caused the Qin emperor, Qin Shi Huang, to begin the construction of fortified protective walls. Hundreds of thousands of laborers died building these antecedents of the Great Wall of China. Highways were built to better link the emperor and his capital of Xianyang (near the modern city of Xi'an in Shaanxi Province) with the remote outposts of the empire.

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135 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Cho-yun Hsu. "China: The Chou and Ch'in Dynasties: The Decline of Feudalism." 2007.  
<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71636/China>

136 Chebucto Community Net. Empty Mirrors Press. Majka, Christopher. "Lao Tzu: Father of Taoism." No date.  
<http://www.chebucto.ns.ca/Philosophy/Taichi/lao.html>

137 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. A Country Study: China. "China: The Imperial Era." August 1987.  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cn0017\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cn0017))

138 Los Angeles Times. Perry, Tony. "The Terra-cotta Warrior." 4 August 2008.  
<http://articles.latimes.com/2008/aug/04/entertainment/et-china4>

By most historical accounts, Qin Shi Huang was ruthless in squelching dissent and rebellion. Using Legalist philosophy, which developed during the late Zhou period, he aggressively punished crimes of any degree.<sup>139</sup> When he died in 210 B.C.E., his second son was made emperor through means of court intrigue. He proved to be ineffectual, and the end of the dynasty soon came.<sup>140</sup> The Army of Terracotta Warriors, which was constructed around Qin Shi Huang's tomb by 720,000 conscripted laborers for over 38 years, remains a legacy of the Qin Dynasty.<sup>141</sup>

#### *Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–9 C.E.; 25–220 C.E.)*

Following the collapse of the Qin Dynasty, the Chu and Han kingdoms, which were key combatants during the Warring States period of the old Zhou Dynasty, fought for control of the Qin Empire. The Han emerged victorious and began an ethnic dominance over China that has continued to this day.

The Han Dynasty is generally divided into Western and Eastern periods. These are separated by a 14-year span (9–23 C.E.) when a Han official usurped the throne and founded the short-lived Xin Dynasty. After the fall of the Xin ruler, the Han Dynasty was reestablished, with a new capital at modern-day Luoyang, east of the Western Han capital of Chang'an (near present-day Xi'an).

The Han Dynasty was a period of territorial expansion. Rulers established trade routes to the west (now known as the Silk Road) through inner Asia. As the routes developed, the empire initiated a westward expansion of the Great Wall in order to repel invasions from the Xiongnu, Turkic tribes from Central Asia.<sup>142</sup>

While retaining much of the organizational structure of the Qin Dynasty, the Han rulers gradually incorporated Taoist and, later, Confucian ideas into the Legalist traditions established during Qin rule.<sup>143</sup> In this way, the Han eventually developed a moralistic (Confucianist) component to governance and rule of law that contrasted dramatically with the unpopular rule of the Qin.

During the early part of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the empire expanded as far as present-day Turkestan. Thereafter, an emperor who favored isolationism came to power, and the empire did not attempt further western conquests. Nearly 100 years later, the Han Empire was in serious decline, weakened by the increasing power of landlords and by internal court politics. Such strife led many to conclude that the Emperor had lost his "mandate of

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139 Division of Religion and Philosophy, University of Cumbria. ELMAR Project. "Overview of World Religions: Legalism." July 1999. <http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/china/legal.html>

140 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Cho-yun Hsu. "China: The Chou and Ch'in Dynasties: The Empire." 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71644/China>

141 Times Online. Stewart, Stanley. "The Secret Tomb in the Heart of China." 16 September 2007. <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/china/article2452334.ece>

142 Smithsonian. Larmer, Brook. "The Great Wall of China is Under Siege." August 2008. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/people-places/great-wall.html>

143 Suite101.com. Walsh, John. "Han: China's Fourth Dynasty." 2 August 2007. <http://chinese-history.suite101.com/article.cfm/han>

heaven,” or legitimacy for continued rule. A peasant revolt, known as the Yellow Turban Rebellion, quickly spread throughout North China and forced the Han emperor to turn to local warlords to help suppress it.

### *Three Kingdoms (220–280 C.E.)*

Ultimately, three groups of these warrior-leaders consolidated control of their respective domains and ended the last pretenses of Han rule. The empire was effectively split into three kingdoms: the northern Wei, the southwestern Shu, and the southeastern Wu. Thus began a period of several centuries in which Han China was almost consistently divided into numerous local dynasties.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Gentlemen in conversation, Eastern Han Dynasty

In the meantime, the relatively short Three Kingdoms period was marked by continued warfare as each kingdom strove to conquer the other two and gain control over the old Han Empire. Ultimately, the Wei briefly overcame the Shu kingdom before the Wei was internally overthrown and transformed into a new dynasty.<sup>144</sup>

### *Jin Dynasty (265–420 C.E.) and 16 Kingdoms (303–439 C.E.)*

Although historians date the Jin Dynasty to 265 C.E., shortly after the Wei kingdom defeated its Shu neighbors to the southwest, the dynasty did not fully unite China until 280 C.E. Then, the Jin Dynasty, formed from the recently overthrown Wei kingdom, finally defeated the southern Wu kingdom. Less than 10 years later, however, the reunited empire again plunged into civil war. The weakened dynasty suffered a debilitating defeat in 311 C.E., when Xiongnu forces swept from the north and sacked the Jin capital of Luoyang. The northern invaders declared themselves to be of Han lineage and became known as the Hanzhou.

The Jin emperor briefly moved the capital to Chang'an (Xi'an), but five years later, in 316 C.E., he was captured and killed by the Hanzhou. This marked the end of the Western Jin Dynasty. The surviving members of the Jin royal family and court fled south, eventually establishing a new capital in Jiankang (near present-day Nanjing). From this location, on the southern bank of the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), the Jin Dynasty ruled for another 104 years, despite its severely weakened state. This later period is known as the Eastern Jin Dynasty.

Meanwhile, the area conquered by the Hanzhou quickly splintered and re-splintered into a complex array of states and sovereignties that are known collectively as the 16 Kingdoms. Non-Chinese ethnic groups ruled most of these states. For the next 130 years or so, North China experienced significant tumult and instability.<sup>145</sup>

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144 Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. "From Three Kingdoms to Disunion." No date.

[http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/museum/exhibits/China\\_exhibit/three%20kingdoms.htm](http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/museum/exhibits/China_exhibit/three%20kingdoms.htm)

145 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Zürcher, Erik and Denis C. Twitchett. "China: The Six Dynasties: The Shih-liu Kuo (16 Kingdoms) in the North (303–439)." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71668/China>

## *Northern (386–581 C.E.) and Southern (420–589 C.E.) Dynasties*

Northern and Southern China remained politically divided during all of the fifth century and most of the sixth century C.E. The Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534 C.E.), the strongest and most “Sinicized” of the 16 Kingdoms, was able to unify much of North China by 439 C.E. During the Northern Wei period, Buddhism firmly established roots in this region. After 534 C.E., however, the dynasty collapsed and divided into eastern and western halves.<sup>146</sup> To the south, the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River) provided an effective barrier from northern attacks. The Eastern Jin Dynasty was followed by a succession of four dynasties over the next 160 years. It was a period of political instability but relative peace with regard to external foes. The Southern Dynasties are known as a golden age for Chinese literature and arts.<sup>147</sup>

## **The Middle Dynasties**

### *Sui Dynasty (581–617 C.E.)*

The Sui Dynasty, like the Qin Dynasty 800 years before, was short-lived but influential. The beginning of the dynasty is usually dated to the accession of Yang Jian (later Emperor Wen) to the Northern Dynasty throne in Chang’an (Xi’an). Shortly after taking control, the emperor launched attacks on the Southern Dynasty, culminating in 589 C.E. with the first reunification of South and North China in nearly 300 years. Another major accomplishment of the Sui was the construction of the Grand Canal, which connected the Huang He and the Chang Jiang, the two great rivers of China. In addition, administrative reforms occurred during this period, and a series of granaries were constructed outside the major cities of the empire. However, a series of failed military campaigns to capture the Korean Peninsula led to dissent and, ultimately, to revolt.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Emperor Wen of Sui

### *Tang Dynasty (618–907 C.E.)*

The last Sui Emperor was assassinated in 618 C.E., and his leading general, Li Yuan, quickly assumed imperial control. Within 10 years, Yuan had vanquished all rivals for the empire and had firmly established the new Tang Dynasty. During the early period of the dynasty, the emperor expanded upon the administrative structure of counties and prefectures that was initially developed during the Qin Dynasty over 800 years earlier. Land redistribution was instituted, and rice became an increasingly important staple, drawing more people to wetter regions, particularly along the Chang Jiang (Yellow River) valley. The Tang was also a golden age for Chinese literature. Militarily, the

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146 E-Museum, Minnesota State University, Mankato. “China: Dynasties of the North and South.” No date.

[http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/china/early\\_imperial\\_china/northandsouth.html](http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/china/early_imperial_china/northandsouth.html)

147 [www.chinaknowledge.de](http://www.chinaknowledge.de). Theobald, Ulrich. “China History—Southern Dynasties (420–589).” 2000.

<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Division/nanchao.html>

empire expanded far into Central Asia and Manchuria, forging one of the largest Chinese empires to that point.

Perhaps the most memorable event during the Tang Dynasty was the ascent of the only woman ruler in China's history: Empress Wu Zhao, a concubine who came to power after the preceding emperor died. History has portrayed her as a ruthless schemer, which is plausible, given the many obstacles and other claimants between her and the royal throne. Once firmly in power, she declared a new dynasty known as the Zhou. During her 15-year reign, she strongly advocated Buddhism, and this period was arguably the peak of Buddhist influence within China. In 705 C.E., however, the Empress, who was then old and in poor health, was unable to thwart a coup, and the Tang Dynasty was restored.<sup>148</sup>

The last 150 years of the Tang Dynasty were marked by numerous rebellions, the most successful of which was a peasant uprising in 860 C.E. After the revolt, power inexorably came into the hands of the regional military authorities. In 907 C.E, one of these military leaders, Zhu Wen, deposed the last Tang Emperor, ushering in another period of Chinese disunity.

#### *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907–960 C.E.)*

As its name suggests, this brief 53-year period was one of continual upheaval. The Five Dynasties occurred in North China, while the Ten Kingdoms were primarily located in South China. The northern dynasties formed a succession brought about by military conquests and coups, whereas the southern kingdoms were concurrent regional administrations of smaller geographic areas. For this reason, southern China was generally more stable and economically prosperous during this time.<sup>149</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Liao Mask, ca. 10-12th century

#### *Liao Dynasty (916–1125 C.E.)*

During the late stages of the Tang Dynasty, a northern empire was established by a nomadic people known as the Khitans, whose home was the steppes of Mongolia and Manchuria. Lasting for more than 200 years, the Liao Dynasty ultimately encompassed a significant portion of northern China. A region known as the 16 Prefectures, where the Khitans established two of their regional capitals at the sites of modern-day Beijing and Datong (in northern Shanxi Province), became central to this domain. After military conflicts during its early years, the Liao Dynasty achieved a relatively stable coexistence with the Northern Song Dynasty, which emerged from the chaos of the Five Dynasties period. However, the Northern Song emperors were forced to pay annual tributes to the Khitans to ensure this peace.

<sup>148</sup> University of Maryland. "The Imperial Era: II." No Date. <http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/imperial2.html>

<sup>149</sup> Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. A Country Study: China. "China: Era of Disunity." July 1987.

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cn0018\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cn0018))

### *Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127 C.E.)*

The Northern Song Dynasty was focused on South China, rather than North China, for much of its history. The dynasty was established when a general in the army of the last of the northern Five Dynasties took power in a coup d'état. He became known as Emperor Taizu, and during his 16 years of rule much of China was reconsolidated. The emperor initially concentrated on the south rather than the north, and, ultimately, the area of the southern Ten Kingdoms was brought under Song control.

Today, the Song Dynasty is remembered as a period of Chinese renaissance.<sup>150</sup> It was not as strong militarily as many of the earlier dynasties; thus, it used diplomacy to prevent invasion from the north and south. During this period, Confucianism replaced Buddhism as the dominant Chinese philosophy, and the doctrine's low regard for the military helps explain why the Song did not develop a strong army. But the Song were ultimately forced to retreat from their northern regions, including their capital at modern-day Kaifeng in Henan Province. The Song and the northern Liao were invaded in 1125 C.E. by a group of tribes from Manchuria known as the Jurchens. The Liao Dynasty was destroyed by the Jurchen conquest, but the Song were able to regroup in South China, where they established their new capital in the present-day city of Hangzhou.<sup>151</sup> The Jurchens ultimately controlled virtually all of North China, where they established the Jin Dynasty.

### *Southern Song (1127–1279 C.E.)*

The period of the Song Dynasty after its retreat from the north is known as the Southern Song Dynasty. Its was divided from the northern region of the Jurchen Jin Dynasty by the classic, north-south line of the Qin Ling (Tsinling Mountains) to the east and the Huai He (Huai River) to the north. The Southern Song eventually established a 44-year period of peace with the Jin rulers, but both dynasties soon faced a threat that would transform the political map of much of Asia.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Pillow, North Song Dynasty

### *Jin Dynasty (1115–1234 C.E.)*

The second Jin dynasty, like the first nearly 800 years before, was destined to be conquered by Mongol invaders from the north. But during their century of rule, the Manchurian Jurchens became increasingly influenced by Chinese culture. A ban on intermarriage existed until 1190 C.E., however, and the Jurchens retained many aristocratic privileges that alienated the Chinese and Khitans who had risen in the Jin's meritocratic system.<sup>152</sup> Early in the 13th century, the Jin Dynasty's rulers faced a series

<sup>150</sup> Asia for Educators, Columbia University. "The Song Dynasty in China." 2008. <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/song/>

<sup>151</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "Liao Dynasty." <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9048096/Liao-Dynasty#102758.hook>

<sup>152</sup> Department of History, Western Washington University. Kaplan, Edward. "The 'Barbarian' States: Liao, Jin and Yuan." October 1996.

of sieges on their western and northern lands by a Mongol army led by Genghis Khan. Over the next 30 years, the Jin Empire suffered numerous defeats and re-entrenchments. Even the Great Wall did not prove to be a barrier, and Zhongdu (as Beijing was then known) was destroyed in 1215 C.E. The Jin moved their capital south to Kaifeng, but less than 20 years later, the last remnants of their empire were defeated by Mongol forces.

## The Late Dynasties

### *Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368 C.E.)*

During the Yuan Dynasty, China was the center of a vast empire that extended across Asia to Eastern Europe. It was the first empire to include all the territory comprising modern-day China. Although the warlord Genghis Khan is most closely associated with the Mongol Empire, much of China was still not under his control when he died in 1227 C.E. His third son and successor, Ogadei Khan, completed the conquest of the Jin Empire, invading the Jin capital of Kaifeng in 1233 C.E. Another 43 years passed before the Khan armies, now ruled by Genghis Khan's grandson Kublai, conquered the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou. The Yuan Dynasty began three years later with the elimination of the last vestiges of Song resistance.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Eastern Jin tomb painting, Nanjing

It was during the reign of Kublai Khan that Marco Polo traveled east to China. His subsequent, written accounts of his time in the empire of the Great Khan are still in print. Although some have questioned the accuracy of Polo's writings, and even whether he made the journey that he describes, much of what he wrote agrees with other historical materials and accounts of that period of Chinese history.

During the Yuan Dynasty, a new capital was built at Dadu, in what is modern-day Beijing. (The Jin Dynasty capital of Zhongdu, also in Beijing, was destroyed during the initial Mongol assaults into northern China.) The Grand Canal was extended to Beijing during this time. Other public works, including the construction of palaces, increasingly depleted the empire's funds, as did the restrictions placed on Chinese trade by the Mongol rulers. The Khans, like previous non-Chinese rulers, tried to govern China based on its traditions and customs, but they denied Han Chinese access to positions of power and responsibility. The result was dissension among the Chinese nobility and general mismanagement of many governmental business and financial affairs.<sup>153</sup>

Despite its military might, the Yuan Dynasty's control of all of China lasted less than 100 years. Numerous rebellions occurred in the 14th century, many of them in South China. The most notable of these was engineered by the Red Turbans, a group eventually led by a peasant and former Buddhist novice named Zhu Yuanzhang. In 1368 C.E., during a Yuan Dynasty succession battle, Zhu declared himself emperor and established modern-

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<sup>153</sup> World Civilizations: An Internet Classroom and Anthology, Washington State University. Hooker, Richard. "The Mongolian Empire: The Yuan." 1996. <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/CHEMPIRE/YUAN.HTM>

day Nanjing as his capital. A year later, the Yuan capital at Dadu (Beijing) was captured. The Mongol rulers retreated to Mongolia, where they established the Northern Yuan Dynasty, and they never again made significant advances into China.

### *Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 C.E.)*

The Ming Dynasty was the last dynasty to be governed by native Chinese rulers. The dynasty's first emperor is remembered as a tyrannical ruler who nevertheless helped reestablish China after years of Yuan misrule. Administrative, legal, and land reforms were all initiated during his reign. Under Yongle, the third emperor, the Ming court returned to Beijing. The old Yuan palace was destroyed and replaced by an even more remarkable one, in the walled compound known today as the Forbidden City.



© Steve Weibel  
The Great Wall of China

Early in the Ming Dynasty, great naval expeditions set out to Southeast Asia and beyond, but these expeditions were diplomatic and trade-oriented rather than militaristic. But changes in foreign policy were already brewing. Influential Confucian scholars in the imperial court warned of the dangers of increased dependence on foreign goods. By the mid-15th century, after years of skirmishes with the Mongols to the north, China became increasingly isolationist. Naval expeditions were halted, and shipbuilding of large vessels ceased, which heightened the country's vulnerability to pirating along the coast.<sup>154</sup> To the north, the empire began to expand and refortify the Great Wall, a major construction project that continued for 200 years.<sup>155</sup> Most of the Wall that remains standing was built during the Ming Dynasty.

Ultimately, the arrival of foreign parties could not be completely stopped, and by 1553 the Portuguese had established Macau on China's southern coast.<sup>156</sup> This was the first permanent European trading settlement in that area. Trade was primarily conducted in Guangzhou (Canton) in the nearby Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou (Pearl River Delta). Portuguese trade led to the introduction of agricultural products from the New World, such as potatoes and corn. Chili peppers, a staple of southern Chinese cooking, also came to China via trade during the Ming period.<sup>157</sup>

The decline of the Ming Dynasty followed a familiar pattern. Weak or disinterested emperors allowed court intrigues to preoccupy the government. Meanwhile, taxes were increased to pay for the lavish needs of the court, and to finance military actions against

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<sup>154</sup> University of Maryland. "Chinese History: The Imperial Era III." No date. <http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/imperial3.html#ming>

<sup>155</sup> TravelChinaGuide.com. "History of the Great Wall: Ming Dynasty." 4 January 2007. [http://www.travelchinaguide.com/china\\_great\\_wall/history/ming/index.htm](http://www.travelchinaguide.com/china_great_wall/history/ming/index.htm)

<sup>156</sup> Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Worden, Robert L. A Country Study: Macau. "Historical Background." 7 August 2000. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+mo0001\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+mo0001))

<sup>157</sup> China.org.cn. China Internet Information Center. "The History of Chinese Imperial Food." No date. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/imperial/25995.htm>

the Mongols and the Jurchens in Manchuria.<sup>158</sup> Eventually, the rampant banditry occurring throughout the country developed into active rebellions, which were exacerbated by severe economic conditions in the wake of devastating droughts and floods in North China.

### *Qing Dynasty (1644–1911 C.E.)*

The advent of the Qing Dynasty marked the second time that all of China was ruled by foreigners. Unlike the earlier Yuan Dynasty, however, the Qing peoples were capable rulers, and they were to maintain imperial control for a longer period. They had emerged from Manchuria where, in the early 17th century, a tribal chief named Nuerhachi had united all three tribes of the Jurchen people, who were thereafter known as the Manchus. The Manchus then expanded their domain, via warfare and alliances, to encompass Mongolia and Korea. Utilizing unique civil-military units known as “banners,” which incorporated many non-Manchus, they were able to rapidly build a formidable and loyal military structure.

As rebellion swept through China during the late stages of the Ming Dynasty, a Ming general stationed in the northeast allowed the Manchu army to pass through the Great Wall. He requested their help suppressing a rebel leader who had marched into Beijing, deposed the Ming emperor, and declared a new dynasty. The combined Ming and Manchu forces were able to put down the rebellion, after which the Manchu leader declared himself emperor of the new Qing Dynasty. After 40 years, the last pockets of Ming resistance to the new dynasty were extinguished, leaving all of China under Qing control.<sup>159</sup>

The early Qing rulers avoided many of the mistakes of earlier foreign-run dynasties. Significantly, they incorporated Chinese Han into important administrative positions, although they still maintained authority over government matters. Economically, they instituted tax relief and encouraged land cultivation.<sup>160</sup>

However, the Qing were adamant that the conquered Chinese completely submit to their rule, and they established unpopular measures to assure compliance. One such measure was the sweeping imposition of the Manchu queue hairstyle, consisting of a shaved head with a long tail in the back, which was required for all men. Resistance to the queue resulted in death. Attempts were also made to ban the practice of foot-binding by Chinese women, but the Qing were less successful in enforcing this directive.

Despite their expansion of the Chinese empire to the western regions of Tibet and Xinjiang, the Qing were generally isolationist in their foreign policies, and they

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158 World Civilizations: An Internet Classroom and Anthology, Washington State University. Hooker, Richard. “Ming China: The Decline of the Ming.” 1996. <http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/MING/MING.HTM>

159 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Rawski, Evelyn S. “China: The Early Qing Dynasty: The Rise of the Manchu.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71757/China>

160 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Rawski, Evelyn S. “China: The Early Qing Dynasty: Economic Development.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71761/China>

encouraged agriculture over industrial development. These policies partly contributed to the eventual downfall of the dynasty.<sup>161</sup>

Early in the Qing Dynasty, the economy flourished, and China saw a period of rapid population growth. But the increasing demands of a growing population led to economic challenges, particularly because the Qing leaders were forced to invest more of the empire's wealth into military actions against rebellions in central China. The most famous of these was the White Lotus Rebellion, which lasted nine years around the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>162</sup>

## Opium Wars

Meanwhile, China faced a new threat from foreign powers in its southern port of Guangzhou (Canton). During the late 1700s and early 1800s, the British East India Company shipped thousands of tons of opium from India into China in exchange for Chinese tea and other goods. This not only created social problems for the Chinese, it eventually became an economic issue as the silver payments for the opium began to drain China's reserves. Despite imperial bans on the opium trade in the 1830s, British traders pursued the lucrative business and had little problem, at least initially, finding Chinese merchants willing to import the opium.<sup>163</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Second Opium War, Battle at Guangzhou

Eventually, confrontation over the opium shipments led to war. Unfortunately for the Chinese, their military forces were ill-prepared to fight the modern British forces, which had cannons and muskets. The Chinese defeats during the First Opium War and the Second Opium War, twelve years later, resulted in a series of one-sided treaties that granted numerous trade concessions to the British, French, Russians, and Americans.<sup>164</sup> During the 1850s and 1860s, rebellions grew in southern China and spread north, while mostly Chinese Muslims in the western provinces clashed with non-Muslim Chinese. Adding fuel to the growing domestic fire was a terrible drought in 1877–78, which caused great suffering for millions of people in the northern provinces.<sup>165</sup> As discontent

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161 ChinaTravelGuide.com. "History of China: Qing Dynasty." 26 December 2006.

<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/intro/history/qing.htm>

162 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "White Lotus Rebellion." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9076830/White-Lotus-Rebellion>

163 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Suzuki, Chusei and Albert Feuerwerker. "China: Late Qing: Western Challenge, 1839–1860." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71767/China>

164 Schaffer Library of Drug Policy. Wallbank, T. Walter; Alastair M. Taylor, Nels M. Bailkey, George F. Jewsbury, Clyde J. Lewis and Neil J. Hackett. Civilization Past and Present. "Chapter 29: South and East Asia, 1815–1914: A Short History of the Opium Wars." 1992. <http://www.druglibrary.org/Schaffer/heroin/opiwar1.htm>

165 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Suzuki, Chusei and Albert Feuerwerker. "China: Late Qing: Popular Uprising." 2007.

<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71774/China>

grew, attempts by the Chinese government to industrialize and modernize their military were hindered by general corruption and mismanagement.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Suzuki, Chusei and Albert Feuerwerker. "China: Late Qing: The Self Strengthening Movement." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71777/China>

## Imperial Breakdown

As the 19th century drew to a close, Chinese rulers found themselves increasingly dominated by the colonial powers that had established trading and missionary activities throughout China. They also had to confront rising internal conflicts and discontent with Qing rule. Furthermore, the emperors of this time often came to the throne when they were young children; in these cases, power was transferred to regents, the most notable of whom was the Empress Dowager Cixi. In 1898, she usurped power from the reform-minded Emperor Guangxu, who was of mature age. He was placed in internal exile, but was never forced to abdicate, even though he had no powers.<sup>167</sup>



© PHGCOM / Wikipedia.org  
Boxer rebels

Shortly thereafter, Empress Dowager Cixi threw her support behind yet another indigenous rebellion. This group was known as the Fists of Righteous Harmony, but foreigners referred to them as “Boxers” because of their martial arts skills. The Boxers turned their fury from the ruling Qing Dynasty to the foreign powers in China, unleashing a wave of attacks on missionaries and Chinese converts. They marched toward the capital, where foreign diplomats fought off the Boxers with a small group of military personnel until a faction of international troops, including American forces, arrived and was able to rescue the diplomats and drive back the Boxer forces.

The failure of the Boxer Rebellion heralded the end of the Qing Dynasty. Although the Empress Dowager continued to rule in name, true power in China was rapidly shifting to the colonial interests, who intensely pursued “spheres of influence” within the country. Meanwhile, far from Beijing, a revolution was brewing in South China that would soon bring an end to the long string of Chinese dynasties.<sup>168</sup> In 1908, the Empress Dowager and the exiled (but still titular) emperor died within one day of each other. The 2-year-old son of the emperor’s half-brother was made the new emperor, and 3 years later he became China’s “last emperor.”

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<sup>167</sup> About.com. Lewis, Jone Johnson. “Cixi (or T’zu-his or Hsiao-ch’in).” 1999–2006.

[http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio\\_cixi.htm?terms=cixi](http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio_cixi.htm?terms=cixi)

<sup>168</sup> Small Planet Communications. Buschini, J. “The Boxer Rebellion.” 2000. <http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/fists.html>

## Republican China

### *New Government Emerges*

During the final years of the empire, Sun Yat-sen, a leader from southern Guangdong Province, formed a group known as the Tongmenghui (or Revolutionary Alliance), whose goal was to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and reestablish native control of China. They also planned to establish a Chinese republic (thereby abolishing the imperial system), and institute land reform. In effect, the organization had republican, nationalist, and socialist goals, which led (not surprisingly) to political divisions and splintering.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Sun Yat-Sen

In 1911, a military mutiny in the city of Wuchang allowed the Revolutionary Army to take control of the city (now part of the large city of Wuhan in Hubei Province). The Qing Dynasty failed to immediately respond, and support for the incipient revolution spread across numerous Chinese provinces. Representatives from throughout China met in Nanjing two months later and declared the formation of the Provisional Republican Government, with Sun Yat-sen as the Provisional President. Sun Yat-sen's time as president was fleeting. The Qing general Yuan Shikai was called upon to force the abdication of the Qing rulers, and in return he was given the position of President of the Republic. Yuan's inclinations were imperial, however, and it was not long before he declared himself president-for-life, and then emperor.

This sparked revolt in the southern provinces, which entered into a period of strife and "warlordism" after Yuan's death in 1917. Sun Yat-sen still hoped to reunite the country and establish a parliamentary democracy, but his power base in Guangdong Province was far from Beijing and North China. During the 1920s, his party, the Guomindang [also known as the Kuomintang (KMT) or Nationalist Party], received political and military assistance from the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union also temporarily cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was founded by Mao Zedong and others in Shanghai in 1921.<sup>169</sup>

After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) became the new leader of the KMT, an event that marked a turning point in modern Chinese history. Chiang led the Northern Expedition that reached Beijing in 1928 and established a national government, although warlords continued to hold power in many areas of the country. During the Northern Expedition, the Guomindang fragmented into leftist and rightist branches. Chiang's rightist branch of the Guomindang also ended its alliance with the CCP. The Communists and their Red Army retreated to southern and central China while Jiang established the new central government in Nanjing.

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<sup>169</sup> Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

### *Nationalist–Communist Alliance*

Over the next 20 years, the Guomindang and CCP engaged in alternating periods of civil war and cooperative fronts against the Japanese. While the KMT focused on a series of expeditions to defeat the Communists, the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established a “puppet state,” placing the last Qing emperor on the throne. Chiang paid scant attention to the growing Japanese presence on the northern border, because the Guomindang forces were gathering for a final assault on the last, southern Communist stronghold in Jiangxi Province. The Communists’ escape from their trapped location in the south and brutal trek to the country’s far north is now known as the Long March. It was during this period that Mao Zedong established himself as the unquestioned leader of the CCP.<sup>170</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
General Chiang  
Kai-shek in 1926

In 1936, Chiang was kidnapped by a former Manchurian military commander, and was freed only after agreeing to set up a second front with the CCP against the looming Japanese threat in North China. By the second half of 1937, Japan and China were involved in a full-scale war that involved terrible atrocities. By many estimates, about 250,000 to 300,000 noncombatants were killed, and 20,000 women were raped when the Japanese invaded Chiang’s capital of Nanjing. [Even today, over 70 years later, the events of this war (usually called the Second Sino-Japanese War) continue to affect Sino-Japanese relations.<sup>171</sup>] Chiang’s government moved inland, setting up their new capital in Chongqing, which was bombed frequently during the war but was difficult to attack by land. By 1945, the Japanese were defeated by the Chinese National Revolutionary Army, which consisted of both Red Army and Guomindang forces. Allied assistance also proved crucial to this victory.

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170 CNN.com. “Flawed Icon of China’s Resurgence: Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976).” 2001.

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1999/china.50/inside.china/profiles/mao.tsetung/>

171 BBC News, UK Version. “Scarred by History: The Rape of Nanjing.” 11 April 2005.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/223038.stm>

## *Civil War*

The end of the Sino-Japanese War was soon followed by the second act of the civil war between the Guomindang and the CCP. The Communists had used the Sino-Japanese war to establish new bases inland, and they emerged from the conflict stronger than their rivals. They were also winning the propaganda war against the Guomindang, whom many viewed as corrupt. Soon the CCP began to push Chiang's forces deeper into the south. By 1949, Chiang and his remaining troops and supporters fled to the island of Taiwan, where they declared the city of Taipei the new capital of the Republic of China. (Prior to the Guomindang exodus to their island, the people of Taiwan had just emerged from a 50-year period of Japanese rule.) Over the next quarter century, Taiwan was able, under tight Guomindang control, to develop economically. By the 1980s, its citizens enjoyed a far higher standard of living than their mainland brethren. However, its political position eroded in the 1970s as the Western world began to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) (the name of the mainland Communist-led administration) as the sole legitimate Chinese government.<sup>172</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Civil War

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<sup>172</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Lewis, John Wilson and Edwin A. Winckler. "Taiwan: History: The Republic of China: 1945 to c. 1970." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-29995/Taiwan>

## The People's Republic of China

### *Transition to Socialism*

On 1 October 1949, Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong declared, “the Chinese people have stood up,” when he proclaimed the founding of the new government. The first seven years were marked by land redistribution policies, inflation control, and increasing industrial production based on the Soviet model. Social control was also a central theme, and hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of perceived Chinese counterrevolutionaries were either “reeducated” or killed. During this period, the Chinese actively supported their neighboring communist state of North Korea in the Korean War. They also invaded Tibet, although both the PRC<sup>173</sup> and Taiwan<sup>174</sup> have long claimed that China had never relinquished sovereignty over the Tibetan region.



© Bjoern von Thuelen  
Mao's Autumn Harvest Uprising

In 1956, the government experimented with free speech by initiating the “One Hundred Flowers Campaign,” in which intellectuals were encouraged to offer constructive criticism of Chinese governmental policies. Some offered criticism no harsher than a tepid critique of a supervisor’s work style. The campaign lasted less than a year and was followed shortly by an anti-rightist crackdown.<sup>175</sup> Offices were given a quota of rightists to find, and anyone who had spoken up was an easy target. Those identified as rightists were denounced, demoted, and often sent to the countryside for reform through labor. One Chinese author recalled that his cadre father divorced his mother, in the vain hope that their young children would avoid being tainted by the stigma of her rightist classification.<sup>176</sup>

Perhaps no program has been as badly misnamed as the Great Leap Forward. It developed as part of the government’s Five Year Plan for 1958–63. In an attempt to simultaneously increase agricultural and industrial production, the government reorganized China’s huge rural labor force into over 20,000 immense communes, with each commune receiving ownership of land and equipment. In addition to instituting questionable practices for increasing agricultural productivity, the Great Leap Forward also propagated small-scale industrial enterprises, most notably backyard steel furnaces that produced low-quality pig iron. The results of the program were disastrous. Agricultural yields plunged (despite reports of “record” harvests fabricated by pressured communal administrators), causing widespread famine and tens of millions of deaths. By 1959, even Mao was forced to admit that the new policy was failing. As a result, he

173 China.org.cn. Information Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China. “Tibet—Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation.” September 1992. <http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/tibet/>

174 Taiwan Communiqué, No. 104. “A New Tibetan Policy.” March 2003. <http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/104-no5.htm>

175 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. “China: The Transition to Socialism, 1953–1957: Political Developments.” 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71848/China>

176 Son of the Revolution. Heng, Liang and Judith Shapiro. 1984. New York: Vintage Press.

stepped down as Chairman of the PRC, although he kept his position as the Chairman of the Communist Party.<sup>177</sup>

After World War II, the Cold War divided the world into two camps, each with generally aligned interests: Communist and non-Communist nations. In 1960, this ostensibly neat division was complicated by a break in relations between China and the Soviet Union, the two largest Communist countries. Although the split began with the gradual shifting of priorities and policies between the two countries, relations broke because the Soviets failed to share nuclear technology and sided with India in its territorial disputes with China.<sup>178</sup> China later developed its own nuclear weapons, and by 1967 it had tested its first hydrogen bomb.<sup>179</sup>

### *Cultural Revolution*

During the second half of the 1960s, China was swept by a period of cultural cleansing. This Cultural Revolution was sanctioned by Mao and engineered by the so-called Gang of Four, including Mao's third wife Jiang Qing. Others were also involved in masterminding the events, but the Gang of Four were the ones who were eventually held accountable. In Mao's view, revolutionary progress was being impeded by the Chinese propensity for looking back and glorifying the past.<sup>180</sup> He specified that "the four olds" (old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas) were to be eradicated. The task fell to the Red Guards (*Hong Weibing*), youths who were encouraged to denounce "revisionists," or those who were not staunchly supportive of Maoist doctrine. Children denounced their parents, and students denounced their teachers. It was a period during which millions either died or had their lives destroyed. Historical remnants and treasures of China's ancient history were also threatened by zealous Red Guard members, who tried to excise all reminders of China's feudal and exploitative past. Red Guard factions competed intensely to see who could best fulfill the chairman's directives. In short, "Mao's personality cult made him a living god and armed violence broke out over his affections."<sup>181</sup> When they proved too unruly, the Red Guards were packed off to the countryside to learn from the farmers. Chinese history books refer to the era as one of turmoil, but provide few details for students to appreciate the magnitude of the destruction of lives and cultural artifacts.



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Mao Tse-Tung meets with President Nixon

177 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. A Country Study: China. "The Great Leap Forward, 1958–60." 1987.

[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cn0039\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cn0039))

178 Encyclopædia Britannica Online. "International Relations: Total Cold War and the Diffusion of Power, 1957–72: The Sino-Soviet Split." 2007. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-32950/international-relations>

179 The Nuclear Weapon Archive. "China's Nuclear Program." 1 May 2001.

<http://nuclearweaponarchive.org/China/ChinaTesting.html>

180 China Eye. Stallard, Roy. "The First Qin Emperor." 2007. <http://www.sacu.org/qinemperor.html>

181 New York Times, Beijing Journal. Yang, Xiyun and Michael Wines. "Stitching the Narrative of a Revolution." 25 January 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/26/world/asia/26files.html?scp=1&sq=china%20cultural%20revolution&st=cse>

As the tumultuous 1960s came to a close, few could predict the major changes that would take place in China during the next ten years. As relations with the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate (culminating in border skirmishes in the spring and summer of 1969), China began to reevaluate its hostile relationship with the West. In 1971, the People's Republic of China entered the United Nations, replacing the Taiwanese Republic of China as the sole Chinese delegation to that body. A year later, after months of negotiation, President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and other key American officials traveled to China and ushered in a new era of Sino-American relations. In 1976, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, the long-time Chinese premier, died. The Gang of Four was arrested shortly after Mao's death and charged with plotting a coup against Mao's successor, Hua Guofeng.

### *Market Reforms Introduced*

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping, a reform-oriented Communist Party official who had been purged as a "rightist" during the Cultural Revolution, maneuvered to power. He led China for over a decade, despite never officially holding the position of head of state. Deng's reemergence after his forced exile during the Cultural Revolution era was remarkable. Under Deng, China embarked on a path in which pragmatism outweighed following Marxist or Maoist doctrine. He famously declared, "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white. As long as it catches mice, it's a good cat."<sup>182</sup> Deng embraced Zhou Enlai's proposed Four Modernizations (agriculture, industry, science/technology, and military), and he pressed economic reforms to accelerate China's access to modern technology and foreign investment. Relations with the West and Japan warmed appreciably, and China was soon able to negotiate with the United Kingdom to transfer Hong Kong back to the Chinese at the end of the century.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, political reform was less of a priority than economic expansion since the Chinese were well aware that many surrounding countries, traditionally tributary states, had become more prosperous than China. The socialist modernization program that Deng put into motion certainly resembled capitalism in that market forces were unleashed and gradually expanded. But the government insisted that for conditions to improve for the entire populace, the country would continue to work within a socialist administrative framework led by the Communist Party.

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<sup>182</sup> Asia Institute, UCLA. Ma, Honghong and Hiroki Takeuchi. "Depoliticized Politics and the End of a Short Twentieth Century in China: A Talk by Wang Hui." No date. <http://www.international.ucla.edu/asia/news/article.asp?parentid=62482>

## *The 1989 Democracy Movement*

During the late 1980s, as labor protests and political liberalization swept through many Eastern European communist countries as well as South Korea, demands for political reforms in China caused college students (who had a history of patriotic protest) to demonstrate in Chinese cities. The most notable demonstration occurred in Beijing, shortly after the death of former Communist Party Chairman Hu Yaobang in April 1989. Hu had been a pragmatic political reformer who was forced to resign in 1987 because he tolerated “bourgeois liberalization” during an earlier round of student-led demonstrations. Paying their respects to him enabled people to gather at Tiananmen Square, just outside the gates of the Forbidden City. Students quickly seized the opportunity to vent their frustration with the inequalities that market expansion had spawned.<sup>183</sup> Over the course of 6 weeks, protestors grew increasingly clamorous in their demands for political liberalization. Democracy was seen as a means to hold the government accountable for the results of reform which had created many opportunities for official profiteering and corruption.



© cromacom / flickr.com  
Tiananmen Square 1989

Those in the highest echelons of power were conflicted over how to respond. The hardliners won out, and the Chinese military was ordered to break up the demonstrations. On 4 June, truckloads of troops and armed tanks entered Tiananmen Square, using live ammunition to clear it. One striking photograph—of a protester standing his ground as a tank rumbled toward him—became a lasting symbol of this period. Footage showed that he then jumped in front of the tank as it swerved to go around him, before he was pulled back to safety by an onlooker. The man was never identified. (Time magazine later named this “unknown rebel” one of the top 20 leaders and revolutionaries of the 20th century.)<sup>184</sup> Ironically, when the footage was shown on Chinese state-run TV, broadcasters cited it as evidence that the government had used the utmost restraint in dealing with “hooligans.”<sup>185</sup> Shortly thereafter, the government further purged any organized political opposition to the Communist state, and mandated “reeducation” for many students, as well as government and party officials.

During this time, China faced considerable foreign criticism and reaction over the Tiananmen Square incident, including strained diplomatic ties and economic sanctions. But the nation soon made efforts to repair foreign relations by demonstrating a renewed commitment to economic reform. In January 1992, Deng Xiaoping embarked on a much publicized trip to inspect foreign investment zones in the south. Later that year, at the 14th Party Congress, his initiatives for deepening the market-oriented economic reforms earned official endorsement from the state. In subsequent years, China’s leaders

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183 The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity. Hui, Wang. “Chapter 2: The Year 1989 and the Historical Roots of Neoliberalism in China [p. 30].” 2009. London: Verso.

184 BBC News Online. “Tiananmen ‘Tank Man’ Still at Large.” 7 April 1998. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/75679.stm>

185 Village Voice. Woodward, Robert. “Anatomy of a Massacre.” 4 June 1996. <http://tsquare.tv/film/voice.html>

prioritized economic growth and reorganization, which involved privatizing state-owned enterprises and relaxing foreign trade restrictions. While these reforms were economic rather than political in nature, they led to a higher standard of living for many citizens.<sup>186</sup>

### *Economic Reform Accelerates*

The state-run media has extensively covered the economic difficulties of the Soviet-bloc countries that implemented political reform first, presenting compelling evidence that the Chinese were better off. Within China, the events of the spring of 1989 seem forgotten. This was reflected in an advertisement, which appeared in a provincial newspaper in 2007, commemorating the mothers of the 1989 victims—a banned group that was organized by a woman in Beijing whose teenage son was shot by soldiers entering the city.<sup>187</sup> Several internet chat rooms were busy speculating how the ad slipped past the paper’s editors, “until it was revealed that the young clerk who took the ad didn’t recognize the [June 4th] event. What might have been a quiet act of resistance was instead a measure of a nation’s forgetting.”<sup>188</sup>



© Francisco Martins  
Hong Kong

Significantly, near the end of the century, China regained official control of two regional properties: Hong Kong (relinquished by the United Kingdom on 1 July 1997) and Macau (relinquished by the Portuguese in 31 December 1999). China classified each territory as a Special Administrative Region. This designation allows each territory to maintain relative autonomy except for defense and foreign affairs, which are handled exclusively by the central government of the PRC. This arrangement is known as “one country, two systems” (*yiguo liangzhi*).<sup>189</sup> The return of Hong Kong proved contentious. Over the course of the 1990s, a series of elections were held in Hong Kong to create a democratic government. Beijing did not recognize this government and disbanded it immediately. But fallout from their action proved limited due to the Asian financial crisis that struck the region in July 1997. While it had little impact on China proper, Hong Kong’s property values plummeted, and attention shifted to stabilizing its economy rather than pushing for political reform. From China’s perspective, the end of colonialism marked a milestone in the PRC’s quest for territorial integrity. Only Taiwan remained under a different government, yet the renegade island province was rapidly being pulled into the PRC’s economic orbit.<sup>190</sup>

186 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Notes: China.” October 2009.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

187 National Public Radio. Kuhn, Anthony. “Tiananmen Mothers Press for Answers, 20 Years On.” 4 June 2009.

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104939670>

188 The Chronicle of Higher Education. Hvistendahl, Mara. “The Great Forgetting: 20 Years After Tiananmen Square.” 19 May 2009. <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Great-Forgetting-20-Ye/44267>

189 Brookings Institute. Yeung, Chris. “Hong Kong Under One Country Two Systems: Promises and Realities.” June 2001.

[http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2001/spring\\_china\\_yeung/yeungwp\\_01.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2001/spring_china_yeung/yeungwp_01.pdf)

190 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Chen, Ezra. “The Economic Integration of Taiwan and China and Its Implications for Cross-Strait Relations.” July 2003. <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/fellows/papers/2002-03/chen.pdf>

## Recent Developments

After the millennium dawned, a new generation of leaders (known as the “Fourth Generation”) gradually emerged, and they have proved to be more technocratic than ideological.<sup>191</sup> Among them is China’s current president, Hu Jintao, who was elected in 2008 by a plenary session of the National People’s Congress to a second, five-year term.<sup>192</sup> Their leadership seems stable, and few anticipate significant political reform in the immediate future.



US Embassy Bangkok  
Presidents Hu and President Obama

Instead, attention is focused on China’s economic might, as it closes the gap more quickly than anticipated with the West’s advanced economies—in particular, the U.S. and Germany, as well as Japan. China is not a country emerging on the world stage, however; it is one regaining its earlier international status.<sup>193</sup> It is the first ancient civilization to reclaim its position as a dominant power. Having largely jettisoned socialist ideology, the CCP-led government has cast itself as the protector of Chinese unity—the imperial state’s traditional role and source of legitimacy.<sup>194</sup>

One threat to that unity has been ethnic unrest in China’s hinterland regions. Unrest broke out in Tibet in 2008 and in Xinjiang, the Muslim Uighur homeland, in 2009. While differences exist, both ethnic minorities complain that they are being marginalized in their respective homelands by Han Chinese immigration and economic development. The Chinese typically respond by reeling off measurable improvements—such as expansion of electrification and access to education and medical care—to demonstrate that its ethnic minority citizens are better off than ever. Minorities who do not recognize these achievements are dismissed as backward.<sup>195</sup> Yet economic development has taken the form of high-rise buildings and shopping malls, transforming the landscape into one indistinguishable from any other part of China. Moreover, Han Chinese soldiers, traders, and prostitutes are so prevalent in Lhasa that Tibetan culture has largely disappeared, except as an attraction for tourists who wish to be photographed with an exotically attired native.<sup>196</sup> Decades of control on religious worship (Buddhism for the Tibetans and Islam for the Uighurs) have struck at the core of their respective identities and fueled resistance.

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191 Spiegel Online, International. Lorenz, Andreas. “A Technocrat Riding a Wild Tiger.” 10 November 2005.

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,384155,00.html>

192 CIA World Factbook. “China.” 24 July 2008. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html#Govt>

193 Joseph Kahn. “Waking Dragon.” Review of *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, by Martin Jacques. *New York Times*. 31 December 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/03/books/review/Kahn-t.html>

194 Harvard Magazine. “Changing, Challenging China: A Harvard Magazine Roundtable.” March/April 2010.

<http://harvardmagazine.com/2010/03/changing-challenging-china>

195 BBC News. Gladney, Dru. “China’s Ethnic Tinderbox.” 9 July 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8141867.stm>

196 The Guardian. Buruma, Ian. “China’s Burden.” 10 April 2009. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/apr/08/tibet-china>

In both regions, Beijing responded with military force—actions that were largely defended by the majority Han Chinese, who wish to see China restored to glory. According to one American scholar, Beijing has exhaustively researched the demise of the Soviet Union, and it has concluded that Mikhail Gorbachev’s attempts to be “reasonable” with restive groups spelled the demise of the union.<sup>197</sup> The Chinese government does not intend to make the same mistake, and that means cracking down hard.

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<sup>197</sup> Foreign Policy. Lee, John. “China’s Latest Tibet.” 6 July 2009.  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/07/06/chinas\\_latest\\_tibet](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/07/06/chinas_latest_tibet)

## Timeline

### **500,000–230,000 B.C.E.**

“Peking Man” fossils from this period indicate humans inhabited areas around Beijing.

### **2100–1600 B.C.E.**

An agrarian society known as the Xia dynasty, where rulers govern like shamans to communicate with the spirit world, has been documented through Bronze Age artifacts.

### **1700–1046 B.C.E.**

Hereditary Shang dynasty of rulers asserts control of much of northern China, contested by neighboring kingdoms and nomadic warriors from the Central Asian steppes.

### **1027–221 B.C.E.**

During the Zhou dynasty the Mandate of Heaven recognizes that the emperor’s rule by divine right is subject to revocation by challengers.

### **221–206 B.C.E.**

China is unified under Qin Shi Huang, or first emperor of Qin, who establishes a centralized bureaucratic form of government.

### **210 B.C.E.**

Qin Shi Huang dies and is buried in an elaborate tomb that includes an Army of Terracotta Warriors that took 38 years to construct.

### **206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.**

The Han Dynasty, from which the majority of Chinese claim their ethnic identity as “people of Han,” excels due to military prowess.

### **220–589**

Era of disunity as rival dynasties control different parts of the country and continuously fight to expand their territories.

### **581–617**

The brief tenure of the Sui dynasty, which reunified China in 589, is attributed to harsh rule and the onerous tax burden placed on farmers.

### **618–907**

The Tang Dynasty is regarded as the height of Chinese civilization and a golden age of art and literature before the country fragmented again.

### **960–1279**

The Song dynasty is divided into Northern (960–1127) and Southern (1127–1279) periods, after it retreats from nomadic invaders who establish control in the north.

**1275**

Marco Polo arrives in China. After returning home, he writes a book describing the wealth of Beijing, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou, a southern coastal city.

**1279–1368**

Kublai Khan establishes a Mongol dynasty, known as the Yuan, that rules all China until succession rivalries. Natural disasters and peasant uprisings cause its collapse.

**1368–1644**

Han Chinese authority is restored under the Ming Dynasty, which uses substantial resources battling Mongols and limiting Japanese incursions into Korea, a Chinese tributary state.

**1553**

Portuguese establish first permanent European settlement on Chinese soil in Macau as a staging port. Portuguese sovereignty is not recognized by a Chinese government until 1887.

**1644**

Conquering Manchus establish Qing dynasty that was later challenged by intruders who arrived via boat, rather than overland on horseback.

**1796–1804**

White Lotus Rebellion is launched by a religious cult to overthrow the Qing Dynasty of the non-native Manchus and restore the Ming Dynasty to power.

**1840–42**

First Opium War ends in Chinese defeat. Treaty of Nanjing cedes Hong Kong Island, valued for its deep water port, to British in perpetuity.

**1856–60**

Second Opium War forces Qing Dynasty government to make further trading concessions to foreign powers in the Treaty of Tianjin.

**9 June 1898**

British expand their Hong Kong territory through a 99-year lease of a larger, adjacent parcel, known as the New Territories, on the Chinese mainland.

**1899–1901**

Farmers lead Boxer Rebellion to rid China of foreigners and overthrow the Qing dynasty, which proved incapable of protecting China from Western imperialism.

**1908**

Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi die within a day of each other. Guangxu's 2-year-old nephew, Puyi, becomes the last emperor of China.

**10 October 1911**

Republic of China (ROC) replaces the Qing dynasty. After devoting many years to modernizing China, Sun Yat-sen is named first provisional president.

**1926–1928**

Sun Yat-sen's successor, Chiang Kai-shek, launches Northern Expedition to unify country and end warlord rule in the North. ROC authority over Beijing established in 1928.

**1931**

Japanese invade Manchuria and establish "puppet state" called Manchukuo, installing Puyi, now an adult, as emperor.

**1937–45**

Japan occupies progressively larger areas of China, forcing Chiang Kai-shek's government into the interior and enabling the Communists to organize a resistance.

**September–October 1949**

Chiang Kai-shek and followers abandon their capital in Nanjing and flee to Taiwan. Mao Zedong founds People's Republic of China (PRC) with capital in Beijing.

**October 1950**

China enters the Korean War to support the North Korean communist regime. Of the soldiers deployed, one third are former troops of Chiang Kai-shek.

**May 1951**

Tibetan representatives sign "17 Point Agreement" with Beijing that recognizes some forms of Tibetan autonomy, after People's Liberation Army occupies the kingdom.

**1956–57**

Mao launches "One Hundred Flowers" movement—encouraging criticism intended to weaken his rivals—and is stunned by the outpouring. Critics are branded "rightists."

**1958–63**

The Great Leap Forward is launched to increase steel and grain production, leading to the starvation deaths of between 16.5 and 40 million people.

**16 October 1964**

China tests atomic bomb. The lead scientist, called "father of China's space program," was U.S.-educated but exchanged for captive Korean War airmen in 1955.

**1966–69**

Mao unleashes student Red Guards to ferret out rightists in the government and destroy China's cultural heritage, which is deemed to impede communism.

**25 October 1971**

The PRC joins the United Nations, taking the seat that had been held by the ROC, Chiang Kai-shek's government in Taiwan.

**1976**

Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai die. The Gang of Four, including Mao's widow Jiang Qing, is arrested and charged with an attempted coup.

**December 1978**

Deng Xiaoping unveils market reforms designed to achieve the Four Modernizations (Agriculture, Industry, Technology and Defense).

**1980s**

Inflation, unknown since 1949, surges to double digits, limiting the ability of Chinese citizens to achieve a higher standard of living despite market reforms.

**15 April–4 June 1989**

Tiananmen Square fills with democracy protestors, angry over uneven division of benefits from economic reform. The movement is violently suppressed by the military.

**Spring 1992**

Deng Xiaoping makes a widely publicized tour of the southern coastal provinces, signaling that economic reform will continue under the current government.

**1 July 1997**

Britain transfers sovereignty over Hong Kong to PRC, which does not recognize the elected Hong Kong government and instead installs its choice as chief executive.

**31 December 1999**

Portugal relinquishes sovereignty over Macau to China. Because PRC has a substantial presence in Macau, mainly through investment, transfer is a formality.

**11 December 2001**

After a 15-year application process, PRC becomes a member of the World Trade Organization and must rescind tariffs on foreign goods sold in China.

**15 October 2003**

China's first astronaut is launched into space. He declares his trip will "gain honor for the People's Liberation Army and for the Chinese nation."

**2007**

The "Made in China" label is tarnished after many products, including children's toys, are deemed unsafe and recalled due to the presence of toxins.

**March 2008**

Protests break out in Lhasa. Angry Tibetans fly their banned flag and vandalize ethnic Chinese businesses. The PRC government severely cracks down on demonstrations.

**12 May 2008**

Powerful earthquake strikes Sichuan Province, killing tens of thousands. Criticism mounts that numerous casualties resulted because many buildings were not built to code.

**August 2008**

China hosts Olympic Games in Beijing, an event widely viewed as the nation's coming out party as a world power.

**September 2008**

Over 50,000 Chinese children under age 2 are reported ill, due to melamine being added to milk products marketed for infants.

**November 2008**

Beijing announces a USD 587 billion stimulus package for state-run enterprises to avoid a downturn in economic growth.

**July 2009**

Nearly 200 people die in ethnic riots between Muslim Uighurs and Han Chinese in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, the Uighur homeland in western China.

**January 2010**

The PRC displaces Germany as the world's leading exporter, and is expected to displace Japan as the world's second largest economy later in 2010.

## History Assessment

(1) Chinese civilization, the oldest continuous one on earth, goes back some 10,000 years.

**False.** The Chinese claim the oldest continuous civilization, going back some 4,000 years.

(2) The Chinese are credited with inventing gun powder, printing, paper, and the magnetic compass.

**True.** In addition to inventing gun powder, printing, paper, and the magnetic compass, the Chinese are credited with creating the world's first bureaucracy.

(3) Both Hong Kong and Macau are classified as Special Administrative Regions.

**True.** China classified Hong Kong and Macau as Special Administrative Regions (SAR).

(4) The Anyang oracle bones are the earliest examples of Chinese writing.

**True.** Artifacts, known as the Anyang oracle bones, from the latter part of the Shang Dynasty (~1700–1046 B.C.E.), mostly consisting of writings on tortoise shells and oxen shoulder blades, are the earliest verified examples of Chinese writing.

(5) Feudalism as a form of government did not last very long in China.

**False.** Feudalism began during the Western Zhou Dynasty (1027–771 B.C.E.) and did not officially end until the Early Imperial Era during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.).

## Chapter 3: Economy

### Introduction

In December 1978, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership initiated a set of reforms for the marketization of a socialist command economy, embarking on an unknown course described as “crossing the river by groping for stones.” By 2009, the country had moved from a policy of autarky, or economic self-sufficiency, to displace Germany as the world’s largest exporter. The People’s Republic of China (PRC) likely will displace Japan as the world’s second-largest economy in 2010.<sup>198</sup> Throughout the reform era, the PRC has achieved an average annual growth of 9.5%.<sup>199</sup> While such rapid growth has come at some cost and required considerable social dislocation such as the Three Gorges Dam human resettlement, the largest in history, it has not resulted in large-scale conflict or a break-down in governmental authority.<sup>200</sup>



© cindy7070 / flickr.com  
Abandoned city due to the Three Gorges Dam

In accomplishing this transformation which has lifted millions out of poverty, China benefited enormously from dual labor markets. Under the economic reforms, farmers acquired the right to migrate to cities and seek work. Yet they lack access to the social services afforded to urban residents, such as training opportunities, subsidized health care, or free schooling for their children. As a result, they are willing to take poorly paid jobs shunned by city residents. While most urbanites would be shocked by the work conditions in a “sweatshop” export factory, such off-farm employment opportunities often represent upward mobility to villagers.

To get lower-level officials to support the reforms that would likely reduce their power, Beijing adopted a revenue-sharing arrangement called fiscal contracting (*caizheng chengbao zhi*). It allowed localities to retain whatever money was generated there, after a specified level of tax was paid. This created incentives for those in power to promote growth. Local governments were remade into quasi-corporations. Initially, fiscal contracting led to many “get-rich-quick” schemes, and to efforts to keep goods made elsewhere out of the local market, a phenomenon known as local protectionism (*defang baohu zhuyi*). Local law enforcement agents manned outposts on county roads to check vehicles in order to prevent the transit of goods made elsewhere. This practice disappeared as privatization deepened. Yet officials remain active in China’s economic

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198 BBC News. Lane, Edward. “Who Wins From China’s Export Growth?” 11 January 2010.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8451665.stm>

199 China’s Economic Transition. Chow, Gregory. “Chapter 1: Economic Lessons of History [p. 9].” 2007. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

200 New York Times, Yardley, Jim. “Chinese Dam Projects Criticized for Their Human Costs.” 19 November 2007.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/19/world/asia/19dam.html>

development—thus challenging the neo-classical economic view that government should enforce property rights and create a stable tax regime, but leave investment decisions to the market.<sup>201</sup> Instead, national and sub-national levels of the government provide financial backing for industries that make an outsized contribution to economic development (high tech) as well as those that will reduce China’s dependence on imports (aircraft).

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<sup>201</sup> *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*. Wade, Robert. 1992. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

## Agriculture

China has roughly 20% of the world's population, but only 7% of the world's available croplands.<sup>202</sup> Much of China is hilly or mountainous, and the best farmlands lie in the comparatively small region of the Eastern Lowlands. Nonetheless, China's agricultural sector has been relatively productive and capable of feeding the country in most years. Although the CCP-led government claimed that farmers were the font of wisdom and sent students to learn from them, agricultural communities fared poorly under communism. The state set the prices that farmers had to pay for inputs (such as seed and fertilizer) as well as the prices they received for their outputs (harvested crops). By overpricing inputs and underpricing outputs (known as "the scissors effect"), the state accumulated the capital to industrialize. This would have resulted in an exodus to the cities, but farmers could not change their household registration (*hukou*) and therefore could not move.



© Magalie L'Abbe  
Rice farmer

Prior to the economic reforms, Chinese farmers had grown crops according to a centralized economic plan. They were part of a team (known as a "collective") that typically comprised all the households in a village, and active laborers all received the same number of points regardless of actual contribution. After the collective structure was dismantled ("decollectivization," a reform that was initiated in the early 1980s), the household became the primary unit of production. Families were still required to sell a set amount at a fixed price to the state, but they could sell their surplus on the free market, creating an economic incentive to increase production. While the village still owned the land, farmers were given long-term, multi-decade leases that enabled them to invest in improving it, knowing they would reap the economic returns. More land was planted to cash crops as the privatization of the state grain collection apparatus made profiteering attractive. Grain collection station owners (often former state managers) withheld grain from the market to create shortages and drive the price up. Farmers, too, held on to grain in the expectation the price would rise.<sup>203</sup> This had the potential to trigger inflation. After China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, foreign grain could be imported.

Agriculture accounted for 33% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1983, shortly after the introduction of the economic reforms. By 2009, agriculture slipped to 11% of GDP. Nevertheless, given the size of China's economy, this percentage represents a large amount of production. Overall, 43% of China's workers are involved in agriculture

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202 China Daily. Xinhua. "China to Conserve 120m Hectares of Arable Land Till 2020." 18 October 2006.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2006-10/18/content\\_711917.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2006-10/18/content_711917.htm)

203 Agriculture and Food Security in China: What Effect WTO Accession and Regional Trade Agreements? . Wang, Xiaolu and Ron Duncan. "Chapter 4: Rural-Urban Income Disparity and WTO Impact on China's Agricultural Sector: Policy Considerations."

Chunlai Chen and Ron Duncan, Eds. 2008. <http://epress.anu.edu.au/afsc/pdf/ch04.pdf>

(including forestry and fishing).<sup>204</sup> This percentage continues to decline because of the attractiveness of off-farm employment as well as the mechanization of farming.<sup>205</sup> In 2007, after losing substantial areas of farmland to industrial and residential developments, China saw its available cropland decrease to less than 122 million hectares, only slightly above the minimum of 120 million hectares to support its population. To increase productivity on its remaining farmland, the government recently allocated USD 1.85 billion for improving its low-yield agricultural tracts.<sup>206</sup>

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204 CIA World Factbook. China. "Economy." 23 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

205 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

206 China Daily Online. Xinhua. "China to Invest 12.7b Yuan on Farmland." 17 July 2008. [http://chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-07/17/content\\_6854546.htm](http://chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-07/17/content_6854546.htm)

## Industry

Whereas China once embodied an agricultural nation, the country's burgeoning industrial sector has fueled its rapid economic growth. In 2009, 48% of GDP came from industry.<sup>207</sup> In comparison, the United States' industrial sector accounted for only about 20% of the U.S. GDP in 2009.<sup>208</sup> (The majority of the U.S. GDP comes from the services sector.) Manufacturing is by far the dominant segment of China's industrial sector. In 2009, China replaced the U.S. as the biggest market for autos, most of which are manufactured domestically through joint ventures with major automakers as well as under Chinese brand names.<sup>209</sup> This is quite an achievement. "[A]s recently as 2004, China was a net importer of automobiles; in 2005, the country became a net exporter, and in 2007 it exported over half a million cars and trucks, the majority of them Chinese-branded vehicles shipped to developing markets around the world."<sup>210</sup>



© Erik Charlton  
Shanghai steel factory

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207 CIA World Factbook. "China." 23 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

208 CIA World Factbook. "United States." 27 November 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html>

209 BBC News. Business. "China Car Sales 'Overtook the U.S.' in 2009." 11 Monday 2010. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8451887.stm>

210 McKinsey Quarterly. Gao, Paul. "A Global Road Map for China's Auto-Makers." June 2008.

[http://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/Automotive/Strategy\\_Analysis/A\\_global\\_road\\_map\\_for\\_Chinas\\_automakers\\_2137?gp=1](http://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/Automotive/Strategy_Analysis/A_global_road_map_for_Chinas_automakers_2137?gp=1)

## State-Owned Enterprises

State-owned enterprises (SOE) were once hailed as the “commanding heights” of the planned economy and constituted the nation’s heavy industrial base.<sup>211</sup> Prior to the market reforms, all able-bodied residents of cities were assigned jobs.<sup>212</sup> SOEs were the largest employer. Workers enjoyed lifetime job security, known as the “iron rice bowl” (*tie fan wan*), and the right to pass on their jobs to younger members of their family upon retirement. They



© dcmaster / flickr.com  
Abandoned clothing factory

could retire at age 55 for women and 60 for men, and they became eligible to collect a pension. Some SOEs were self-contained communities that provided medical care, education, and other necessities to workers and their families. Given their heavy social welfare obligations, factories relied on the state for subsidies.<sup>213</sup> As a result, Beijing waited to restructure SOEs until after market reforms had been introduced in other sectors, such as agriculture. There was an awareness that many SOEs would have difficulty turning a profit. But heavy industry relied on powerful patrons in the government to shield factories from outright bankruptcy as they underwent restructuring. In the early 1990s, for example, Wuhan Iron and Steel (*Wugang*) furloughed 80,000 of its 120,000 employees. Few were actually factory workers; rather, they worked in support jobs.<sup>214</sup> They received a severance package but no pension. Most of those laid off were women, who were considered less likely to protest and more willing to bring in a second income for their families by peddling goods and finding odd jobs. Through this massive restructuring the company survived. Yet its profitability remains contingent on government patrons.

During the economic downturn that began in 2008, state-owned enterprises, including *Wugang*, were the main beneficiaries of the USD 586 billion Chinese government stimulus package. Stimulus monies enabled them to maintain production in the absence of an end buyer.<sup>215</sup> Had the downturn gone on indefinitely, eventually *Wugang* would have had to “dump,” or sell its steel below cost, on the open market. But as the economic picture brightened over the course of 2009, the Chinese government restricted output

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211 Forging Reform: The Fate of State-Owned Industry. Steinfeld, Edward. “Introduction [p. 2].” 1998. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

212 UCLA International Institute. Gunde, Richard. “Economic Theory and Economic Reform in China: Neo-Classical Economics vs. Neo-Socialist Economics?” 2 April 2003. <http://www.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=3521>

213 International Journal of Human Resource Management. Vol. 12, No. 1. Warner, Malcolm. “The New Chinese Worker and the Challenge of Globalization: An Overview.” February 2001.

<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN002097.pdf>

214 New York Times. WuDunn, Sheryl. “Wuhan Journal; Layoffs in China: A Dirty Word, But All Too Real.” 11 May 1993.

<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/05/11/world/wuhan-journal-layoffs-in-china-a-dirty-word-but-all-too-real.html?pagewanted=1>

215 Time Magazine Online. Ramzy, Austin. “Why China’s State-Owned Companies are Making a Comeback.” 29 April 2009.

<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1894565,00.html>

from smaller steel producers, thus enabling larger firms like *Wugang* to benefit from the increased demand and sell their stock on hand.<sup>216</sup>

Since the mid 1990s, privatization has become increasingly common for SOEs outside the heavy industry sector. It often takes the form of joint-stock cooperatives, in which workers and managers are allowed to purchase equity shares from the state. (In these cases, managers are allowed to purchase much higher percentages than workers.) A somewhat controversial outgrowth of this model is the managerial buyout (MBO). Unlike MBOs in the West, entrepreneurial Chinese managers have often been able to purchase large equity stakes of SOEs at below-market prices. In some cases, the low prices are achieved by insider manipulation. These shares are often subsequently leveraged by managers to achieve an even higher percentage of the firm's shares. Recent reforms announced by the Chinese State Asset Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC) have banned MBOs for large-sized SOEs and have placed strict regulations on the privatization of small- and medium-sized SOEs by managers.<sup>217</sup>

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216 China Daily. Qi, Zhang. "Wuhan Iron & Steel to Increase Output by 24% Next Year." 26 December 2009.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2009-12/26/content\\_9232880.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2009-12/26/content_9232880.htm)

217 People's Daily Online. Xinhua. "Management Buyout (MBO) Permitted in Major China SOEs." 23 January 2006.

[http://english.people.com.cn/200601/23/eng20060123\\_237496.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200601/23/eng20060123_237496.html)

## *Township-Village Enterprises*

After the introduction of the economic reforms, township-village enterprises (TVEs) “sprouted like bamboo shoots after the rain.” In 1978, 1.5 million TVEs employed 28.2 million workers, whereas by 1996, 23.4 million TVEs employed 135 million workers.<sup>218</sup> Ownership lay with the residents of villages and townships, making the TVE a local version of a state-run enterprise—except that it was poised to respond to market signals. TVEs had



© Frank Harris  
Xitang button factory

several advantages; among them, the cost of village labor was low and farmers were unaccustomed to the state subsidies provided to urban workers. Moreover, the command economy had emphasized industrial production. Thus, consumer goods—objects as mundane as buttons and rubber bands—had the potential to be quite profitable in a market of over 1 billion people. The manufacturing of processed products (such as clothes and food) was also a natural industrial enterprise at the rural level.<sup>219</sup> As rural incomes grew, rural construction expanded, and some TVEs capitalized on this by producing building materials.<sup>220</sup> Yet TVEs proved to be a transitional phenomenon as urban enterprises became more competitive and the market for consumer goods demanded more sophisticated products, requiring specialized equipment. Beginning in 1996, the number of collective TVEs diminished.<sup>221</sup> Many were bought out and became private enterprises when private ownership, once vilified during China’s Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), gradually became legitimate.

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218 Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin Eau-Claire. DaCosta, Maria Manuela Neveda and Wayne Carroll. “Township and Village Enterprises, and Regional Economic Growth in China.” 2000. <http://www.uwec.edu/dacostmn/postcomec00.pdf>

219 Eldis. World Institute for Development Economics Research, United Nations University. Working Papers, No. 150. Perotti, Enrico C., Laixiang Sun and Liang Zou. “State-Owned versus Township and Village Enterprises in China.” September 1998. <http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0708/DOC7017.pdf>

220 The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth. Naughton, Barry. “Chapter 12: Rural Industrialization: Township and Village Enterprises.” 2007. Cambridge: MIT Press.

221 Gerald Ford School of Public Policy, University of Michigan. Field, Jason, Michael Garris, Mayuri Guntupalli, Vishaal Rana, and Gabriela Reyes. “Chinese Township and Village Enterprises: A Model for Other Developing Countries, 24 April 2006.

[http://www.umich.edu/~ipolicy/china/5\)%20Chinese%20Township%20and%20Village%20Enterprises,%20A%20Model%20for%20Oth.pdf](http://www.umich.edu/~ipolicy/china/5)%20Chinese%20Township%20and%20Village%20Enterprises,%20A%20Model%20for%20Oth.pdf)

## Banking

The Chinese banking system has been in transition since 1995, when the Commercial Bank Law and the People's Bank of China Law and both went into effect. The former law chartered China's "Big Four" state-owned commercial banks (Bank of China; China Construction Bank; Industrial and Commercial Bank of China; and Agricultural Bank of China). The latter law designated the People's Bank of China as the country's central bank, with mandates to manage monetary policy and to issue currency. Originally, the People's Bank was also the regulatory agency for Chinese banking, but that responsibility was assigned in 2003 to the new China Banking Regulatory Commission (CBRC).<sup>222</sup>

Legislation effective in 1994 created three new "policy banks" (Agricultural Development Bank of China; Export and Import Bank of China; and China Development Bank) to assume the state spending and trade development functions previously performed by the Big Four banks.<sup>223</sup>



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China Everbright Bank in  
Downtown Sanya

Each of the Big Four banks focuses on specific areas of commercial lending and banking services. For example, the Bank of China is involved with foreign exchange transactions and trade financing. After China's entry into the WTO, many foreign banks began to offer their services within China. By 2004, there were over 70 foreign banks with more than 150 branches within the country.<sup>224</sup> Foreign investment has been strong in China's so-called second- and third-tier banks, which are smaller commercial banks or city banks. Recently, China instituted new regulations allowing for the local incorporation of foreign banks, giving them the right to conduct business with local citizens in Chinese currency. As a result, more than 20 foreign banks opened branches with Chinese corporate status in 2007.<sup>225, 226</sup> By 2009, almost 200 foreign banks had established 237 offices in China, with assets worth USD 191 billion at the beginning of the year. At the same time, foreign bank assets were 2.16% of China's total financial assets.<sup>227</sup>

222 People's Daily Online. "Banking Laws Under Revision." 16 June 2003.

[http://english.people.com.cn/200306/16/eng20030616\\_118317.shtml](http://english.people.com.cn/200306/16/eng20030616_118317.shtml)

223 U.S. Commercial Service, United States Department of Commerce. "China: Financial Services: Banking." 2008.

[http://www.buyusa.gov/china/en/financial\\_services.html](http://www.buyusa.gov/china/en/financial_services.html)

224 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

225 Thaindian News. Xinhua. "Over 20 Foreign Banks Open Branches in China." 27 February 2008.

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226 China Daily. Lu, Zhang. "Foreign Lenders See Capital Growth in China." 12 May 2008.

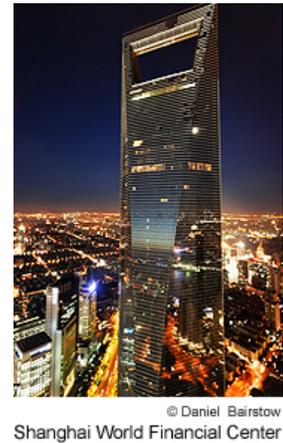
[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-05/12/content\\_6677617.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-05/12/content_6677617.htm)

227 Xinhuanet. "Assets of Foreign Banks in China Up 7.737% in 2008." 13 March 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/13/content_11008933.htm)

[03/13/content\\_11008933.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/13/content_11008933.htm)

## Foreign Investment

Initially, investors in China were interested in using its cheap labor to assemble imported parts for export. As the Chinese became wealthier, foreign investors began to target Chinese as consumers. American fast-food franchises are easy to find in any Chinese city. China's entry into the WTO in 2001 required Beijing to rescind tariffs, making foreign prices competitive in the Chinese marketplace. Yet the government's policy of artificially depressing the value of the Chinese *yuan* reduces the purchasing power of Chinese consumers. China also has one of the highest personal savings rates. With the socialist-era safety net in tatters, Chinese often prefer to put their money in the bank rather than spend it.<sup>228</sup> Many foreign companies are doing well in China, but there are difficulties in doing business there. Luxury goods and energy industries (oil, ore, etc.) are open to foreign companies but some sectors are inaccessible, due to Chinese laws and obstacles. Fields such as telecommunications, marketing, pharmaceuticals, insurance, banking, and publishing are either closed or fiercely protected.<sup>229</sup> As of mid 2008, foreign participation was also limited in law and accounting; tourism; maritime and air transport; and postal services.<sup>230</sup> As part of their WTO membership, China had promised reform, yet subsidized competition, conflicting regulations, and other issues still remain.<sup>231</sup> Over the years, certain sectors have opened and some investment measures have been eliminated as part of China's WTO accession.



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228 The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth. Naughton, Barry. "Chapter 17: Foreign Investment." 2007. Cambridge: MIT Press.

229 The Economist. Business. "Selling Foreign Goods in China: Impenetrable." 15 October 2009, [http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=14660438](http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14660438)

230 World Trade Organization. Trade Policy Review Body. "China." 16 April 2008. [http://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/tpr\\_e/s199-00\\_e.doc](http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/s199-00_e.doc)

231 The Economist. Business. "Selling Foreign Goods in China: Impenetrable." 15 October 2009, [http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=14660438](http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14660438)

## Trade

China has been referred to as an “export-oriented state-industrial complex.” It consistently runs trade surpluses with its major trading partners. Unlike most countries, which allow the value of their currency to float on the open markets, China tightly controls the value of the *yuan* and allows it to fluctuate within a narrow range.<sup>232</sup> Since 2005, Beijing has allowed the value of the *yuan* to rise roughly 20% against the USD, but the U.S.–China trade deficit has continued to increase. This has enabled China to both hold on to the market for low-end, labor-intensive goods as well as expand into higher value-added products.<sup>233</sup> For this reason, the Chinese are reluctant to allow further appreciation of the *yuan*, which could compel foreign manufacturers to move operations out of China (to places such as Vietnam) to escape rising labor and material costs. Such a development would substantially decrease off-farm employment opportunities for China’s massive, rural labor force. Furthermore, as annual trade surpluses have continued to swell, the People’s Bank of China has accumulated USD 2 trillion of foreign currency reserves, much of which has been placed in U.S. investments such as Treasury bills.<sup>234</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
1 yuan, 90% silver; President  
Duan Qirui, minted in 1924

China has limited options for spending its steadily growing foreign reserves, which are distinct from regular savings. To invest the money domestically, it would have to be converted from U.S. Treasury bonds, dollars, euros, and yen into Chinese *yuan*. This would drive up the value of the *yuan*. Moreover, if Beijing started selling its U.S. Treasury bills, other bond holders would start to sell, in anticipation of a bond market collapse. This action would be self-fulfilling because everyone would dump their bonds in a run on the market. This is a nightmare scenario for the U.S. as it would prompt U.S. interest rates to rise dramatically. But it would also hurt the Chinese, because their holdings of over 2 trillion in paper U.S. dollars would lose substantial value when converted to *yuan*.<sup>235</sup>

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232 Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy. “China: Background.” August 2006.

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Background.html>

233 New York Times. Krugman, Paul. “Chinese New Year.” 31 December 2009.

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234 Bloomberg.com. “China’s Foreign-Exchange Reserves Surge, Exceeding \$2 Trillion.” 15 July 2009.

<http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601087&sid=aZgI4B1t3s>

235 Foreign Policy. Levy, Phil. “Yuan to Talk Chinese Savings?” 13 January 2009.

[http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/01/13/yuan\\_to\\_talk\\_chinese\\_savings](http://shadow.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/01/13/yuan_to_talk_chinese_savings)

## Exports

The U.S. is China's largest trading partner and export destination, receiving 17.7% of China's exports in 2008.<sup>236</sup> About half of China's exports come from enterprises with foreign investment, such as Taiwanese-owned and Hong Kong-owned businesses that moved operations to China (principally the Pearl River Delta) to take advantage of cheaper labor. China's major export areas (listed in order of export value) are electrical machinery and equipment; power machinery (a broad category including computers, personal digital assistants, power tools, and small appliances); textiles and clothing; iron and steel; optical and medical equipment; furniture; inorganic and organic chemicals; footwear; toys and games; and plastics. Iron and steel has been a rapidly growing category for several years, making China a net exporter of these commodities.<sup>237</sup> China's other main export partners in 2008 were Hong Kong (13.3%), Japan (8.1%), South Korea (5.2%), and Germany (4.1%).<sup>238</sup>



© Triin Noorkõiv  
Cargo ship in Shanghai harbor

The volume of Chinese exports continues to elicit complaints of unfair government support from China's trading partners. On 30 December 2009, Washington approved new tariffs on Chinese steel pipes, citing state subsidies. Also in December, the European Union voted to extend anti-dumping duties on Chinese-made shoes for 15 months.<sup>239</sup> But exports will remain a major component of Chinese economic growth. Beijing is determined to push exports up the value-added chain, away from low-value, everyday items to higher-value items with better profit margins. As a result, the government is investing in education, technology, and innovation.

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236 CIA World Factbook. China. "Economy." 23 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

237 US-China Business Council. "China's Trade Performance." February 2007. <http://www.uschina.org/info/forecast/2007/trade-performance.html>

238 CIA World Factbook. China. "Economy." 23 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

239 The Economist. "Fear of the Dragon." 7 January 2010.

[http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=15213305](http://www.economist.com/businessfinance/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15213305)

## Imports

American firms face difficulties penetrating the Chinese market for goods made outside China. For example, the government restricts the number of Hollywood films that can be screened in China. This has led to a massive, movie-pirating industry, aided by the fact that DVD copies are usually indistinguishable from the original.<sup>240</sup> “Digital



© Ian Southwell  
Bra factory, Nanhai

piracy and fake products are a problem throughout the developing world but nowhere to the scale seen in China.”<sup>241</sup> Moreover, the problem extends far beyond bootleg DVDs. Every type of imported product is at risk. Fake, brand-name (*shanzhai*) motorcycles, clothing, jewelry, pharmaceuticals, and electronic devices are all easy to procure in any Chinese city. Those who lose income because China lacks enforcement of intellectual property rights laws complain that Beijing lacks the will to clamp down. Yet crackdown campaigns are often a pretext for the police to collect bribes from hapless, migrant peddlers. They are easier to target than those higher in the production chain actually responsible for the counterfeiting who are probably linked to and protected by government officials.<sup>242</sup>

It is important to understand the cultural context. Prior to the economic reforms, it was the collective, rather than individuals, that owned all capital and property, including ideas. Thus, copyright is an unknown concept. Also, Confucius viewed the pursuit of profit as immoral, because in order to make money, traders and peddlers had to convince someone to pay more than what the item had cost them.<sup>243</sup> Those engaged in commerce have never been held in high esteem in China. This begs the question of whether they are duplicitous because society expects them to be, or is commerce by nature an immoral undertaking? Even the Confucius Institute, a government-funded entity, has been accused of posting content that was lifted whole from other internet sites, without attribution.<sup>244</sup>

China’s thirst for construction materials has affected world prices. The high-rise building frenzy that is transforming its cities requires a massive importation of raw materials. In 2003, China “absorbed roughly half the world’s cement production..., one-third of its

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240 BBC News. “China Loses WTO Media Imports Appeal.” 21 December 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8425366.stm>

241 Audioholics. Robson, Wade. “DVD Piracy in China - A Closer Look at Black Market Trade.” 24 April 2008.

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242 News and Information, Washington University in St Louis. Everding, Gerry. “War on Intellectual Property Theft in China Best Fought at Local Level, Suggests New Book.” 6 September 2006. <http://news-info.wustl.edu/tips/page/normal/5691.html>

243 Department of Economics and Finance, City University of Hong Kong. Jing, Lihua, Wenqun Zhou, Yuen-ching Tse. “Corporate Governance in China: Ethical and Legal Problems.” 2004.

<http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/management/apfa/Stockholm%20Papers/Jing%202.doc>

244 China Law Blog. “Does Confucius Institute Say What’s Your IP is Mine?” 9 July 2007.

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steel, one-fifth of its aluminum and nearly one-fourth of its copper.”<sup>245</sup> Expanding China’s port facilities is an urgent priority, because the time spent waiting to unload can add thousands of dollars a day to shipping costs. The country’s growth also requires increasing the number of freighters in order to lower prices to where they were before China’s boom.

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<sup>245</sup> Washington Post. Goodman, Peter. “Booming China Devouring Raw Materials.” 21 May 2004.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43765-2004May20.html>

## Energy and Resources

China's energy needs are extensive, and they are increasing at a considerable rate. The country is already the world's second-largest producer and consumer of electricity, behind the U.S. China has significant energy reserves, particularly coal, but those reserves have proved inadequate to supply the economy's needs. Thus, China has quickly become the world's fourth-largest oil importer.<sup>246</sup>



© Peter Van den Bossche  
Coal miners

Accordingly, in recent years the country has worked to invest its foreign exchange reserves in the acquisition of strategic energy and mineral resources from other developing countries.<sup>247</sup> Based on U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) estimates, by mid 2009 China derived 70% of its energy from coal, 20% from oil, 6% from hydroelectricity, 3% from natural gas, and 1% from nuclear power.<sup>248</sup> Renewable energy consumption is low, but China is the world's fifth-largest wind producer. From 2006 to 2007, China doubled its wind capacity to 6.06 gigawatts (GW) and is expected to reach 10 GW by 2010.<sup>249</sup>

### Coal

Coal is China's most abundant energy resource, accounting for most of the nation's primary energy consumption. No other country produces or consumes as much coal as China. Its coal reserves are the world's third largest, behind the U.S. and Russia.<sup>250</sup> As of early 2009, there were around 16,000 coal mines in China, most of which were small.<sup>251</sup> By 2006, at least half of China's coal use was for the industrial sector, not the electricity sector.<sup>252</sup> Due to limited natural gas and oil reserves, coal will continue to be the major source of energy for the industrial sector. The U.S. EIA projects an average annual

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246 CIA World Factbook. "Rank Order: Oil: Imports." 2010. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2175rank.html>

247 Spiegel Online. Lorenz, Andreas and Thilo Thielke. "China's Conquest of Africa." 30 May 2007. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,484603,00.html>

248 U.S. Energy Information Administration. Country Analysis Briefs. "Quick Facts." July 2009. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/Profile.html>

249 U.S. Energy Information Administration. Country Analysis Briefs. "Electricity." July 2009. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/Electricity.html>

250 Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy. "Country Analysis Briefs: China: Coal." August 2006. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Coal.html>

251 Xinhuanet. "China Urged to Reform Mineral Resource Management System." 9 March 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/09/content\\_10977484.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/09/content_10977484.htm)

252 U.S. Energy Information Administration. "International Energy Outlook 2009." May 2009. [http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484\(2009\).pdf](http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484(2009).pdf)

growth of 5.1% in coal demand for the period 2006–2015.<sup>253</sup> A major downside of China’s reliance on coal is its environmental effect. Shanxi Province in northern China is the center of the nation’s coal industry and, by all measures, has some of the most polluted cities in the world. But the impact is felt far beyond Shanxi. As a journalist pointed out, “One of China’s lesser-known exports is a dangerous brew of soot, toxic chemicals and climate-changing gases from the smokestacks of coal-burning power plants.”<sup>254</sup> In 2009, China surpassed the U.S. as the largest emitter of carbon dioxide in the world.<sup>255</sup>

## *Oil*

Although China is a major producer of oil (it was the world’s fifth-largest producer in 2008), the country has been a net oil importer since 1993. By 2007, China had an oil supply shortage.<sup>256</sup> As the Chinese economy continues to rapidly expand, the shortfall between its oil consumption and production continues to increase. Domestic oil production is heavily subsidized, and is mostly carried out by three state-owned companies: CNPC, Sinopec, and



© Adam Cohn  
Oil refinery in Northern China

CNOOC (the latter concentrates on Chinese offshore oil sites). Over 85% of China’s oil production capacity is onshore, but offshore reserves are likely to be the source of China’s oil production growth.<sup>257</sup> The largest oil fields are in northeastern China, which have already been heavily tapped.<sup>258</sup> Additional major deposits are in the northern provinces of Shandong and Shaanxi, and the western autonomous region of Xinjiang.<sup>259</sup> About half of China’s oil supplies come from the Middle East and about one third come from Africa.<sup>260</sup>

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253 Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy “International Energy Outlook 2009.” May 2009.

[http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484\(2009\).pdf](http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484(2009).pdf)

254 The New York Times. Bradsher, Keith and David Barboza. “Pollution from Chinese Coal Casts a Global Shadow.” 11 June 2006.

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255 World Nuclear Association. “Nuclear Power in China.” 9 January 2010. <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/inf63.html>

256 Journal of Energy Security. Archive. Hayward, David. L.O. “China’s Oil Supply Dependence.” 18 June 2009.

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258 U.S. Energy Information Administration. China. “Oil.” July 2009. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/China/Oil.html>

259 Energy Information Administration. U.S. Department of Energy. “Country Analysis Briefs: China: Oil.” August 2006.

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260 Council on Foreign Relations. Publications. Hanson, Stephanie. “China, Africa, and Oil.” 6 June 2008.

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9557/>

## Natural Gas

Historically, China has not been a large consumer of natural gas. As of 2006, natural gas accounted for only 3% of the country's total energy consumption.<sup>261</sup> Nonetheless, China's natural gas consumption has increased, with overall use doubling between 2000 and 2004. In 2007, after nearly two decades, China became a net importer of natural gas once more.<sup>262</sup> China hopes to boost natural gas consumption in part to minimize



© Adam Cohn  
Oil Fire Flare Stack

pollution from coal use. According to the U.S. EIA, China is expected to triple its gas demand by 2030.<sup>263</sup> The same three state-owned companies, CNPC, Sinopec, and CNOOC, dominate the natural gas industry in China. The Changqing Basin (Sichuan Province), Ordos Basin (Shaanxi Province), and three basins in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province are China's chief natural gas-producing areas. Together they provide nearly 65% of natural gas.<sup>264</sup> In addition to offshore natural gas fields in the South China Sea, new natural gas fields continue to be explored and developed, particularly in Xinjiang, which has China's largest natural gas output.<sup>265</sup>

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261 U.S. Energy Information Administration. "International Energy Outlook 2009." May 2009.

[http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484\(2009\).pdf](http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484(2009).pdf)

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<http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/NaturalGas.html>

263 U.S. Energy Information Administration. "International Energy Outlook 2009." May 2009.

[http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484\(2009\).pdf](http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/0484(2009).pdf)

264 U.S. Energy Information Administration. Country Analysis Briefs. "Natural Gas." July 2009.

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/NaturalGas.html>

265 U.S. Energy Information Administration. Country Analysis Briefs. "Natural Gas." July 2009.

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/NaturalGas.html>

## *Hydroelectricity*

China is the world's leading producer of hydroelectric power.<sup>266</sup> As of 2004, almost 16% of China's electricity production came from hydroelectric plants, but that percentage should increase significantly when the Three Gorges Dam becomes fully functional in 2011.<sup>267, 268</sup> Located along the Yangtze River, it is the world's largest hydroelectric dam. Work began in 1993 on the 660 km (410 mi) project, featuring a concrete gravity dam 2.3 km (1.3 mi) wide. It includes 32 separate generators that will produce a total of 22.5 GW. Even before the project's inception, China was the world's second-largest producer of hydroelectric power, trailing Canada. Other hydroelectric dam projects are under construction or planned for upstream portions of the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), where the river is known as the Jinsha Jiang (Jinsha River), and along some of the Chang's tributaries.<sup>269</sup> Recently, there has been concern about low water flow on the Yangtze due to drought; however, construction continues.<sup>270</sup>



© slumber.six / flickr.com  
Three Gorges Dam

## *Nuclear Power*

China has been promoting nuclear energy as a clean and efficient energy source. China's nuclear development began in the 1970s. Since 1994, 11 reactors have been constructed in coastal regions. Nuclear power is especially needed in those areas, due to their distance from coalfields and their rapidly expanding economies. China's nuclear development is highly advanced, with technology drawn from the U.S., France, Russia, and Canada. Currently, nuclear power supplies roughly 2.3% of China's electricity. An additional 20 reactors are under construction, and more are planned for construction in the near future. China's objective is to have 5% of its electricity produced from nuclear power by 2020.<sup>271</sup>

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266 U.S. Energy Information Administration. Country Analysis Briefs. "Electricity." July 2009.

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/China/Electricity.html>

267 Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy. "Country Analysis Briefs: China: Electricity." August 2006.

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2006. [http://www.terradaily.com/reports/China\\_Moves\\_Ahead\\_With\\_Ambitious\\_Plan\\_For\\_More\\_Yangtze\\_River\\_Hydro\\_Power.html](http://www.terradaily.com/reports/China_Moves_Ahead_With_Ambitious_Plan_For_More_Yangtze_River_Hydro_Power.html)

270 U.S. News and World Report. Science. "New Problems for China's Massive Three Gorges Dam." 15 November 2009.

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271 World Nuclear Association. "Nuclear Power in China." 30 January 2010. <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/inf63.html>

## *Mineral Resources*

China is a country rich in mineral resources. Reserves for 158 different economically important minerals have been identified. In 2008, China led the world in production of coal, fluorite, antimony, barite, graphite, gold, iron and steel, phosphate rock, lead, rare earth minerals, talc, aluminum, tin, tungsten, and zinc. China ranked third for many other mineral reserves.<sup>272</sup> Domestic demand is higher than supply, however; so more than 30% of mineral resources consumed domestically were imported in 2008. Trade in minerals, with an increase of over 30%, constituted one quarter of China's total trade in 2008.<sup>273</sup> Recently, high-grade iron ore deposits have been found in western Tibet, and such reserves may eventually reduce China's iron ore imports. A large copper belt has been discovered in Tibet as well.<sup>274</sup> In the last quarter of 2008, China announced it would reform and upgrade its mineral resources sector to compete more effectively in the modern business environment.<sup>275</sup> A new round of integration and consolidation was announced a year later and is scheduled to be completed by late 2010.<sup>276</sup>

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272 U.S. Geological Survey. "2008 Minerals Yearbook: China." 2008. <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/2008/myb3-2008-ch.pdf>

273 U.S. Geological Survey. "2008 Minerals Yearbook: China." 2008. <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/2008/myb3-2008-ch.pdf>

274 China Daily. Li Fangchao. "Mineral Finds Take Pressure Off Imports." 25 January 2007. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-01/25/content\\_791859.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-01/25/content_791859.htm)

275 U.S. Geological Survey. "2008 Minerals Yearbook: China." 2008. <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/2008/myb3-2008-ch.pdf>

276 China Daily. National. "China to Continue Mineral Resource Sector Integration." 27 October 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-10/27/content\\_8857734.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-10/27/content_8857734.htm)

## Standard of Living

China is still classified as a “developing” country. Its GDP per capita (PPP) is USD 5,970 (2008 estimate), well below its “developed” Asian neighbors Japan (USD 34,115), Singapore (USD 51,226), and Taiwan (USD 30,911).<sup>277</sup> For comparison, China’s PPP lies between the Philippines (USD 3,515) and Thailand (USD 8,329). Interestingly, two of the highest PPP values in Asia are that of Hong Kong (USD 43,848) and Macau (USD 30,000),<sup>278</sup> both of which are Chinese Special Administrative Areas. Poverty rates are high overall in mainland China but trend downward. Exact numbers vary according to the source of data. The U.N. 2007 Human Development report shows China’s poverty index at 7.7%, between the United Arab Emirates and Kazakhstan.<sup>279</sup> Data from the World Bank show a dramatic drop in the percentage of the population living below the poverty line, from 53% in 1981 to 8% in 2001.<sup>280</sup> Both urban and rural poverty rates fell during this period, but the rural rate accounted for most of the overall drop. A large percentage of the rural poverty decline came in the early 1980s, when economic reforms dramatically addressed some of the agricultural policies of the earlier era that contributed to rural poverty.<sup>281</sup>



© Ray Zhou  
Shanghai housing

Another informative indicator of the general standard of living within a country is the Human Development Index (HDI). This number gives an average for indices measuring life expectancy, literacy, school enrollment, and PPP. Countries with an index value of 0.800 or above are considered to be of “high” human development.<sup>282</sup> (The United States has a value of 0.956.)<sup>283</sup> As of 2007, China had an HDI of 0.772.<sup>284</sup> China’s rank was 92

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277 International Monetary Fund. Data and Statistics. “World Economic Database, October 2009.” October 2009.

<http://www.imf.org/external/data.htm>

278 CIA World Factbook. “Rank: GDP: Per Capita (PPP).” January 2010. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

279 United Nations Development Programme. Statistics. “Human Development Report 2009 China.” 2009.

[http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_CHN.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_CHN.html)

280 Development Research Group, The World Bank. Ravallion, Martin and Shaohua Chen. “China’s Uneven Progress Against

Poverty.” September 2004. <http://www->

[wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/10/08/000012009\\_20041008125921/Rendered/PDF/WPS3408.pdf](http://wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2004/10/08/000012009_20041008125921/Rendered/PDF/WPS3408.pdf)

281 The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth. Naughton, Barry. “Chapter 9: Living Standards: Incomes, Inequality, and Poverty.” 2007. Cambridge: MIT Press.

282 United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report 2007/2008. “Readers Guide and Notes to Tables.” 2008.

[http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_20072008\\_readers\\_guide.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_20072008_readers_guide.pdf)

283 United Nations Development Programme. Statistics. “Human Development Report 2009 United States.”

[http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_USA.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_USA.html)

284 United Nations Development Programme. Statistics. “Human Development Report 2009 China.” 2009.

[http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_CHN.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_CHN.html)

out of the 182 nations reported. Between 1980 and 2007, China's HDI increased 1.37% annually, rising from 0.553.<sup>285</sup> Both life expectancy and literacy rates are quite high. But China's national poverty line is based on conditions of 20 years ago. If the poverty line were re-determined according to China's current living standard and economic development, and compared to the international guideline of USD 1 per day, then the number of poor would triple to 150 million.<sup>286</sup> Additionally, it is estimated that about a quarter of the rural population risk returning to poverty as a result of natural disasters, economic recession, or illness.<sup>287</sup>

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285 United Nations Development Programme. Statistics. "Human Development Report 2009 China." 2009.

[http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_CHN.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_CHN.html)

286 China Daily. Economy. Wang, Zhouqiong. "Country's Poverty Line Misleading, Expert Says." 29 December 2009.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-12/29/content\\_9239381.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-12/29/content_9239381.htm)

287 China Daily. Economy. Zhouqiong, Wang. "Country's Poverty Line Misleading, Expert Says." 29 December 2009.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-12/29/content\\_9239381.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-12/29/content_9239381.htm)

## Tourism

China has become one of the world's most popular tourist destinations since relations with the West improved in the 1970s. In 2006, 11.3 million foreign tourists entered mainland China, representing 51% of the total foreign visitors for that year.<sup>288</sup>

Mainland China received over 100 million visits from residents of Hong Kong and Macao during 2006. International revenues from tourism have been increasing at double-digit rates annually for almost 30 years.<sup>289</sup> (The notable exception was 2003, when the SARS epidemic curtailed much of the travel to and from China.) In 2006, China received USD 33.6 billion from international tourism, ranking sixth in the world and making tourism China's largest services trade area.<sup>290</sup> International tourism is increasingly augmented by domestic tourism because Chinese now have the money to travel. The two peak periods for domestic tourism are the week-long, government-sanctioned holidays: in May for International Labor Day, and in the beginning of October for China's national day.<sup>291</sup>



© jasmin0916 / flickr.com  
Tourists visiting the Great Wall of China

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288 People's Daily Online. Xinhua. "Outbound Travelers from Chinese Mainland Increase 11 Pct in 2006." 15 January 2007.

[http://english.people.com.cn/200701/15/eng20070115\\_341349.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200701/15/eng20070115_341349.html)

289 China National Tourist Office. "China Tourism Statistics." April 2006. <http://www.cnto.org/chinastats.asp#Stats>

290 Chinatour.com. Xinhua. "China Received 124 Mln Inbound Visitors in 2006." 14 January 2007.

<http://www.chinatour.com/data/data.htm>

291 The Economic Observer. Liu, Peng and Lin Ln. "China's Domestic Tourism Boom." 7 October 2008.

<http://www.eeo.com.cn/ens/Industry/2008/10/07/115384.html>

## Transportation

Since the 1980s, China has significantly expanded its transportation network, building thousands of miles of roads and railways. One of the major goals has been to better integrate western areas, such as Tibet and Xinjiang, into the transportation framework in order to speed regional development.<sup>292</sup> In 2006, China finished construction of a high-altitude railway linking the Tibetan city of Lhasa with Qinghai Province, and ultimately, Beijing.<sup>293</sup> Additionally, increasing wealth has created a surge in automobile ownership, necessitating an improved road system within and between cities. As China has created new export processing zones inland, the need for enhanced rail and road service to ports has become increasingly critical. In recent years, one such zone in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, was linked by rail to the port facilities in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone.<sup>294</sup>

In 1969, Beijing became the first Chinese city to open a subway system. No further lines were built until after the initiation of economic reforms. Shanghai (1995), Guangzhou (1999), Shenzhen (2004), Wuhan (2004), and Nanjing (2005) have all built systems within the last 15 years.<sup>295</sup> The demand for urban transportation infrastructure is so great that by 2015 China plans to have 83 additional subway lines in operation.<sup>296</sup> The world's only high-speed, commercial, magnetic levitation (maglev) train service debuted in Shanghai in 2004. The train reaches a speed of 432 km (286 mph), taking just over 7 minutes to cover 30 km (18.6 mi) from Shanghai's Pudong Airport (in an area that was until recently rural) into suburban Shanghai (where passengers must catch a subway to the downtown). The maglev has been criticized as a vanity project, designed to impress as "the world's fastest train," but at a substantial drain on resources. It cost USD 1.2 billion to build and is unlikely to recoup the investment through ridership.<sup>297</sup> Efforts to expand service to other destinations within the metropolitan area have met with resistance from residents of established neighborhoods. They do not want the train running too close to their homes, which could cause property values to plummet and might pose health hazards to young children due to its electromagnetic radiation.<sup>298</sup>

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292 The Information Company. "China Allows Tibet, Xinjiang Provinces to Forge Trade Links With Neighbours." 9 December 2006. [http://www.domain-b.com/economy/trade/20061209\\_provinces.html](http://www.domain-b.com/economy/trade/20061209_provinces.html)

293 The New York Times. Kahn, Joseph. "Last Stop, Lhasa: Rail Link Ties Remote Tibet to China." 2 July 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/02/world/asia/02tibet.html>

294 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

295 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

296 New York Times. Cohen, Roger. "Single-Party Democracy." 21 January 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/22/opinion/22iht-edcohen.html>

297 Slate. Blodget, Henry. "Mine's Faster Than Yours." 21 March 2005. <http://www.slate.com/id/2115114/>

298 The Nation. Wasserstrom, Jeffrey. "NIMBY Comes to China." 18 January 2008. <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20080204/wasserstrom>

Air travel has also expanded significantly. At the end of 2006, China had 147 airports, including 45 used for both civilian and military aircraft. There are an additional 97 airports either under construction or in the planning stages. By the end of 2010, the number of airports is expected to increase to 192 and, by 2020, 244 airports will be in use.<sup>299</sup> After a wave of consolidations and buyouts, China has three major airlines, all government-owned: Air China (operating out of Beijing), which has code sharing agreements with United Airlines and Lufthansa; China Eastern Airlines (Shanghai); and China Southern Airlines (Guangzhou). Six smaller Chinese airlines, some privately held, operate primarily domestic routes.<sup>300</sup> The largest of these is Hainan Airlines, a privately owned airline operating out of southern China. It has been estimated that China's passenger aircraft fleet will triple over the next 20 years. To achieve this, China needs to acquire 2,800 new planes valued at USD 329 billion. Although air expansion has made China the best customer of both Boeing and Airbus (the European conglomerate), and partly reduced trade deficits (which China runs with virtually every country), plans are rapidly progressing to build aircraft in China and have them on the tarmac by 2016.<sup>301</sup>

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299 China Daily, Dingding, Xin. "China to Add 97 Airports in 12 years." 25 March 2008.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-03/25/content\\_6563240.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-03/25/content_6563240.htm)

300 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

301 Autopia, Demerjian, Dave. "China Rushes Into Building Planes." 4 March 2009. <http://www.wired.com/autopia/2009/03/china-rushes-in/>

## Business Outlook

The number of product recalls for Chinese goods has tarnished the “Made in China” label, which has come to mean “unsafe” to consumers worldwide. International publicity was given to toys that were discovered to contain lead paint, and to the presence of the toxin melamine in milk, which resulted in the deaths of scores of Chinese children. A number of reasons for this phenomenon have been offered, including the fact that as the world’s biggest manufacturer, China’s products will naturally be subject to the greatest number of recalls.<sup>302</sup> Products that are most likely to be affected in overseas markets are low-price, no-name toys sold at discount stores; those products do not pass through the procurement channels established by major toy importers.<sup>303</sup> A recent book, *Poorly Made in China*, which was written by a business consultant based in China, identifies the culprit as the type of product cycle that drives Chinese manufacturing.<sup>304</sup> The traditional product cycle model is based on a belief that manufacturers will seek continuous improvement through technical innovation. In China, by contrast, innovation takes the form of cost cutting; for example, cheaper packaging materials are procured, or chemical formulations are altered. These reflect a continuous search for ways to reduce costs, without regard for the impact on the buyer—whom the manufacturer never meets because the product is marketed through a series of middlemen. Moreover, Chinese manufacturers routinely sign contracts with firms from countries with strong intellectual-property laws even though the contracts offer low profit margins, because “the factory can then directly sell knock-offs to buyers in other countries where patents and trademarks are ignored.”<sup>305</sup> The book’s author notes that collusion is rampant because there are no rewards for whistle-blowing in China. Indeed, it was revealed in early 2010 that those who monitor food safety in Shanghai concealed the fact that melamine (which is added to fool quality testing that determines if milk has been watered down) had been found in milk products from a local dairy, and it was not shut down until months had passed.<sup>306</sup>



© Nathan Umstead  
Made in China

In the wake of the global economic downturn, accusations have become louder that the Chinese pursue a mercantilist strategy of maximizing exports and minimizing imports

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302 W.P. Carey School, Arizona State University. “Chinese Puzzle: Examining the Implications of Chinese Product Recalls, Part 2.” 17 December 2008. <http://knowledge.wpcarey.asu.edu/article.cfm?articleid=1729>

303 New York Times. Lipton, Eric and David Baradoza. “Unsafe Chinese-Made Toys Cause Harm.” 18 June 2007. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/18/business/worldbusiness/18iht-toys.4.6193391.html>

304 *Poorly Made in China: An Insider's Account of the Tactics Behind China's Production Game*. Midler, Paul. 2009. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

305 Wharton Alumni, University of Pennsylvania. “‘Poorly Made in China’ Gets Reviewed in ‘The Economist.’” 14 May 2009. <http://www.whartoncharlotte.com/article.html?aid=148>

306 New York Times, Associated Press. “China Tainted Milk Problem Kept Secret for Months.” 7 January 2010. <http://www.ftclfd.org/news/news-07jan2010-3.html>

(known as “beggar-thy-neighbor”). Part of the strategy relies upon Beijing to buy foreign currencies, in particular U.S. dollars—a practice known as “sterilization.” Sterilization keeps domestic inflation in check while depressing the value of the Chinese currency. That helps to maintain China’s export competitiveness and keep jobs in China, but it contributes to unemployment in countries producing comparable products. The ability of Beijing’s major trading partners, in particular Washington, to criticize this practice is complicated by the fact that it has enabled the U.S. to run large budget deficits while keeping interest rates low. The relationship between the two nations has been dubbed “Chimerica,” a *de facto* partnership between Chinese savers and producers, and American spenders and borrowers. This relationship benefited both countries in the short term, but is unsustainable.<sup>307</sup>

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307 New York Times. Bernstein, Tom. “Chimerica: A Marriage on the Rocks.” 4 November 2009.

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/05/us/05iht-letter.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/05/us/05iht-letter.html?_r=1)

## Economy Assessment

(1) Those who worked for state-owned enterprises (SOEs) enjoyed job security and hereditary employment, and sometimes medical care and education.

**True.** SOE workers enjoyed lifetime job security and the right to pass on their jobs to younger members of their family upon retirement. They could retire at age 55 for women and 60 for men, and became eligible to collect a pension. Some SOEs were self-contained communities that provided medical care, education, and other necessities to workers and their families.

(2) India is China's largest trading partner.

**False.** The U.S. is China's largest trading partner and export destination, receiving 17.7% of China's exports in 2008.

(3) The result of Chinese censorship is evident in the size of the DVD piracy industry.

**True.** While digital piracy and fake brand-name consumer goods are found in many places, the scale of production in China dwarfs that of other countries.

(4) Agriculture makes up the greatest portion of China's GDP.

**False.** Agriculture accounted for 33% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1983, shortly after the introduction of economic reforms. By 2009, agriculture slipped to 11% of GDP.

(5) China is the world's largest producer of nuclear energy.

**False.** China is the world's leading producer of hydroelectric power. As of 2004, almost 16% of China's electricity production came from hydroelectric plants, but that percentage should increase significantly when the Three Gorges Dam becomes fully functional in 2011.

## Chapter 4: Society

### Introduction

Throughout much of its history, *Zhongguo* (China), which literally means “Middle Kingdom,” was the dominant power in East Asia. Surrounding countries paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor, and sometimes copied China’s imperial form of government and the examination system used for advancing within it. In this way, Chinese culture—for example, its writing system—was widely disseminated in the region. So it was a great shock to the Chinese in the 19th



© Daniel Bairstow  
Mao

century when their government proved no match for the West. The century of humiliation (*bainian guochi*), when the Chinese market was forcibly opened to the sale of British opium and the imperial treasury was drained, still rankles.<sup>308</sup> It generated a century of introspection among the educated and the adoption of different forms of government while the Chinese tried to create a strong society. It led to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), which relied on mass mobilization to destroy anything identified as “feudal,” and to ferret out those whose attitudes and backgrounds were deemed an impediment to the creation of a new society.<sup>309</sup> Many Chinese who were mobilized in their youth as Red Guards (*Hong Weibing*) have expressed deep regret and shame at having heeded Mao Zedong’s words “to rebel is justified.” They attacked and humiliated not only their teachers but senior members of their family, to show that they had been liberated from the traditional deference to authority. Those who came from wealthy families, which had limited their opportunities after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, were particularly brutal in order to demonstrate their revolutionary fervor and devotion to Chairman Mao.<sup>310</sup> Since the introduction of market reforms in 1979, tradition has uneasily co-existed with modernity in a society where the accumulation of wealth is no longer considered counter-revolutionary.

308 Alternatives. Vol. 29. Callahan, William. “National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism.” 2004. <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/CallahanChina.pdf>

309 Indiana University, Northwest. “The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).” No date. <http://www.iun.edu/~hisdc1/g387/cr.htm>

310 China Quarterly. Vol. 83. Chan, Anita, and Stanley Rosen, Jonathan Unger. “Students and Class Warfare: The Social Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton).” September 1980. [http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/cc/ACSRJU\\_Students.pdf](http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/cc/ACSRJU_Students.pdf)

## Ethnic Groups

The PRC officially recognizes 56 ethnic groups, known as national minorities (*shaoshu minzu*), within its borders. The effort to classify ethnic minorities only began after 1949. Initially more than 400 separate groups were identified on the basis of distinct language, culture, or migratory heritage not necessarily genetic make-up. This number was radically reduced by designating some as sub-groups, although the total number remains subject to adjustment.<sup>311</sup> The groups themselves may not agree with this classification scheme in which the smallest one has 2,000 members.<sup>312</sup> With over 1.1 billion people, Han Chinese constitute the dominant majority, accounting for almost 92% of China's population. Citizens of non-Han ethnicity, who primarily reside in the interior, are designated as a member of a specific national minority on their identity cards in the category under "race."



© Trin Noorköv  
Zhuang woman having lunch

Ethnic minorities are exempted from the state's one-child-per-family policy and may have two or three, although running afoul of local authorities can result in this privilege being rescinded.<sup>313</sup> Han are generally limited to one, or two in the countryside if the first one is a girl. Larger families are a common sight in rural China and among migrants and their families, who now number 100 million.<sup>314</sup> Additional children have probably not been registered and therefore do not officially exist. Their parents have no means to enroll them in school, nor will they be able to receive identity cards. This is a relatively recent problem that appeared after the market reforms enabled people to seek work beyond where they are domiciled.

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311 International Institute of Social History. Landsberger, Stefan. "National Minorities." No date given.

<http://www.iisg.nl/landsberger/xsmz.html>

312 Asia Society. Dede, Keith. "Ethnic Minorities in China." No date given. <http://www.asiasociety.org/countries-history/traditions/ethnic-minorities-china>

313 University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. "China's One-Child Policy." No date. <http://www.uwlax.edu/chinese/Golden-key/china%20birthcontrol.htm>

314 Population Research and Policy Review. Li, Shuzhuo, and Yexia Zhang, Marcus Feldman. "Birth Registration in China: Practices, Problems and Policies." 7 May 2009. <http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=91902>

Of the country's 55 officially recognized minority groups, those with the largest populations are the Zhuang (16.2 million), Manchu (10.7 million), Hui (9.8 million), Miao (8.9 million), Uighur (8.4 million), Tujia (8 million), Yi (7.7 million), Mongol (5.8 million), and Tibetan (5.4 million) peoples. Officially, China states that persons of all ethnicities have equal rights and standing.<sup>315</sup> While Beijing supports the continuance of minority cultures, it prohibits expressions of cultural nationalism that could fuel separatist movements. Ethnic distinctiveness, by contrast, has been actively promoted as a tourist draw in the form of “cultural parks” where women clad in exotic attire introduce visitors to their native culture. Some members of the audience find these shows patronizing. Yet it has been argued that by showcasing tribal traditions, the government is able to foster a sense of nationalism, not to mention ethnocentrism, in the majority. Han Chinese typically view such singing and dancing rituals as manifestations of primitive cultures which exist on the geographic margins of China proper and present a sharp contrast to the technologically savvy majority.<sup>316</sup>



© Twinkling Jade / flickr.com  
Young girl dressed in a Manchu dress

Several geographic areas where specific ethnicities live in large numbers have been designated by the PRC as autonomous regions, granting each a sense of local self-government. (Such a designation does not necessarily mean that these ethnicities are the majority group in their region; in some cases, they are the only significant local population.) These regions, designated according to their respective ethnic population, include the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region, the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. At lower levels, there are autonomous prefectures and counties that serve a similar purpose.<sup>317</sup> Yunnan Province, on the southern frontier near Southeast Asia, is particularly significant in terms of ethnic diversity; it is home to 25 ethnic groups.<sup>318</sup> Ongoing Han migration threatens to erode the numerical significance of ethnic minorities in regions where they were traditionally dominant. As a result, relations can be tense between Han settlers, who often view themselves as a civilizing presence, and indigenous peoples.<sup>319</sup>

315 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. “Country Profile: China.” August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

316 Dislocating China: Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects. Gladney, Dru. 2004. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

317 “Autonomous Regions, Prefectures, Counties and Banners [pp. 23–24].” Mackerras, Colin. In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*. Edward L. Davis, Ed. 2005. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.

318 TravelChinaGuide.com. “Ethnic Groups.” 24 July 2008. <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/intro/nationality/>

319 Stimson Center. Luce, Matthew. “Ethnic Violence in Western China: A Lack of Mutual Understanding.” 16 July 2009.

<http://www.stimson.org/pub.cfm?id=832>

## Languages

There is considerable linguistic diversity in China, both within the majority Han group and among the country's minority ethnicities.<sup>320</sup> The Beijing dialect of Mandarin, known as “common language” (*putonghua*), is the official spoken language of the PRC and in Taiwan as well, where it is referred to as the “national language” (*guoyu*).<sup>321</sup> It is the official broadcasting language of China and the medium of instruction in schools.<sup>322</sup> Mandarin is the native tongue of more than 70% of Chinese citizens. It is spoken throughout the country but is most common in northern and eastern China. Mandarin uses four different tones to signify differences in meaning for words that share the same pronunciation. The use of these tones—rising, falling, falling-rising, and high—is a fundamental aspect of the spoken form of the language.<sup>323</sup>



© aveoree / flickr.com  
Sign reads, "Please speak Mandarin"

There are numerous other “dialects” of Chinese although they are often described more appropriately as distinct languages. Generally, the more mountainous the terrain, the greater the number of dialects because communities developed in relative isolation. *Wu* (Shanghainese) is spoken by roughly 8% of the population, primarily in the Shanghai area and the surrounding Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. *Yue* (Cantonese) is the first language of 5% of the population and is common in Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, though there are many sub-dialects. Additional significant dialects include *Hakka* and *Minnan*, both of which are spoken in Taiwan and throughout Southeast Asia.<sup>324</sup> Widespread television ownership has played a role in the disappearance of dialects. In Guangdong province there is Cantonese-language programming to compete with Hong Kong TV, but elsewhere, programming is only in Mandarin. Yet even in Guangzhou (Canton), the provincial capital, Mandarin is displacing Cantonese due to the increase in migrants and increased levels of education.<sup>325</sup>

320 Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching, Dartmouth College. Chinese Resources. “Maps of Languages and Dialects of China.” 10 June 2003. <http://schiller.dartmouth.edu/chinese/maps/maps.html>

321 “Chinese Language [pp. 49–51].” In *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. Michael Dillon, Ed. 1998. Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

322 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: China.” October 2009. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

323 “Chinese Language [pp. 49–51].” In *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. Michael Dillon, Ed. 1998. Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

324 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. “Country Profile: China.” August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

325 Toronto Globe and Mail. MacKinnon, Mark. “The Future of Cantonese.” 21 November 2009. <http://www.cantonese.sheik.co.uk/phorum/read.php?1,94988,94988>

Because Mandarin and the other Chinese dialects (and their sub-dialects) differ in pronunciation and vocabulary, they often cannot be understood by speakers of different dialects.<sup>326</sup> However, as a family, the Chinese dialects essentially share a fundamental writing system composed of stylized, pictographic characters. Most characters contain two parts; one of which, the “radical” (*bu shou*), is usually on the left and indicates something about the meaning of the character. For example, the radical for woman is 女 (*nu*). When combined with other characters, it indicates something feminine. So, 妈妈 (*mama*) is the colloquial word for mother, whereas 姐妹 (*jiemei*) means sisters (the character on the left refers to an older sister, while the one on the right indicates a younger sister). There are 214 radicals that one uses to look up unfamiliar characters in a dictionary.<sup>327</sup> Although some dictionaries have compiled upward of 56,000 different characters, a much smaller number is used on an everyday basis. In general, a person with knowledge of 3,000 characters can competently read newspapers. Chinese with advanced educations may be familiar with 6,000 to 8,000 characters.<sup>328</sup> A simplified system of writing Chinese characters was introduced in the 1950s to expand literacy. Thus, “salt” (*yan*) went from 鹽 to 盐 which requires significantly fewer strokes to master.<sup>329</sup>



© Adam Cohn  
Young girl eating

At the same time, the government also promoted the use of a new system, known as *pinyin*, of transcribing Mandarin into the Roman alphabet.<sup>330</sup> When the PRC emerged from the isolation of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s and normalized relations with the outside world, the Chinese government wanted Chinese names rendered according to *pinyin*. Hence, Peking became Beijing. *Pinyin* is commonly used in public signage and is now an important tool in the education system.<sup>331</sup> Yet because it lacks tone marks, *pinyin* is not an effective system of written communication. The reader cannot ascertain the tonal stress, as opposed to the sound itself which is how meaning is conveyed in non-tonal languages like English, that gives each Chinese word meaning. Nonetheless, it has become the dominant system of romanization. Even Taiwan, which still uses traditional

326 State University of New York, Brooklyn. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language. “Chinese Cultural Studies: The Chinese Language and Writing.” David Crystal, Ed. 1987. <http://acc6.its.brooklyn.cuny.edu/~phalsall/texts/chinlng2.html>

327 University of Albany. “Radicals of Chinese Characters.” No date. <http://www.albany.edu/eas/205/205%20radicals%20of%20chinese%20characters.pdf>

328 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “Language [p. 936].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

329 Simplified versus traditional characters continues to be a source of controversy. New York Times. “Room for Debate: The Ever Evolving Chinese Language.” 2 May 2009. <http://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/02/chinese-language-ever-evolving/>

330 Encyclopædia Britannica. “Pinyin Romanization.” 2008. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/461271/Pinyin-romanization#>

331 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: China.” April 2008. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

Chinese characters, has adopted *pinyin* in a modified form, reflecting the importance of a unified spelling system in the internet era.<sup>332</sup>

## Population and Distribution

Large families were historically the norm in China since there was no state-provided social security and male children were expected to support their parents in old age. Now numbering over 1.3 billion people, China's massive population has long been a significant social concern. In the late 1970s, to stem growth after once encouraging large families, the PRC instituted a one-child-per-family policy. It is strictly enforced in the cities, while those in the countryside are allowed a second child if the first is a girl. Exceptions to the policy are made for ethnic minorities. The ban works better in urban areas, where the government can maintain greater social control than in rural areas.<sup>333</sup> The mandate has resulted in a substantial decline in the country's fertility rate, from 5.4 children per mother (in 1971) to an estimated 1.7 (in 2009). The Chinese population continues to grow at a rate of 0.6%.<sup>334</sup> China's population growth is expected to peak sooner and to be lower than an estimated 1.4 billion in 2026.<sup>335</sup> It is expected to see zero growth by 2030.<sup>336</sup>



© Ming Xia  
Single-child family in Beijing

The benefit of the one-child-one-family policy will maximize in 2010, when the proportion of dependents to workers (known as the “dependency ratio”) is lowest.<sup>337</sup> China could relax its one-child policy to address the problem of one child having to support as many as two parents and four grandparents. It has already done so in some developed regions, for couples where both spouses are only children. Yet given the expense and time required to raise children, some affluent couples have decided one is enough. Currently, about 20% of the population is younger than 15, but only 8% is age 65 and older.<sup>338</sup> The birth to death ratio per 1,000 persons is 12:7, and the life expectancy for women, 75 years, is 4 years higher than for men.<sup>339</sup>

332 Taiwan News. “Pinyin Move Hurts Taiwan’s Pluralism.” 1 October 2010.

[http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news\\_content.php?id=752386](http://www.etaiwannews.com/etn/news_content.php?id=752386)

333 “People: The Chinese [p. 69].” In *Insight Guide: China*, 9th Ed. Scott Rutherford, Ed. 2002. Singapore: Apa Publications.

334 UN Data. “Country Profile: China.” 22 May 2008. <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?cname=China>

335 The New York Times Online. Asia Pacific. Roberts, Sam. “In 2025, India to Pass China in Population, U.S. Estimates.” 15 December 2009. [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/16/world/asia/16census.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/16/world/asia/16census.html?_r=1)

336 Xinhuanet News. “China Expected to See Zero Population Growth by 2030: Expert.” 21 July 2009.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/21/content\\_11746029.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-07/21/content_11746029.htm)

337 The Economist. “The Age of China.” 22 December 2009.

[http://www.economist.com/daily/chartgallery/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=15099009](http://www.economist.com/daily/chartgallery/displaystory.cfm?story_id=15099009)

338 Population Reference Bureau. “2009 World Population Data Sheet.” 2009. [http://www.prb.org/pdf09/09wpds\\_eng.pdf](http://www.prb.org/pdf09/09wpds_eng.pdf)

339 Population Reference Bureau. “2009 World Population Data Sheet.” 2009. [http://www.prb.org/pdf09/09wpds\\_eng.pdf](http://www.prb.org/pdf09/09wpds_eng.pdf)

China's population is still 60% rural, although this is expected to change as widespread migration to urban areas continues.<sup>340</sup> (Some predict 70% of the population will be in urban areas by 2035.)<sup>341</sup> Population is densest in the eastern region of the country while many western and frontier areas remain sparsely populated or uninhabited. In the last three decades, an estimated 150 million migrants have left their village homes for better economic opportunities in towns and cities.<sup>342</sup> While this "floating population" (*liudong renkou*) represents a flexible labor force, it threatens to become a permanent underclass consigned to undesirable, dangerous and low-wage work. Migrants are ineligible for welfare provisions including subsidized housing, education, or healthcare that are the responsibility of the local government. These services are provided exclusively to those registered to live there, or in possession of a household registration (*hukou*) issued to all Chinese in their lawful place of residence.<sup>343</sup> Although there is broad agreement the *hukou* system, implemented under a planned economy, needs to be abolished there is no consensus on how do it without saddling localities with the tax burden imposed by numerous new residents.<sup>344</sup>

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340 UN Data. "Country Profile: China." 22 May 2008. <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crname=China>

341 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

342 Columbia University Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy. News. "China's Floating Population." Spring 2009.

<http://iserp.columbia.edu/news/articles/chinas-floating-population>

343 Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy. Columbia University. Lu, Yao. "China's Floating Population." 2010.

<http://iserp.columbia.edu/news/articles/chinas-floating-population>

344 Financial Times. Dyer, Geoff. "Beijing Edges Toward Residence Reform." 4 March 2010. [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/a349e6c0-](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/a349e6c0-27b3-11df-863d-00144feabdc0.html)

[27b3-11df-863d-00144feabdc0.html](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/a349e6c0-27b3-11df-863d-00144feabdc0.html)

## Gender Issues

Women traditionally held a subordinate role in Chinese society. From birth girls could be referred to as members of “someone else’s family” by their parents and not counted as offspring. Names such as “Lingdi” or “lead in a brother” were common for first-born girls, reflecting the preference for sons over daughters. There was an economic logic for this; boys supported their parents in old age while girls married out of the village. Sometimes the favoritism assumed subtle forms, such as weaning baby girls earlier and providing boys with better food. In times of hardship, daughters were sold as child brides, and in dire circumstances husbands were even forced to sell their wives to pay off debts.<sup>345</sup> The communist government vowed to put an end to such practices. On paper, the PRC promoted gender equality (*nannu pingdeng*) and guaranteed women equal rights. “Women hold up half the sky,” Mao Zedong famously declared, in recognition of female contributions to society.<sup>346</sup> Both men and women were assigned jobs that drew equal salaries. Moreover, the state provided pensions to factory workers and government employees, so urban Chinese have become less reliant on their children for financial support after they retire. Urban couples may even feel that their daughter will take better care of them in old age than a daughter-in-law.



© Adam Cohn  
Grandpa and grand-daughter

Yet family planning regulations have resulted in an excess of males in the countryside, giving females their pick of husbands. Not surprisingly, they often choose to marry into wealthier communities. This has led to young women being abducted to provide wives for poor men.<sup>347</sup> Those most vulnerable are uneducated rural women, often no more than teenagers, who leave home in search of work.<sup>348</sup> Few escape or are rescued; their families simply have no means to search for them. Once an abducted wife produces a male heir, it is quite difficult for her to leave because the child’s paternal relatives will claim custody. Although the government has conducted campaigns against bridal abduction, the imbalance of an estimated 32 million more men than women in the country will make abduction difficult to abolish. To address the excess of males, the government has banned sex-selective abortion. Yet the law will have little practical effect. Private businesses

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345 Clayman Institute for Gender Research, Stanford University News. Schechter, Ruth. “A Historical Perspective on Gender Issues in China.” 9 November 2009. <http://www.stanford.edu/group/gender/cgi-bin/wordpressblog/2009/11/a-historical-perspective-on-gender-issues-in-china/>

346 “Feminism [pp. 197–198].” Fan, Cindy In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*. Edward L. Davis, Ed. 2005. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.

347 *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*. Issue 16. McLaren, Anne. “Competing for Women: The Marriage Market as Reflected in Folk Performance in the Lower Yangzi Delta.” March 2008. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue16/mclaren.htm>

348 New York Times. Rosenthal, Elisabeth. “Harsh Chinese Reality Feeds a Black Market in Women.” 25 June 2001. <http://www.racematters.org/chinesebblackmarketinwomen.htm>

offer ultrasounds and pregnant women can choose to have an abortion, without stating a reason, after an ultrasound reveals the sex of the fetus.<sup>349</sup>

Children, particularly boys, are also routinely abducted and sold to couples who do not have a male child. Migrant kids are particularly vulnerable, since they are often watched only by older siblings while their parents work. Moreover, migrants can expect little help from local police.<sup>350</sup> There have been instances of baby girls being torn from their parents' arms by local authorities, who claim that the family violated family planning policies. The infants are then placed in orphanages, where adoptive parents from overseas pay a USD 3,000 administrative fee, thus creating a financial incentive for baby trafficking.<sup>351</sup>

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349 New York Times. McDonald, Mark. "Abortions Surge in China; Officials Cite Poor Sex Education." 30 July 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/31/world/asia/31abortion.html>

350 New York Times. Jacobs, Andrew. "Chinese Hunger for Sons Fuels Boys' Abductions." 4 April 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/05/world/asia/05kidnap.html?pagewanted=all>

351 Los Angeles Times. Demick, Barbara. "Some Chinese Parents Say Their Babies Were Stolen for Adoption." 20 September 2009.

<http://articles.latimes.com/2009/sep/20/world/fg-china-adopt20>

## Media

China's electronic and print media are managed and monitored by different levels of state authority, including the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television; the General Administration of Press and Publication; the Ministry of Information Industry; and the CCP Central Propaganda Department. These government offices establish and enforce regulations for printed and broadcast material. The country's major newspapers and its television and radio stations are state-owned and operated.<sup>352</sup> Access to the internet is also regulated, and additional government agencies track and monitor websites accessed from China.<sup>353</sup> There are signs in internet cafes warning patrons not to access sites by Falun Gong (a belief system). Although internet cafes are privately owned businesses, owners want to avoid being shut down by the police.



Yet the situation is more complex due to privatization. Most forms of media must be self-supporting since subsidies have been phased out. This has forced them to produce content that people want to read, listen to, or watch, and to move beyond being a government mouthpiece. Entertainment, in fact, has become an attractive investment as the Chinese seek to create their version of an American media conglomerate.<sup>354</sup> Tabloid-type magazines are a fixture on newsstands, as are those devoted to celebrity news. Although most editors practice self-censorship, publications can run afoul of government censors. Late in 2009, the editor of *Southern Weekend* (*Nanfang Zhoumo*), a post-economic-reform weekly that devotes considerable space to social issues and policy commentary, was forced to censor an approved interview with U.S. President Obama that was conducted during his November 2009 visit. The editors then left part of a column blank to indicate that the material had been altered. This practice is known as opening a blank window (*kai tian chuang*) and, ironically, it was used by the communist movement before it came to power. The top editor was subsequently demoted.<sup>355</sup> Exactly why the material was deemed unsuitable for publication is unclear. The weekly is based in Guangdong Province, where the political situation is more relaxed, while foreign affairs are handled exclusively by the central government in Beijing.

352 Council on Foreign Relations. Zissis, Carin and Preeti Bhattacharji. "Media Censorship in China." 18 March 2008.

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/11515/>

353 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

354 New York Times. Business News. Barboza, David. "China Yearns to Form Its Own Media Empires." 4 October 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/05/business/global/05yuan.html>

355 Refworld, UNHCR, "China: Obama Interviewer 'Demoted.'" 14 December 2009.

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,CHN,4562d8cf2,4b445689c,0.html>

Although the number of foreign journalists has increased, their movements are heavily monitored and restricted. They must obtain permission for interviews and rarely receive permission to travel to sensitive regions such as Tibet.<sup>356</sup> Also troubling was the revelation that foreign internet portals, consisting of Google, Yahoo, and Microsoft, have acted as China's censorship enforcers in cyberspace as a condition for entering the lucrative market. Microsoft barred a blog critical of the government; Yahoo provided the government with information that led to the arrest of a Chinese journalist; and Google agreed to block sites the Chinese government didn't want its citizens to access. Reporters Without Borders, a press freedom watchdog, contends that the PRC's "so-called 'Great Firewall,' a sophisticated filter used to block sites, is powered by technology bought from American computer hardware companies."<sup>357</sup> But in January 2010, Google announced that it will cease censoring internet search results on its Chinese service. This came after computer hackers (thought to work for the government) tried to access the Google email ("gmail") accounts of human rights activists—an act violating the company's intellectual property. It is expected that this will lead to Google's withdrawal from the China market, leaving the Chinese search engine *Baidu* to handle internet traffic.<sup>358</sup> A technology expert speculated that instead of "a worldwide web," there will be "a series of regional webs separated both by technology and by politics and culture."<sup>359</sup> Yet China has a thriving blogosphere. The most widely read blogger is a 20-something high school drop out and former race car driver known as Han Han. In his often biting commentary on everyday injustices, however, Han Han does not identify specific leaders or cite the one-party state as the source of China's current problems and has thus far avoided having his website shut down.<sup>360</sup>

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356 Human Rights Watch. "China: Media Summit Participants Should Push for Press Freedom." 7 October 2009.

<http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/10/07/china-media-summit-participants-should-push-press-freedom>

357 Times Online. "Gate's Defends China's Internet Restrictions." 27 January 2006.

<http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/markets/china/article721120.ece>

358 Telegraph. Collard, Tim. "The Google-China Stand-Off: If Baidu Can Step into the Breach, Then a Magnificent Gesture Will Count for Nothing." 17 January 2010. <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/timcollard/100022530/the-google-china-stand-off-if-baidu-can-step-into-the-breach-then-a-magnificent-gesture-will-count-for-nothing/>

359 Adam Segal, interview by Jayshree Bajoria, Council on Foreign Relations Podcast. "Google, China and Dueling Internets?" 14 January 2010. [http://www.cfr.org/publication/21203/google\\_china\\_and\\_dueling\\_internets.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/21203/google_china_and_dueling_internets.html)

360 New York Times. Jacobs, Andrew. "Heartthrob Blog Challenges China's Leaders." 12 March 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/world/asia/13hanhan.html?scp=1&sq=han%20han%20blogger%20china&st=cse>

## Traditions: Holidays and Celebrations

During the Cultural Revolution, many traditional festivals and holidays were banned as “feudal.” Only political holidays were celebrated, but Chinese now celebrate both. Some of the national holidays recognized by the PRC include New Year’s Day (1 January), Women’s Day (8 March), Labor Day (1 May), Birthday of the Chinese Communist Party (1 July), Anniversary of the Founding of the People’s Liberation Army (1 August), and National Day (1 October).<sup>361</sup> Labor Day and National Day (which celebrates the founding of the PRC) are particularly important, and have become week-long holidays for public employees.<sup>362</sup>



© Remko Tanis  
The Dragon Dance

Traditional holidays fall throughout the year. The most important is Chinese New Year, or Spring Festival (*Chun Jie*), a three-day public holiday. The Spring Festival typically begins with a variety of rituals in the 12th lunar month, and the New Year celebration occurs on the first day of the first lunar month (usually in February). But preparations begin well in advance, because homes must be clean and people must look their best to greet the new year. Most Chinese, including migrant workers, make an effort to return home. Tickets are often booked weeks in advance, and police appear in full force for crowd control.<sup>363</sup> Festivities include feasting, fireworks (only in rural areas), exchanging gifts, and presenting children with red envelopes (*hong bao*) of money. Public celebrations, such as parades, fairs, and lantern festivals, are common throughout the country.<sup>364</sup>

Qing Ming Festival (also known as Tomb Sweeping Day), which occurs in the first week of April near the start of spring, is the day when Chinese pay respects to their ancestors by sweeping the family tomb. Since cremation is required of urban residents, only those in the countryside follow the sweeping ritual. Another holiday, which follows a 2,000-year-old tradition, is the annual Dragon Boat Festival that commemorates the death of Qu Yuan, a political figure and poet who drowned himself in the Miluo River. Held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month (typically in June), this event is celebrated nationwide with dragon boat races. *Zongzi*, or rice dumplings wrapped in reed, is the traditional food

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361 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “Directory: Holidays [p. 895].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

362 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Basics: Opening Hours, Public Holidays, and Festivals [pp. 67–69].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

363 The China Post. “Chinese New Year Travel Rush Begins.” 3 January 2009.  
<http://www.chinapost.com.tw/china/2009/01/03/190410/Chinese-New.htm>

364 China Internet Information Center. “Traditional Chinese Festivals: Spring Festival.” No date.  
<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/Festivals/78322.htm>

associated with this holiday.<sup>365</sup> Other major festivals include the Mid-Autumn Festival, also known as the Moon Festival (usually September or October).<sup>366</sup> Minor or regional holidays include Guanyin's Birthday, held in March or April, to celebrate the Goddess of Mercy—usually through Buddhist rituals. In the coastal southern regions, Mazu's Birthday, held in April or May, celebrates the Goddess of the Sea, and draws pilgrims from surrounding countries who want to visit her purported place of birth.

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365 China Internet Information Center. "Traditional Chinese Festivals: Dragon Boat Festival." No date.

<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/Festivals/78316.htm>

366 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. "Directory: Holidays [p. 895]." May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

## Cuisine

### *Diversity, Banquets, and Balance*

“Have you eaten yet?” is the way Chinese typically address each other, reflecting the centrality of food to well-being rather than an invitation to share a meal together. Food is not merely a necessity but also a highly valued aspect of daily social and cultural life and dishes are typically served banquet style in succession. Meal times for Chinese are sacrosanct and respected even during important negotiations. Chinese take great pride in their



© sadaqah / flickr.com  
Food at a restaurant in Beijing

country’s extraordinarily diverse culinary heritage. Even halal food (*qingzhen cai*), or food prepared in accordance with Islamic dietary guidelines, is found in major cities, particularly Beijing, despite the fact there are few Muslim residents. It first made an appearance in imperial times as part of the Silk Road trade. During the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), imperial chefs created a large number of dishes, many of which had been introduced to the palace where Persians and others who practiced the Islamic faith had prominent roles. *Qingzhen cai* was subsequently assimilated due to its popularity with Han Chinese. A Beijing specialty is grilled lamb (*shao yangrou*). Halal restaurants, which serve primarily lamb and beef dishes, are identified by a sign in the window with these Chinese characters: (清真)<sup>367</sup>

A common principle underlying all Chinese cooking is balance—between flavors, textures, colors, consistencies, and temperatures. Grains, most notably rice and wheat, are essential staples of Chinese meals and, depending upon the area, meats and numerous types of seafood are also common. The Chinese tradition of stir-fried preparation of foods that have been finely chopped is attributed to historical necessity. Food was often scarce throughout Chinese history, and meals were cooked quickly (to conserve fuel) and then shared among the group.<sup>368</sup> For the Han ethnic majority, traditional Chinese food can be classified into four regional schools of cuisine, each of which carries unique flavors, specialties, and sub-regions.

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367 Australian National University, China Heritage Project. “Features: Beijing Halal.” No. 5. March 2006.

[http://www.chinaheritageneewsletter.org/features.php?searchterm=005\\_halal.inc&issue=005](http://www.chinaheritageneewsletter.org/features.php?searchterm=005_halal.inc&issue=005)

368 China, 9th ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “Food and Drink [pp. 80–83].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

### *Northern (Mandarin or Beijing): Traditional*

Historically served in the imperial court, Northern-style cuisine retains the elaborate style of bygone days in which vegetables are carved into flowers and animals. One of the most famous common dishes is Mongolian hot pot, where diners select meats and vegetables that are cooked in a large pot of boiling broth in the center of the table. The other is Peking Duck (*Beijing Kaoya*), which is always served to important visitors and to most tour groups.<sup>369</sup> Pieces



© Su-Lin  
Dim sum

of duck are wrapped in crepes similar to but smaller than wheat tortillas, dipped in hoisin sauce, and eaten with a leek. Northerners usually insist that one can only have real Peking Duck in Beijing because the ducks must be reared locally to ensure the highest quality. They are force-fed at specific times to achieve the proper fat texture and juiciness.<sup>370</sup>

### *Eastern School (Huaiyang): Vegetables and Meat*

Developed in the cities of Shanghai and Fuzhou, and other central, coastal provinces, Eastern style cooking traditionally uses rice, seafood, and freshwater fish as essential ingredients. Vegetarian cuisine is popular in this region, as is the practice of red-cooking, or the braising of meat in a soy sauce and wine broth.<sup>371</sup> Soups are also a common element of Eastern style cuisine. Cinnamon beef noodles and steamed vegetarian dumplings are two famous dishes from the Eastern school.<sup>372</sup>

### *Southern School (Cantonese): Dim Sum and More*

Perhaps the most famous style of Chinese cooking, the Southern school is known for its refined preparation of a wide variety of dishes, many of which are exotic and unique to the area. This is due to the southern tropical and sub-tropic geographic zones, which include lakes and rivers, and more rainfall.<sup>373</sup> In addition to rice, standard ingredients include diverse vegetables and fruits (usually locally grown); meats, such as chicken and pork; and various types of seafood, including crab, squid, and shrimp. Traditional *dim sum*, or small treats such as stuffed dumplings and spring rolls, grew out of this area, as

<sup>369</sup> The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. "Basics: Eating and Drinking [p. 59]." 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

<sup>370</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. "Peking Duck." 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/448985/Peking-duck>

<sup>371</sup> China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. "Food and Drink [p. 83]." May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

<sup>372</sup> Cooking Light. World Cuisine. "The Four Schools of Chinese Cooking." 2009. <http://www.cookinglight.com/food/world-cuisine/four-schools-chinese-cooking-0040000001349/>

<sup>373</sup> China Travel Guide. "Chinese Cuisine." 3 August 2009. [http://www.chinatravelguide.com/ctgwiki/Chinese\\_Cuisine](http://www.chinatravelguide.com/ctgwiki/Chinese_Cuisine)

did the use of sweet and sour sauce. Exotic dishes may consist of rat, snake, dog, cat, or a variety of other animals.<sup>374</sup>

*Western School (Sichuan, Hunan, and Yunnan): Spicy*

Also well-known, the Western school is characterized by its spicy and flavorful dishes. Essential ingredients include pork, chicken, mushrooms, water chestnuts, soy beans, and bamboo shoots.<sup>375</sup> Red chili, ginger, garlic, and fish sauce are commonly used for flavor.<sup>376</sup> Texture is important in Western cooking and, unlike eastern China, Western dishes are cooked with a minimum of sauce to accentuate the seasoning.<sup>377</sup> The signature dish of this region is the Sichuan-style stir-fried chicken with peanuts.<sup>378</sup> Another regional specialty is literally called “carrying pole noodles” (*dandan mian*), a popular street snack named after the bamboo shoulder poles sidewalk chefs use to transport their cooking equipment and special mix of spices.

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374 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Basics: Eating and Drinking [pp. 59–60].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

375 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “Food and Drink [p. 83].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

376 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Basics: Eating and Drinking [pp. 59–60].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

377 Chinese Food Recipes. Chinese Western Cooking- Szechuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Hunan.” 4 June 2009.  
[http://www.chinesefood-recipes.com/food\\_articles/chinese\\_western\\_cooking.php](http://www.chinesefood-recipes.com/food_articles/chinese_western_cooking.php)

378 Cooking Light. World Cuisine. “The Four Schools of Chinese Cooking.”  
2009. <http://www.cookinglight.com/food/world-cuisine/four-schools-chinese-cooking-0040000001349/>

## Religion

### *Formal Worship Practices*

Officially, the ruling Chinese Communist Party is an atheist organization in keeping with its Marxist origins. The PRC constitution provides citizens with “freedom of religious belief,” but religious practice is regulated and sometimes restricted. Officially only five religions are recognized: Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism. These religions can be legally practiced only by organizations that register with one of the government’s five Patriotic Religious Associations (PRAs), which correspond to the five state-recognized religions. The PRAs fall under the domain of the State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA). Unregistered organizations, particularly those not associated with one of the sanctioned religions, are not legally protected by the constitution. Such organizations are sometimes defined by the state as “cults” and thus are targeted for suppression. In general, religious practice is monitored by government officials and is generally restricted to registered locations.<sup>379</sup> Attempts to convert non-believers are strictly prohibited, because the right to atheism is equally protected by the state.



© Aleksander Szlachetko  
Buddhist monk

In recent years, the PRC has allowed registered religious organizations greater operational freedom to train their clergy, collect donations, own property, and publish religious material. However, the government continues to require worshippers to attend churches run by state-controlled institutions such as the Three-Self Patriotic Movement for Protestants and the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association for Roman Catholics. The government continues to closely monitor and sometimes restrict religious activities, particularly in regions perceived as vulnerable to separatist movements, such as Tibet and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.<sup>380</sup> In August 2007, as part of a larger agenda to limit the authority of the current Dalai Lama and complicate efforts to find his successor, the Chinese government banned the practice of identifying young boys as reincarnated religious leaders in Tibet.<sup>381</sup> More recently, authorities cracked down on what may be China’s first Christian mega-church, which was part of a growing “house church” movement that favors independent or “underground” churches over state-controlled ones. The Golden Lamp Church, along with two other churches in recent

<sup>379</sup> Council on Foreign Relations. Bhattacharji, Preeti. “Religion in China.” 16 May 2008.

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion\\_in\\_china.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion_in_china.html)

<sup>380</sup> Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State. “International Religious Freedom Report 2007: China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau).” 14 September 2007. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2007/90133.htm>

<sup>381</sup> United Press International. “China Bans Reincarnation in Tibet.” 3 August 2007.

[http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/2007/08/03/China-bans-reincarnation-in-Tibet/UPI-68741186183580/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2007/08/03/China-bans-reincarnation-in-Tibet/UPI-68741186183580/)

months, was closed by police, some of its leaders were jailed, and some worshippers were hospitalized for injuries sustained during the crackdown.<sup>382</sup>

Despite such threats to worshippers, a 2007 survey suggests that religious faith has boomed in China in recent years.<sup>383</sup> According to the survey, 31.4% of Chinese citizens aged 16 years or older possess some type of religious belief. This percentage equals roughly 300 million people, and is three times the amount estimated by the PRC in 2005.<sup>384</sup> According to the poll, approximately 67.4% of religious believers in China practice one of the five state-recognized religions. An estimated 200 million Chinese practice Buddhism, Taoism, or some form of folk religion (described by state-run media as the worship of “legendary figures”), and an estimated 40 million are Christians. The rise in religious observance is partly due to the expanded personal and religious freedoms granted to Chinese citizens in recent years.<sup>385</sup> But the prevalence of religious practitioners is not surprising in the context of China’s long history of diverse religious faiths and practices, as well as its significant philosophical tradition.

### *Traditional Philosophies and Religions*

Historically, three essential movements have shaped the development of Chinese religious culture and thought: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.<sup>386</sup> In China, these movements fused with the ancient Chinese traditions of ancestor worship and animism to create a rich and diverse religious landscape.<sup>387</sup> Despite the atheistic philosophy of the communist party, the historical significance of these religious and philosophic systems has been recognized by the government and promoted as part of China’s cultural heritage.



© Sergio René Araujo Enciso  
Temple of Confucius

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382 The Seattle Times. Nation and World. Bodeen, Christopher. “Fast-Growing Christian Churches Crushed in China.” 10 December 2009. [http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/nationworld/2010472699\\_apaschinamegachurch.html](http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/nationworld/2010472699_apaschinamegachurch.html)

383 Council on Foreign Relations. Bhattacharji, Preeti. “Religion in China.” 16 May 2008. [http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion\\_in\\_china.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion_in_china.html)

384 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State. “International Religious Freedom Report 2007: China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau).” 14 September 2007. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2007/90133.htm>

385 China Daily. Wu Jiao. “Religious Believers Thrice the Estimate.” 7 February 2007. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-02/07/content\\_802994.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-02/07/content_802994.htm)

386 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Chinese Beliefs [p. 1177].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

387 China, 9th ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Religion [pp. 55–56].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

### *Confucianism: Virtues and Structure*

The ethical and philosophical ideas of Kong Fu Zi, or Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.), were not widely recognized until after his death. As a scholar, Confucius spent much of his life developing and promoting a social and administrative code based on conservative, humanitarian values. This code contrasted dramatically with the social upheaval and instability of his time. To bring greater order to a volatile period, he called for individual decency, and the formation and maintenance of rigid social and familial hierarchies. Likewise, Confucius promoted five virtues: propriety, benevolence, trustworthiness, righteousness, and wisdom. He also championed scholasticism, particularly the study of classical literature.<sup>388</sup>

Confucius's ideas were eventually incorporated into the Chinese administrative structure during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), and they would remain influential for 2,000 years. A class of Confucian “scholar-officials” became a significant feature of Chinese government. Trained in Confucian classics, these officials were required to pass rigid examinations before rising in the Chinese bureaucracy.<sup>389</sup> In the latter half of the 20th century, Confucian scholars and artifacts came under intense attack from the Communist regime for promoting patriarchal hierarchy, and many Confucian temples were vandalized.<sup>390</sup> More recently, Confucianism has been officially resurrected as a “core cultural value,” and the government recognizes its value in promoting social stability in an era of rapid change.<sup>391</sup> Confucius's hometown in Qufu, Shandong Province, has become a tourist attraction for Chinese and even international tourists.<sup>392</sup>

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388 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Chinese Beliefs [pp. 1177–1179].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

389 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Chinese Beliefs [pp. 1177–1179].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

390 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Religion [pp. 57–58].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

391 US-China Institute, University of Southern California. Lam. Joy. “China's Revival of Confucianism.” 18 September 2008. <http://china.usc.edu/ShowArticle.aspx?articleID=1179>

392 Beijing Visitor. Allen, Daniel. “Check out Qufu: Confucius; Hometown offers a Chinese-style Bohemian Experience.” 2004. <http://www.beijing-visitor.com/index.php?cID=433&pID=1201>

### *Taoism (Daoism): Harmony*

Indigenous to China, Taoism is a philosophy and religion based on the *Dao De Jing (Tao Te Ching)*, or “The Way of Power,” a collection of writings believed to have been written by a man named Laozi (Lao Tzu). (The *Dao De Jing* was compiled at least three centuries after the death of Laozi, who is thought to have lived in the 6th century B.C.E., during the time of Confucius.) The philosophy is based on the concept of *tao (dao)*, or the “way,” which can be described as the unseen and unknown force behind the natural order of the universe. Taoism calls for humankind to act in harmony with nature, and it promotes reflection and meditation, ideally in isolation from the practical affairs of the human world.<sup>393</sup> Related Taoist ideas include the concept of *qi (ch’i)*, the essential energy force or “breath” of life, and the balance of the opposite but complementary forces of *yin* and *yang*.<sup>394</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
Laozi a taoist deity

Over the centuries, the religious form of Taoism developed a clerical order and incorporated rituals, traditional religious practices, and a variety of deities and saints into its belief system. After China became a Communist state, much of Taoist religious culture was destroyed. However, the philosophy and its teachings remain an integral part of Chinese thought and culture, and in recent years, the movement has rebounded.<sup>395</sup>

### *Buddhism: From Suffering to Enlightenment*

Buddhism was founded in India by Siddhartha Gautama in the sixth century B.C.E. The religion gradually spread from India and Central Asia to China, where it became a recognized religion in the first century C.E. The central tenets of the religion are that life is full of suffering and that suffering is caused by desire. According to Buddhist faith, through moderation, meditation, and ultimately, the elimination of desire, one can achieve enlightenment, or *nirvana*, a state of bliss that transcends suffering and all earthly affairs.

The Mahayana school of Buddhism became the popular form of the religion in China. Considered less individualistic in focus, Mahayana Buddhism emphasizes the importance of achieving enlightenment for all people, because all humans are inextricably connected. It promotes the role of the *bodhisattva*, or enlightened one, who remains involved in the affairs of the world in order to assist others in their quest for nirvana.<sup>396</sup> Mahayana

393 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Chinese Beliefs [pp. 1179–1180].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

394 Encyclopædia Britannica. “Taoism.” 2008. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/582972/Taoism#>

395 BBC Religion and Ethics. “The Origins of Taoism.” 11 December 2009. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/taoism/history/history.shtml>

396 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Chinese Beliefs [p. 1180].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

Buddhism maintains a cosmology, a pantheon of deities, and a variety of ritual practices. In China, the religion has a history of mutual exchange with Taoism and Confucianism; a common element of the three systems is the worship of ancestors and venerated figures.<sup>397</sup>

Over time, a variety of other Buddhist schools emerged, including the Ch'an (known in Japan as Zen) and Pure-Land forms of Buddhism.<sup>398</sup> In Tibet, Buddhism merged with the ancient, indigenous Bon religion to form Lamaist Buddhism, also known as Tibetan Buddhism. This mystical form of the religion remains prevalent in the Tibetan region of China, and its venerated leader is known as the Dalai Lama.<sup>399</sup> In recent years, tensions concerning the historical and political relationship between Tibet and China have increased, resulting in protests, government crackdowns, and further restrictions on religious freedom in the region.<sup>400</sup> Buddhism is still the most widely practiced religion in the country.<sup>401</sup>

### *Other Major Religions: Islam and Christianity*

Islam and Christianity also have a significant presence in China. Islam has been practiced in the country for more than 1,200 years and is the dominant religion among several ethnic minorities, most notably the Hui and Uighur peoples.<sup>402</sup> The Hui peoples, many of whom live in the Ningxia Autonomous Region in north-central China, are closely related to Han Chinese but differ due to their practice of Islam.<sup>403</sup> The Uighurs, who are predominantly located in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region of the northwest, are also Muslim peoples, although they are of Turkic descent. Because of the perceived threat of terrorism and separatism in the region, the PRC maintains particularly strict regulations on the religious practices of the Uighur peoples.<sup>404</sup>



© Aleksander Szlachetko  
Chinese muslim

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397 San Francisco State University. Encyclopædia Britannica. "The Buddha and Buddhism: China." 1995.

<http://online.sfsu.edu/~rone/Buddhism/Buddhism%20in%20China.htm>

398 San Francisco State University. Encyclopædia Britannica. "The Buddha and Buddhism: China." 1995.

<http://online.sfsu.edu/~rone/Buddhism/Buddhism%20in%20China.htm>

399 China, 9th ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. "The Culture: Religion [pp. 58–59]." May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

400 Council on Foreign Relations. Bajoria, Jayshree. "The Question of Tibet." 9 April 2008. <http://www.cfr.org/publication/15965/>

401 Pew Research Center Publications. Grim, Brian. "Religion in China on the Eve of the 2008 Beijing Olympics." 7 May 2008.

<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/827/china-religion-olympics>

402 SAISPHERE, Johns Hopkins University. Hua Tao. "The Long History of Islam in China." 2009. [http://www.sais-](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2009/tao.htm)

[jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2009/tao.htm](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2009/tao.htm)

403 Asia Times. Aiyar, Pallavi. "Islam with Chinese Characteristics." 6 September 2006.

<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/HI06Ad01.html>

404 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State. "International Religious Freedom Report 2007:

China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)." 14 September 2007. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2007/90133.htm>

Although Christian missionaries, such as the Nestorians and Jesuits, have worked in China for centuries,<sup>405</sup> the religion has blossomed in China in the last several decades. In 2007, one report estimated the Christian population in China to be 40 million.<sup>406</sup> When accounting for the large number of unregistered Christians in the country, other reports suggest that the Christian community is considerably larger.<sup>407</sup> Many Christians in China remain unregistered due to disagreements with the forms of Christian doctrine sanctioned by the state, as well as government limitations imposed on the size of churches. As a result, unregistered “house churches” are relatively common in the Chinese Christian community, but they face the prospect of closure during periodic crackdown campaigns.<sup>408</sup>

### *Alternative Spiritual Practices: Falun Gong*

Falun Gong (*Falun Dafa*) is a spiritual exercise movement that the Chinese government has designated as a cult and a security risk. Combining aspects of Buddhism, Taoism, and a form of physical exercise known as *Qigong*, the movement developed in the early 1990s and soon acquired a large following. It became popular at a time when access to subsidized health care was cut back, forcing people to take more responsibility for their health. Part of the government’s fear of the group is that it operates independently from the state and represents a cross section of the Chinese population, which makes identifying followers difficult. (The Chinese government estimated Falun Gong membership at 2 to 3 million; the movement itself claimed a following of up to 100 million.)<sup>409</sup> In 1999, Falun Gong members staged a large demonstration in Beijing to protest official restrictions on the group. Despite its extensive surveillance network, the government had no warning about the demonstration. Shortly thereafter the PRC condemned the group and initiated an expansive crackdown on its activities, which were seen as a threat to social stability.<sup>410</sup> In the ongoing propaganda war to convince ordinary citizens that the group is a dangerous cult, state-run television provides extensive and graphic coverage of instances where Falun Gong followers have purportedly committed



© longtrekhome / flickr.com  
Falun Gong Meditation

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405 China, 9th ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Religion [p. 60].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

406 China Daily. Wu Jiao. “Religious Believers Thrice the Estimate.” 7 February 2007. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-02/07/content\\_802994.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-02/07/content_802994.htm)

407 Pew Research Center Publications. Grim, Brian. “Religion in China on the Eve of the 2008 Beijing Olympics.” 7 May 2008. <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/827/china-religion-olympics>

408 Council on Foreign Relations. Bhattacharji, Preeti. “Religion in China.” 16 May 2008. [http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion\\_in\\_china.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/16272/religion_in_china.html)

409 Encyclopædia Britannica. “Falun Gong.” 2010. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/724793/Falun-Gong>

410 Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Lum, Thomas. “CRS Report for Congress: China and Falun Gong.” 25 May 2006. <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/67820.pdf>

self-immolation in Tiananmen Square.<sup>411</sup> The movement has described itself as apolitical except for protecting the constitutional rights of practitioners. Today, there continue to be reports of the PRC imposing severe penalties on China's remaining Falun Gong practitioners.<sup>412</sup> Human rights groups estimate that tens of thousands practitioners have been imprisoned and more than 2,000 have died in the past decade.<sup>413</sup>

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411 Telegraph. Rennie, David. "Five Set Alight in Tiananmen Sect Protest." 24 January 2001.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/1319273/Five-set-alight-in-Tiananmen-sect-protest.html>

412 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State. "International Religious Freedom Report 2007: China (includes Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau)." 14 September 2007. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2007/90133.htm>

413 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Jacobs, Andrew. "China Still Presses Crusade Against Falun Gong." 27 April 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/28/world/asia/28china.html>

## Health: Traditional Chinese Medicine

With a history of over 2,000 years, the practice of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) remains widespread throughout China. Taoist principles, such as the balance between opposite forces and the appropriate channeling of *qi*, or energy, are its fundamental elements. Herbal medicine, acupuncture, and moxibustion are the major components of TCM. A wide variety of herbs and extracts (totaling an estimated 7,000) are prescribed for many acute disorders and chronic ailments.<sup>414</sup>

Many practitioners claim that herbal remedies are often more effective in addressing the basic cause, rather than merely the symptoms, of disorders.<sup>415</sup> Acupuncture involves the use of needles to manipulate and stimulate certain areas of the body in order to manage the flow of *qi*. The body parts targeted are believed to be connected to internal organs, and the practice is intended to help regulate their function. Moxibustion is a process of warming these sites in order to produce a similar effect.<sup>416</sup> To speed up the modernization and production of traditional medicine, China plans to double its output in 10 years.<sup>417</sup>



© Jean-François Chénier  
Chinese medicine shop

As the Chinese government has incorporated TCM into the national healthcare system, its practices play a major role in Chinese medical practice. Both the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations have formally acknowledged the effectiveness of TCM to treat certain conditions.<sup>418</sup> Traditional medicine was first recognized as a part of primary health care in the Alma Ata Declaration of 1978.<sup>419, 420</sup> The first Congress on Traditional Medicine, organized by the WHO, was held in China in 2008.<sup>421</sup> Two main goals were to assess the role of traditional medicine and to help WHO

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414 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. "Contexts: Traditional Chinese Medicine [pp. 1183–1184]." 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

415 "Herbal Medicine [p. 230]." Farquhar, Judith. In Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture. Edward L. Davis, Ed. 2005. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.

416 "Acupuncture and Moxibustion [pp. 3–4]." Karchmer, Eric I. In Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture. Edward L. Davis, Ed. 2005. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.

417 China Daily. "China to Double Traditional Medicine Output in 10 years." 1 July 2009.  
[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2009-07/01/content\\_8344178.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2009-07/01/content_8344178.htm)

418 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. "Contexts: Traditional Chinese Medicine [pp. 1183–1184]." 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

419 World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe. About WHO. "Declaration of Alma Ata." 1 April 2006.  
[http://www.euro.who.int/AboutWHO/Policy/20010827\\_1](http://www.euro.who.int/AboutWHO/Policy/20010827_1)

420 World Health Organization. "Programmes and Projects." 2009.

[http://www.who.int/medicines/areas/traditional/congress/congress\\_background\\_info/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/medicines/areas/traditional/congress/congress_background_info/en/index.html)

421 United Nations. Social and Economic Council. "Potential of Traditional Medicine Should Be Fostered." 12 February 2009.  
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2009/ecosoc6385.doc.htm>

member states integrate traditional medicine into their national healthcare systems.<sup>422</sup> The use of traditional medicine has surged since the 1990s due to its accessibility, availability, and affordability both in developed and developing countries. Developing countries, lacking access to standard medical care, need access to safe, quality, and effective traditional medicine.<sup>423</sup> In China, traditional medicine has been used effectively in the recent H1N1 (“swine flu”) pandemic.<sup>424</sup>

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422 Regional Office for Europe. World Health Organization. “Programmes and Projects.” 2009.

[http://www.who.int/medicines/areas/traditional/congress/congress\\_background\\_info/en/index.html](http://www.who.int/medicines/areas/traditional/congress/congress_background_info/en/index.html)

423 Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Press Room. “Conference on Traditional Medicine in ASEAN Countries.” August 2009.

<http://www.aseansec.org/23107.htm>

424 United Press International. Health News. “China: Traditional Medicine for Swine Flu.” 2 July 2009.

[http://www.upi.com/Health\\_News/2009/07/02/China-Traditional-medicine-for-swine-flu/UPI-85811246567262/](http://www.upi.com/Health_News/2009/07/02/China-Traditional-medicine-for-swine-flu/UPI-85811246567262/)

## Arts

China's unbroken history of artistic production has no peer, as demonstrated by its achievement and innovation across the arts. Although a large percentage of China's cultural artifacts have been destroyed during times of war or social upheaval, the country's surviving artworks (many of them preserved overseas) offer insight into a rich artistic tradition.



© Pet\_r / flickr.com  
Terracotta Army Museum,  
Xi'an, China

### *Pottery and Sculpture: Rituals and Everyday Use*

Dating back 8,000 years, the earliest known examples of Chinese pottery consist of hand-crafted vessels developed for ritualistic purposes, particularly for burial rites.<sup>425</sup> After the invention of the pottery wheel in the late Neolithic period, Chinese ceramic techniques continued to evolve.<sup>426</sup> The Shang and Zhou Dynasties of the 1st and 2nd millennia B.C.E. are well-known for their highly advanced bronze-casting methods. Vessels from these periods typically demonstrate sophisticated structural designs and decorations featuring animals, mythological beasts, human figures, or abstract motifs.<sup>427</sup> Jewelry and small objects carved from jade and ivory were also common in ancient (and subsequent) periods, as were funerary figures constructed from clay or wood.<sup>428</sup> The Army of Terracotta Warriors produced for the tomb of Emperor Qin Shi Huang during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.E.) is one of the most famous and large-scale examples of Chinese pottery and sculpture. Containing over 7,000 life-size pottery figures of soldiers, horses, chariots, and other figures, the massive tomb has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.<sup>429</sup> During the Tang Dynasty, Chinese artists developed advanced porcelain techniques<sup>430</sup> that led to the blue and white “china” ceramics now famous throughout the world.<sup>431</sup> In terms of religious art, Chinese artists produced a plenitude of Buddhist statues and sculptural objects over the centuries, although many such artifacts were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

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425 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Art [p. 1196].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

426 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Arts [p. 63].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

427 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Art [p. 1196].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

428 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Arts [p. 63].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

429 TravelChinaGuide.com. “Museum of Terra Cotta Warriors and Horses.” 4 August 2008.

[http://www.travelchinaguide.com/attraction/shaanxi/xian/terra\\_cotta\\_army/](http://www.travelchinaguide.com/attraction/shaanxi/xian/terra_cotta_army/)

430 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. “Contexts: Art [p. 1197].” 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

431 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. “The Culture: Arts [p. 63].” May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

*Painting and Calligraphy: The Art of the Brushstroke*

Painting and calligraphy have been twins throughout Chinese history. Each practice utilizes the same four components (known as the Four Treasures of the Study): a brush, ink, paper, and a rubbing stone. Calligraphy has traditionally been one of the most prized and respected artistic practices in China because it links both painting and the revered Chinese language. Over the centuries, calligraphic artists developed and worked in a number of styles, ranging from formal and classic to expressive and stylized. An artist's brushstrokes were thought to evince his personality, and reputations and professional success were often contingent upon one's calligraphic abilities.<sup>432</sup>



© Joseph Pitz  
Calligraphy "longevity"

Learned by studying and replicating past masters, conventional Chinese painting depicts landscapes, human figures, and flora and fauna. Paper and silk served as the primary surfaces for such paintings, and they were stored and displayed in scroll form. Traditional Chinese painting does not employ the realism and perspective common to Western painting. Instead, the flatness of the surface helps to emphasize the emotional and thematic effect. Taoist themes, such as the connection between man and nature, are quite prevalent throughout Chinese painting. A common example is the placement of small human figures within large-scale landscapes, a theme that suggests humankind's tiny and fleeting presence in the natural world.

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432 "Arts and Crafts [pp. 101–107]." In *Insight Guide: China*, 9th Ed. Scott Rutherford, Ed. 2002. Singapore: Apa Publications.

## Literature

The ability to read and write traditionally distinguished educated Chinese from ordinary people. Given the difficulties of learning Chinese characters and the complex grammar of classical Chinese, which is akin to Shakespearean English, only individuals from wealthy families could devote themselves to the years of study necessary to become literate. Thus, literacy was a source of elite power since the scholar-gentry class alone had the ability to create, transmit and receive knowledge embedded in written texts.<sup>433</sup> The Tang Dynasty (618–906 C.E.) is China’s “Golden Age” of poetry with almost 49,000 pieces preserved.<sup>434</sup> During the 18th century, China’s most famous novel, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, was published. Told in episodes of 120 chapters, there are over 30 important characters and 400 minor ones who are part of an extended, upper-class household in which the story takes place.<sup>435</sup>



© vIasta2 / flickr.com  
Bamboo Chinese book

After the fall of the last dynasty in 1911, the first novels written in vernacular style (*baihua*) rather than literary Chinese (*wenyan*) appeared. The 1920s and 1930s were a fertile period for Chinese literature. The author Ba Jin produced a trilogy depicting the struggles of youth against the age-old strictures of the Confucian family system. He, like many of his peers, was held in high esteem by the underground Chinese Communist Party for his ability to satirize and expose social ills. Many writers, including Ba Jin, were sympathetic to the ideals of communism and recognized the need to modernize Chinese society. Yet after the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949, these writers were uniformly persecuted for their inability to produce work that conformed to the standards of “socialist realism,” in which art was to serve the needs of the people.<sup>436</sup> The most important responsibility of writers in the new society was to promote socialist morality. Lei Feng, a soldier who selflessly devoted his life to serving the people, became a household name. By the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1965, the number of works of fiction had plummeted despite the government’s promotion of literacy to enable more people to read.<sup>437</sup>

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433 New York Times. “Room for Debate: The Ever Evolving Chinese Language.” Wang, Eugene. “Elitism vs. Populism.” 2 May 2009. <http://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/02/chinese-language-ever-evolving/>

434 City University of New York. Compton’s Living Encyclopedia. “Chinese Cultural Studies—Chinese Literature.” August 1995. <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/core9/phalsall/texts/chinlit.html>

435 Encyclopedia Britannica. “Dream of the Red Chamber.” <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/171232/Dream-of-the-Red-Chamber>

436 A 1982 documentary by Chung-Wen Shih, a George Washington University professor of Chinese, called Return from Silence: China’s Revolutionary Writers, features interviews with five prominent authors who discuss their contributions to the modernization of China. <http://home.gwu.edu/~cwshih/shih.pdf>

437 Exploring Chinese History. Wertz, Richard. “Modern Literature.” 2009. <http://www.ibiblio.org/chinesehistory/contents/02cul/c02s02.html>

In the early 1980s, “scar literature” (*shanghen wenxue*) detailing the excesses and violence of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) began to appear. *Hibiscus Town* (1981) is a prominent example. Set in a village where the same families have lived for generations, a newly married couple saves money from their bean curd stall to build a nice house, only to find themselves classified as “rich peasants.”<sup>438</sup>



© Sarah Ross  
Chinese books

The party-led struggle sessions, in which the young couple is denounced by members of the community, ultimately cause the husband to commit suicide. Those who left China wrote personal memoirs. Jung Chang’s *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (1991) details what happened to her family after her father, a cadre, fell from official favor.<sup>439</sup> Nien Cheng’s *Life and Death in Shanghai* (1987) describes her six-year imprisonment and the death of her only child, an aspiring actress, under circumstances that were never officially explained.<sup>440</sup> Such works gave public expression to the experiences of many who felt they could not talk openly about them.<sup>441</sup> This outpouring opened the door to looking at the contradictions wrought by the Cultural Revolution. For example, traditions had been identified as a negative force, leading to the destruction of many historic sites, because the weight of the past impeded China’s political and economic development. Yet traditions were also a source of cultural strength and spiritual inspiration and comfort.<sup>442</sup> Subsequent works explored the tensions between tradition and modernity.

Free from the constraints of socialist realism, other authors told the stories of specific places. *Red Sorghum*, one of many novels written by Mo Yan, received the most votes in a 1996 contest for favorite novel. “Mo Yan’s Northeast Gaomi County, a fictional realm based on his hardscrabble hometown in the eastern province of Shandong, is as vivid a spot on the [Chinese] literary landscape as William Faulkner’s Yoknapatawpha [in America]....”<sup>443</sup> As the economic reforms deepened, authors turned their attention to the emerging social order and the contradictions of market socialism also known as “capitalism with Chinese characteristics.” Wang Shuo, a best-selling author and cultural icon among Chinese who have grown up in a marketizing society, focuses on the lives of those on the urban fringe trying to get rich through quasi-legal business deals. He is credited with giving rise to a new genre: hoodlum literature (*pizi wenxue*).<sup>444</sup> Such works

438 Ohio State University. “Hibiscus Town.” 1986 <http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/denton2/courses/c505/temp/hibiscustown.html>

439 Asia for Educators. “Reading Jung Chang’s *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*.” 2009.

[http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china\\_1950\\_wild\\_swans.htm](http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/special/china_1950_wild_swans.htm)

440 VOANews. “Chinese Author Describes Horrors of Cultural Revolution.” 18 November 2009.

<http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/arts-and-entertainment/literature/a-13-2009-11-18-voa36-70423177.html>

441 Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China’s Predicament. Link, Perry. “Introduction [pp. 3–50].” 1992. New York: W.W. Norton.

442 Anthropology, Vol. 220. Smith, Richard. “Contemporary Chinese Literature and Art.” 20 December 1997.

<http://www.owl.net.rice.edu/~anth220/literature.html>

443 Time. Morrison, Donald. “Women Hold Up Half the Sky.” 14 February 2005.

<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1027589,00.html>

444 Asian Week. Wong, Edward. “Best Sellers from Beijing.” 15–21 August 1997. <http://asianweek.com/081597/arts.html>

avoid censorship by framing their subject as a microcosm of the country as a whole. In short, “stories that Western audiences might tend to view from the perspective of the individual - a kind of David and Goliath archetype - are often seen in China as stories of the collective, that reveal the plight of Chinese society.”<sup>445</sup>

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445 Financial Post. McConvey, John. “Gritty Chinese Documentaries, Happily Endorsed by the State.” 19 February 2010.  
<http://www.financialpost.com/Story.html?id=2587678#ixzz0gkfZfNfNF>

## Film

Zhang Yimou's film version of *Red Sorghum* (1987) won the 1988 Berlin Film Festival's top prize, the Golden Bear Award, signaling the PRC's arrival on the international film festival circuit. Another filmmaker, his contemporary Chen Kaige, directed a film called *Farewell My Concubine* (1993) that premiered at the Cannes Film Festival. Its depiction of the upheavals of 20th century Chinese history through the lives of two male opera singers made it



© KongFu Wang  
Film

an epic. The overseas attention garnered by these film-makers, who were referred to as "the fifth generation," enabled them to find international investors. This freed them to work outside the Chinese film studio system. It also led to a profusion of films, many of which received overseas distribution, telling the same story: a beautiful young woman is married off to an unattractive and typically older (or even dead) partner, whom custom dictates she cannot leave.<sup>446</sup> Many Western viewers saw the traditional subjugation of women as a metaphor for the plight of citizens under the communist regime.<sup>447</sup> Eventually a backlash within China developed against such films because they were perceived as catering to Western stereotypes of the exotic East.<sup>448</sup> The fifth generation eventually went mainstream and produced big-budget martial arts pictures, such as *Hero* (2002), *House of the Flying Daggers* (2004), and other types of entertainment films that did well at the domestic box office and secured overseas distribution.

The "sixth generation," comprised of filmmakers who came of age during the economic reforms, created a new genre called amateur cinema (*yeyu dianying*), employing non-professional actors who spoke in regional dialects reflecting their hinterland origins.<sup>449</sup> The undisputed leader of the sixth generation is Jia Zhangke, whose early films focused on how marketization had affected social relations and the family. His later works delved into the transition to a new social order that completely reorders the landscape, as shown by the wholesale demolition of existing communities. He is better known in the West than in China (where most of his films are available only on bootleg DVD), although he is following the path of the fifth-generation and embarking on a mainstream film career. Yet an American film critic ventured, "When you see the earth from outer space, it's said, the only visible human artifact is the Great Wall of China. When the early twenty-first

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446 Confronting Modernity in the Cinemas of Taiwan and Mainland China. Lu, Tonglin. "Chapter 5: The Zhang Yimou Model: Raise the Red Lantern [p. 166]." 2002. New York: Cambridge University Press.

447 Cineaction. Issue 60. Brook, Vincent. "To Live and Dye in China: The Personal and the Political in Zhang Yimou's *Judou*." 2003. No URL.

448 Boston Review. Wolf, Alan. "Zhang Yimou's Long Road Home." November 2001. <http://bostonreview.net/BR26.5/stone.html>

449 Senses of Cinema. Jaffee, Valerie. "Bringing the World to the Nation: Jia Zhangke and the Legitimation of Chinese Underground Film." May 2004. [http://archive.sensesofcinema.com/contents/04/32/chinese\\_underground\\_film.html](http://archive.sensesofcinema.com/contents/04/32/chinese_underground_film.html)

century is someday viewed from a comparable distance, the main artifacts to be seen may be the films of Jia Zhangke.”<sup>450</sup>

Commercial cinema is flourishing inside China. One of the most popular filmmakers is Feng Xiaogang, whose films are released during the Lunar New Year holiday season. Feng uses suspense and dark humor to probe contemporary concerns while he entertains the audience. His 2004 box office hit, *Cell Phone*, chronicles the deceptions that the host of a TV program (pointedly named “To Tell the Truth”) juggles via cell phone. In the process, issues such as the impact of technology on romantic relationships, the prevalence and increasing social acceptance of extramarital affairs, and the erosion of traditional values in the quest for material success are explored. A Chinese viewer noted, “[The filmmaker] captured a lot of things people really worry about.”<sup>451</sup>

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450 The Nation. Klawans, Stuart. “Panoramas: ‘24 City’ ‘Ashes of Time Redux,’ ‘Happy-Go-Lucky.’” 8 October 2008.  
<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20081027/klawans>

451 Los Angeles Times, Column One. Magnier, Mark. “Hit Movie Rings True in China.” 12 April 2004.  
<http://articles.latimes.com/2004/apr/12/world/fg-cellphone12>

## Sports and Recreation

China's popular sports and recreational activities consist of both traditional, indigenous practices and modern, international pastimes. Perhaps most famous, the country's many forms of martial arts, or *wushu*, remain widely practiced within the country and abroad. Dating back over 2,000 years, Chinese martial arts grew out of the need for individuals (often monks and priests) to defend themselves while living in a volatile and fractious environment of war and political tumult.<sup>452</sup> Influenced by religious philosophies including Taoism and Buddhism, a variety of unique regional styles emerged over the centuries. Some of the most famous include Shaolin boxing and Taichi, or shadow boxing.<sup>453</sup> Today, martial arts are largely practiced for purposes of health, physical fitness, spiritual and mental well-being, and competition. Martial arts and related exercises are commonly practiced in public parks throughout the country.<sup>454</sup> Other traditional sports include acrobatics, dragon boat racing, archery, wrestling, and horseracing (the latter is particularly popular among certain ethnic groups).<sup>455</sup>



© Dennis Kruyt  
Flying Shaolin Kung Fu Monk

Since returning to international sports competitions in the late 1970s after the Cultural Revolution, the PRC has become a dominant force in Olympic competition, particularly in such events as gymnastics, diving, and weightlifting. At the Seoul Olympics in 1988, the Chinese transformed women's diving into an adolescent sport with its team of prepubescent girls.<sup>456</sup> Although much of the communist system has been dismantled, the state-sponsored training of athletes remains in place.<sup>457</sup> Those with promise are identified at the local level and then sent to live at specialized sports schools (which offer every sport including table tennis), where they train on a daily basis to compete. The doping scandals which dogged Chinese athletes during the 1990s have been linked, in part, to competition among localities to produce the greatest number of medal winners.<sup>458</sup> In the

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452 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. "Contexts: The Martial Arts of China [pp. 1185–1187]." 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

453 China, 9th Ed. Harper, Damian, and Steve Fallon. "Chinese Martial Arts [p. 56]." May 2005. Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

454 The Rough Guide to China, 4th Ed. Leffman, David, and Simon Lewis. "Contexts: The Martial Arts of China [pp. 1185–1187]." 2005. New York: Rough Guides.

455 TravelChinaGuide.com. "Traditional Sports and Activities." 1 August 2008.  
<http://www.travelchinaguide.com/intro/focus/sport.htm>

456 New York Times. Gabriel, Trip. "The Seoul Olympics; China Producing New Waves of Young Divers." 11 September 1988.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/1988/09/11/sports/the-seoul-olympics-china-producing-new-waves-of-young-divers.html?pagewanted=1>

457 Time. Beech, Hannah. "China's Sports School: Crazy for Gold." 12 June 2008.  
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1813961,00.html>

458 National Interest. Yang, Dali. "Total Recall." March/April 2008.  
[http://www.daliyang.com/files/Total\\_Recall\\_National\\_Interest\\_Yang.pdf](http://www.daliyang.com/files/Total_Recall_National_Interest_Yang.pdf)

eyes of many Chinese, winning medals is an important reflection of the country's strength and emerging status as a sports power. In August 2008, the city of Beijing was transformed to host the 2008 Summer Olympics. China garnered 100 medals, including 51 gold medals. China's wins were in 25 different sports, with the majority of the medals in its strong sports, such as gymnastics and diving.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> BBC News, Sports. "China Targets More Gold in 2012." 27 August 2008. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport2/hi/olympics/7583735.stm>

## Society Assessment

(1) China's entire population is required to comply with the one-child-per-family policy.

**False.** Ethnic minorities are exempted from the state's one-child-per-family policy and may have two or three, although running afoul of local authorities can result in this privilege being rescinded.

(2) Mandarin is the most widely spoken language in China.

**True.** Mandarin is the native tongue of more than 70% of Chinese citizens. It is spoken throughout the country but is most common in northern and eastern China.

(3) Pinyin; is the dominant system of romanization of Mandarin Chinese.

**True.** *Pinyin* is the dominant system of romanization of Mandarin Chinese. Because it lacks tone marks, *pinyin* is not an effective system for spoken communication.

(4) China's family planning regulations have had no affect on the country's gender balance with regard to population.

**False.** Family planning regulations have resulted in an excess of males in the countryside, giving females their pick of husbands.

(5) Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) is based on the tenets of Confucianism.

**False.** Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), which remains widespread throughout China, is based on Taoist principles. These include balance between opposite forces and the appropriate channeling of or energy, as fundamental elements.

## Chapter 5: Security

### Introduction

The adoption of market reforms and the end of the Cold War have dramatically reshaped the security priorities of the People's Republic of China (PRC). In the 1960s, then-leader Mao Zedong denounced the United Nations (UN) and other multilateral organizations as tools of “the imperialists and social-imperialists.”<sup>460</sup> But the current leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) views international organizations as allies to restrain U.S. power. Beijing actively promotes the view that the UN Security Council, of which the PRC is a permanent member, should be the final arbiter in the use of force internationally. The PRC has also become a prominent member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It also established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), comprised of several Central Asian nations, Russia and China, which some view as a potential Eastern equivalent to NATO.<sup>461</sup>



© Michael Mooney  
Chinese police forces

Any conflicts with its neighbors will likely result from the pace of China's economic growth rather than from flexing its military muscle. The PRC plans to build eight hydroelectric dams on the Mekong River, affecting the essential water supply of countries downriver.<sup>462</sup> Also, particle pollution that is emitted into the air by China's industries and power plants, and raw materials (including wood) that China imports will have environmental impacts elsewhere. China's energy appetite has led Beijing to forge closer ties with hydrocarbon-rich nations such as Burma, Sudan, and Iran that Washington is averse to. China's actions and its intolerance for political dissent have engendered a steady stream of international criticism. Domestic public opinion also plays a peculiar role in Chinese security considerations, despite having no direct role in policy formulation. After the suppression of the 1989 democracy movement, the CCP-led government tried to bolster its legitimacy through “national humiliation discourse” that highlighted the injustices done to China by imperialist powers.<sup>463</sup> Incidents like the accidental bombing of the PRC Embassy in Belgrade in 1999 are not viewed as isolated mistakes, but part of a series of humiliations intended to test China's response.<sup>464</sup> The

460 SAISPHERE, Johns Hopkins University. Lampton, David. “China: Outward Bound But Inner-Directed.” 2006. <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2006/lampton.htm>

461 New York Times. French, Howard. “Shanghai Club, Once Obscure, Now Attracts Wide Interest.” 16 June 2006. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F06E4D61031F935A25755C0A9609C8B63>

462 School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University. Pearce, Fred. “The Damming of the Mekong: Major Blow to an Epic River.” 16 July 2009. <http://e360.yale.edu/content/feature.msp?id=2162>

463 Monash University. Kinney, Damen. “Progressive and Nationalist Ways of Discussing Patriotism, Humiliation, and Memory in the Chinese Media.” July 2008. <http://arts.monash.edu.au/mai/asaa/damienkinney.pdf>

464 Council on Foreign Relations. Bajoria, Jayshree. “Nationalism in China.” 23 April 2008. <http://www.cfr.org/publication/16079/>

Chinese public, which typically wants vengeance, is usually dissatisfied with their government's response, especially the acceptance of a diplomatic apology.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> China Journal. No. 46, Gries, Peter Hays. "Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing." July 2001. <http://www.ou.edu/uschina/gries/articles/texts/TearsofRage.pdf>

## Military<sup>466, 467</sup>

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) includes all of China's armed forces: ground (PLA), navy (PLA Navy), and air force (PLA Air Force) units, as well as an independent strategic missile force known as the Second Artillery Corps. Reserve and militia forces supplement the active-duty PLA.<sup>468</sup> China's armed forces fall under the authority of the CCP Central Military Commission, the State Central Military Commission, and the Ministry of National Defense.<sup>469</sup> Despite considerable downsizing in recent years, the total number of active-duty PLA personnel is approximately 2.3 million,<sup>470</sup> with ground force personnel numbering an estimated 1.25 million.<sup>471</sup> Chinese males from the ages of 18 to 22 are subject to selective conscription, with a 2-year obligation of service. Chinese females from 18 to 19 years of age, who have graduated high school, can serve in specific military roles if they meet certain additional requirements. (As of 2004, approximately 136,000 women were enlisted in the Chinese armed forces.)<sup>472</sup> China's first group of female pilots entered the Air Force in April 2009.<sup>473</sup> There is no minimum age for volunteers, who comprise all of the PLA officers.<sup>474</sup>



© Steve Weibel  
Chinese soldiers

China has been modernizing its military structure to transform the PLA from a massive, land-based force into a streamlined, mobile, and high-tech organization. Acquiring foreign-made advanced weaponry and operation systems, and also developing them domestically have both been central to this process. Besides its nuclear weapons, upgraded or fully modern elements of the nation's defense network include a range of

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466 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2008." 2008. [http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Report\\_08.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Report_08.pdf)

467 U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. "2007 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission." November 2007. [http://www.uscc.gov/annual\\_report/2007/report\\_to\\_congress.pdf](http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2007/report_to_congress.pdf)

468 CIA World Factbook. "China: Transnational Issues." 7 August 2008. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

469 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

470 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief, Vol. 8, No. 14. Blasko, Dennis J. "The Pentagon-PLA Disconnect: China's Self-Assessment of Its Military Capabilities." 3 July 2008. [http://www.jamestown.org/china\\_brief/article.php?articleid=2374285](http://www.jamestown.org/china_brief/article.php?articleid=2374285)

471 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2008." 2008. [http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Report\\_08.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Report_08.pdf)

472 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

473 China Daily. "Chinese Air Force Gets First Batch of Female Fighter Pilots." 2 April 2009. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90786/6628530.html>

474 CIA World Factbook. "China: Military." 7 August 2008. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

fighter aircraft, an anti-satellite weapon (successfully tested in 2007),<sup>475</sup> a variety of ballistic and cruise missiles (tested in 2010),<sup>476</sup> and nuclear-powered attack submarines. Tactics such as cyber warfare and industrial espionage have been identified as strategic elements of China's revised military doctrine. The PLA has advanced its efforts to educate, train, and professionalize its military personnel. Some analysts believe that China's primary objective is to develop the ability to rapidly mobilize and engage in short-term, "high intensity conflicts" around the country's borders and offshore areas. The most commonly cited hypothetical conflict in China's military strategy concerns Taiwanese independence.

Substantial and consistent increases in the Chinese military budget demonstrate the country's commitment to modernization. Between 1996 and 2006, China's increases in defense spending averaged 11.8% annually, when adjusted for inflation.<sup>477</sup> Defense spending more than doubled between 2000 and 2008, from USD 27.9 billion to USD 60.1 billion. (The PLA Navy and Air Force branches received the majority of these



DoD image: MC1 Tiffini M. Jones  
PLA Navy sailors stand at attention

investments.) Budget plans for 2009 were USD 70.24 billion, continuing two decades of double-digit increases in defense spending.<sup>478</sup> Although the PLA is considerably less advanced than the U.S. military, it has been identified as the latter's mostly likely competitor. China's advancements in military technology and capabilities continue to surprise observers.

With active personnel of roughly 660,000, the People's Armed Police (PAP) forces, founded in 1982, carry out the nation's internal law enforcement and security duties. The Chinese police were once seen as ill-trained and corrupt, but their professionalism has increased in recent years. But human rights advocates still consider them unaccountable and abusive.<sup>479</sup> Consisting of defense and police units, the PAP is responsible for border security, counterterrorism, communication security, disaster relief, and firefighting. New laws governing how and when they can be deployed were established after the Xinjiang riots in July 2009<sup>480</sup> to better prepare PAP forces for security emergencies.<sup>481</sup> Local

475 The New York Times. Broad, William J. and David E. Sanger. "Flexing Muscle, China Destroys Satellite in Test." 19 January 2007. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/19/world/asia/19china.html>

476 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Jacobs, Andrew and Jonathan Ansfield. "With Defense Test, China Shows Displeasure of U.S." 12 January 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/13/world/asia/13china.html>

477 U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. "2007 Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (p. 88)." November 2007. [http://www.uscc.gov/annual\\_report/2007/report\\_to\\_congress.pdf](http://www.uscc.gov/annual_report/2007/report_to_congress.pdf)

478 Reuters. "China Military Build-Up Seems U.S.-Focused: Mullen." 4 May 2009. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKTRE54363X20090504?pageNumber=1&virtualBrandChannel=0>

479 The New York Times Online. Asia Pacific. Wines, Michael. "China Approves Law Governing Armed Police Force." 27 August 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/28/world/asia/28china.html>

480 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Wines, Michael. "China Approves Law Governing Armed Police Force." 27 August 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/28/world/asia/28china.html>

governments are now prohibited from summoning the police. In the event of war, the PAP is designed to support the PLA in many domestic security tasks, and it is equal in military status to the PLA troops.<sup>482</sup> The PLA has raised its status abroad with the considerable increase in PLA attachés, and foreign attachés in China. The PLA had 267 attachés abroad in 2008 and there were 94 foreign military attachés in Beijing in the same year.<sup>483</sup>

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481 China Daily. Xinhua. "Top Legislature Passes Armed Police Law." 27 August 2009. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-08/27/content\\_8625494.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-08/27/content_8625494.htm)

482 Global Security. Intelligence. "People's Armed Police." No date. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/world/china/pap.htm>

483 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. Publications. "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009." 2009. [http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_Report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf)

## U.S.–China Relations <sup>484</sup>

The U.S. has steadily improved its relations with the People’s Republic of China since the 1970s. After the PRC was founded in 1949, relations between the two countries were adversarial. At a low point, the U.S. and the PRC fought on opposite sides of the Korean War in the early 1950s. At that time, in both foreign policy and military and economic aid, the U.S. supported the Republic of China (ROC), the government formed by the Guomindang or Nationalist Party, and headed by Chiang Kai-shek, which had fled to Taiwan after the PRC took control of mainland China during the country’s civil war. For many years, the U.S. along with other major powers like Japan recognized the ROC as the legitimate government of China.<sup>485</sup>



Courtesy of Wikipedia  
President Hu Jintao and President Bush, 2005

The turning point in U.S.–PRC relations came in the early 1970s. In 1971, the PRC officially replaced the ROC as China’s sole representative at the UN, thereby solidifying the PRC’s ascendancy over the ROC. In 1972, U.S. President Richard Nixon traveled to China to meet with PRC officials, including Mao Zedong. The diplomatic meetings resulted in the “Shanghai Communique,” an agreement that outlined the two countries’ mutual desire to establish normalized relations. For the first time, the U.S. formally acknowledged that the PRC was the sole government of China, and that Taiwan was part of China. The U.S. and China officially normalized relations in 1979, and the U.S. shifted diplomatic recognition from Taipei, Taiwan, to Beijing. The U.S. still retained the right to maintain commercial and cultural relations with Taiwan.<sup>486</sup> The Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 allowed Washington to continue to sell Taipei weapons, although the amount and specific types of weapons remain a source of tension between Beijing and Washington.<sup>487</sup> The Chinese typically suspend military exchanges or visits to show their displeasure when weapons sales occur.<sup>488</sup>

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484 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: China.” April 2008.  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

485 Federal Research Division. A Country Study: China. Worden, Robert L., and Andrea Matles Savada, Ronald E. Dolan, Eds. “Sino-American Relations.” July 1987. [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cn0336\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cn0336))

486 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: China.” April 2008.  
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

487 China Brief, The Jamestown Foundation. Vol. 9, No. 21. Ross, Ed. “The Future of U.S.-Taiwan Defense Cooperation.” 22 October 2009.

[http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=35634&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=44f5a05af8](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35634&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=25&cHash=44f5a05af8)

488 New York Times. Cooper, Helene. “U.S. Arms for Taiwan Send Beijing a Message.” 31 January 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/01/world/asia/01china.html?ref=world>

Although U.S.–China relations have been more cooperative than antagonistic since 1979, Washington and Beijing continue to suspiciously view each other’s military might. Despite China’s military buildup, it still lags far behind the U.S. For example, U.S. reconnaissance aircraft (colloquially known as spy planes) claim the right to fly within 22 nautical km (12 nautical mi) of the PRC, rather than the 370 nautical km (200 nautical mi) Beijing insists on. (22 nautical km is the standard established and observed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.) But China lacks the capability to conduct surveillance of other countries this closely, and claims that it does not wish to—a statement intended to make U.S. surveillance activities appear unreasonable.<sup>489</sup> The collision of a Chinese F-8 fighter and a U.S. EP-3 reconnaissance aircraft over the South China Sea in 2001 required intervention at the highest levels of both governments and generated an outpouring of anti-Americanism within China. That sentiment proved short-lived, however.<sup>490</sup>

The U.S. has been a strong advocate for China’s integration into the world economy, and the two countries are major trading partners—although unequal. In 2008, the U.S. trade deficit with China reached USD 268 billion.<sup>491</sup> Persistent trade deficits have prompted Washington to press Beijing to allow the *yuan* to float, a proposal that China’s government has shown no interest in heeding. The Chinese People’s Bank has bought dollars on a huge



White House Photo by Chuck Kennedy  
President Obama dialogues with China

scale to prevent the *yuan* from appreciating when money has poured into China as a result of trade surpluses and foreign investment. Beijing’s purchase of U.S. Treasury bonds has allowed Washington to run substantial deficits. The PRC and the U.S. find themselves at a point of “mutual assured destruction” regarding China’s foreign currency reserves, which exceeded USD 2 trillion at the end of 2009. If Beijing attempted to sell off the Treasury bonds, interest rates in the U.S. would skyrocket, crippling the American economy. But it would also precipitate panic selling, and the Chinese holdings would be worth significantly less than their current value. Beijing continues to increase its foreign exchange holdings. The IMF estimates the PRC’s 2010 current surplus will exceed USD 450 billion, 10 times the 2003 figure.<sup>492</sup>

The Obama administration has continued to mute criticism of the CCP-led government’s repressive hold on power. This has created concern that “the human rights issue” has been reduced to a few jailed dissidents rather than a problem that affects every Chinese

489 Economist. “Special Report on China and America: China’s Military Might.” 24–30 October 2009.

[http://www.economist.com/surveys/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=E1\\_TQGSRQJJ](http://www.economist.com/surveys/displaystory.cfm?story_id=E1_TQGSRQJJ)

490 Journal of Chinese Political Science. Volume 9, No. 1. Cheng, Joseph, and King-Lun Ngok. “The 2001 ‘Spy’ Plane Incident Revisited: the Chinese Perspective.” Spring 2004. [http://jcps.sfsu.edu/past%20issues/JCPS2004a/6%20Spy%20Plane\\_Cheng.pdf](http://jcps.sfsu.edu/past%20issues/JCPS2004a/6%20Spy%20Plane_Cheng.pdf)

491 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: China.” October 2009.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/18902.htm>

492 New York Times. Krugman, Paul. “Taking on China.” 14 March 2010.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/15/opinion/15krugman.html?hp>

citizen.<sup>493</sup> But U.S. criticism had produced few tangible results and had moved Chinese public opinion behind the government. Now there's broad acknowledgement that political change in the PRC must be orchestrated by the Chinese people. Although few groups challenge the CCP's right to rule, protests of the "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) type—in the form of collective walks as opposed to mass demonstrations—are increasingly common. In 2007, city residents in Xiamen successfully scuttled a proposed chemical plant.<sup>494</sup> Because these protests are free of outside interests, those leading them cannot be tainted by association with foreign governments assumed to have hostile intentions toward China.

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493 New York Review of Books, Blog. Link, Perry. "Obama's Bad Bargain with Beijing." 21 October 2009.

<http://blogs.nybooks.com/post/219398432/obamas-bad-bargain-with-beijing>

494 The Nation. Wasserstrom, Jeffrey. "NIMBY Comes to China." 18 January 2008.

<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20080204/wasserstrom>

## Relations with Neighboring Countries

### *Afghanistan*

Relations between China and Afghanistan have strengthened in recent years as China has pursued economic and security interests in Central Asia. In 2006, the two countries signed a treaty of “Friendship, Cooperation, and Good-Neighborly Relations,” which went into full effect in August 2008. China has been an important source of foreign investment in Afghanistan. In 2007, China won a key bid to invest USD 3.4 billion to develop Afghanistan’s Aynak copper field, which is believed to be the largest undeveloped copper field in the world. The bid package included power plants, coal mines, railroads, and smelters, as well as Afghan managers and laborers.<sup>495</sup> The investment in associated infrastructure amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars.<sup>496</sup> Finally, this investment project is the most significant in Afghanistan’s history, and it is likely that China will pursue other mineral and energy resources in the country.<sup>497</sup> In 2009, China and Afghanistan agreed to expand trade and economic cooperation in infrastructure development, anti-drug and anti-terrorism activities, and natural resource development.<sup>498</sup>



© Tom Hartley  
Wakhan Corridor

Afghanistan’s stability is important to China’s own security because extremist organizations in China, such as the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), maintain close ties with terrorist networks operating in Afghanistan and other nearby regions. In 2005, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) established an Afghanistan Contact Group in order to enhance its members’ relations with the unstable country. In 2007, the SCO pledged to increase its efforts to economically develop and politically stabilize Afghanistan, including expanding its anti-narcotic measures in the region.<sup>499</sup> The SCO held its first international meeting regarding Afghanistan in 2009, with a focus on terrorism, drug smuggling, and organized crime.<sup>500</sup> A stable Afghanistan would allow for

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495 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Wines, Michael. “China Willing to Spend Big on Afghan Commerce.” 29 December 2009.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/30/world/asia/30mine.html?pagewanted=1&r=1>

496 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Wines, Michael. “China Willing to Spend Big on Afghan Commerce.” 29 December 2009.  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/30/world/asia/30mine.html?pagewanted=1&r=1>

497 Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst. Norling, Nicklas. “The Emerging China-Afghanistan Relationship.” 14 May 2008.  
<http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4858>

498 People’s Daily Online. China and World. “China’s Top Legislator Vows to Enhance Relations with Afghanistan.” 22 June 2009.  
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6683843.html>

499 People’s Daily Online. Xinhua. “SCO, Afghanistan Need to Deepen Cooperation, Secretary General.” 22 August 2007.  
<http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90777/6245785.html>

500 China Daily. Xiaokun, Li. “Nation Won’t Send Soldiers to Afghanistan: Official.” 25 March 2009.  
[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-03/25/content\\_7612670.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-03/25/content_7612670.htm)

increased economic expansion and the development of energy corridors throughout Central Asia.<sup>501</sup> China has contributed funds to Afghanistan's reconstruction efforts. China's own infrastructure upgrades along the Wakhan Corridor connecting the two countries might be from a perceived threat along their border.<sup>502</sup> Afghanistan supports the "one China" policy.<sup>503</sup>

### *Bhutan*

China and Bhutan do not currently have diplomatic relations.<sup>504</sup> But the two countries are involved in ongoing discussions to define the boundary, which remains unresolved.<sup>505</sup> The lack of an official boundary is a longstanding issue of regional significance, dating back centuries. Bhutan's landlocked position between China and China's rival Asian power, India, have made it a buffer country. Bhutan has had strong ties with India, particularly in terms of economic investment and exchange—India is by far Bhutan's largest trading partner—but also in military support. Bhutan's recent adoption of a democratic government has further strengthened its connections to India.<sup>506</sup> A recent Chinese visit to the Bhutan capital also brings hope that the two countries can deepen their relationship and find a solution to the border dispute.<sup>507</sup> This is particularly true because Bhutan has dropped a 2007 agreement that required consulting with India on its foreign policy decisions.<sup>508</sup>



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Bhutan valley

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501 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief, Vol. 8, No. 10. Tariq Mahmud Ashraf. "Afghanistan in Chinese Strategy Toward South and Central Asia." 13 May 2008. [http://www.jamestown.org/china\\_brief/article.php?articleid=2374162](http://www.jamestown.org/china_brief/article.php?articleid=2374162)

502 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief. Vol. 10, No. 1. Hsiao, Russell and Glen E. Howard. "China Builds Closer Ties to Afghanistan Through Wakhan Corridor." 7 January 2010.

[http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=35879&cHash=e57af0fdd2](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=35879&cHash=e57af0fdd2)

503 People's Daily Online. China and World. "China's Top Legislator Vows to Enhance Relations with Afghanistan." 22 June 2009.

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6683843.html>

504 Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. State Department. "Background Note: Bhutan." March 2007.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35839.htm>

505 CIA World Factbook. "Bhutan: Transnational Issues." 7 August 2007. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>

506 Bloomberg.com. Shankar, Jay and Bibhudatta Pradhan. "Singh Visits Bhutan to Show India Backs Its Democratic Changes." 16 May 2008. [http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=email\\_en&refer=india&sid=ae7X6KWq6mCk](http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=email_en&refer=india&sid=ae7X6KWq6mCk)

507 People's Daily Online. China and World. "China, Bhutan Hold 19th Border Talks." 13 January 2010.

<http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6866946.html>

508 Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses. IDSA Comment. Bisht, Medha. "Sino-Bhutan Boundary Negotiations: Complexities of the 'Package Deal.'" 19 January 2010.

There have been increased calls in Bhutan to settle the boundary dispute because Chinese activities along the border have expanded.<sup>509</sup> Such activities include the construction of numerous roads along the frontier, and alleged incursions into Bhutanese territory near the Indian border. These events have aggravated longstanding concerns in Bhutan regarding the interests of its powerful neighbor. But China maintains minimal but relatively stable relations with the Bhutanese government, which acknowledges the “one China” policy, particularly regarding nearby Tibet.<sup>510</sup> The border between China and Bhutan remains closed, as it has since 1960 when Tibetans fled from China to Bhutan in large numbers.<sup>511</sup>

### *Burma (Myanmar)*

China’s relations with Burma have grown considerably closer in recent years as economic and military ties between the two countries have expanded. Burma is rich in energy and other resources, including natural gas, timber, gems, and food. China has invested heavily in securing access to such resources. It has provided aid and discounted loans to Burma, and the two countries are now major trading partners.<sup>512</sup> China was responsible for 31.9% of Burma’s imports and 8.9% of its exports in 2008, not including the substantial amount of black-market goods exchanged between them.<sup>513</sup> China also recently signed a major natural gas deal with Burma, and it plans to develop an oil pipeline from Burma’s coast on the Indian Ocean to its own Yunnan Province.<sup>514</sup>

This project could dramatically alter the region’s current oil delivery routes,<sup>515</sup> bypassing the Malacca Strait. By October 2009, construction of the crude oil port in Burma had already begun.<sup>516</sup> Burma not only provides access to the Indian Ocean but also the potential for military bases as well.



© Ilmari Hyvönen  
China's border with Burma

509 Kuensel Online. Dorji, Tashi. “Bhutan–China Boundary Must Be Finalised.” 24 June 2006.

<http://www.kuenselonline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=7125>

510 APFA News. Bhutan News Service. “Bhutan-China Relations to Strengthen.” 5 June 2007.

<http://www.apfanews.com/news/?id=343933>

511 Asia Times Online. Balaji, Mohan. “In Bhutan, China and India Collide.” 12 January 2008.

<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/JA12Ad02.html>

512 The New York Times. Lague, David. “China Braces for Prospect of Changes in Myanmar.” 27 September 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/27/world/asia/27china.html?ex=1348545600&en=3f623b1d58539364&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

513 CIA World Factbook. Burma. “Economics.” 23 December 2009 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bm.html>

514 Radio Australia, Australian Broadcasting Corporation. “Natural Gas Deal Between Burma, China.” 23 June 2008.

<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/news/stories/200806/s2282848.htm>

515 The New York Times. Lague, David. “China Braces for Prospect of Changes in Myanmar.” 27 September 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/27/world/asia/27china.html?ex=1348545600&en=3f623b1d58539364&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

516 Reuters India. “FACTBOX: Five Facts about China-Myanmar Relations.” 16 December 2009.

<http://in.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idINIndia-44759620091216>

To solidify its ties with Burma, China has become the leading arms supplier to the military government.<sup>517</sup> China has faced international criticism for its support of the junta, which has committed known human rights offenses, including a violent suppression of protests in September 2007.<sup>518</sup> But Burma supports China on the Tibet and Taiwan issues, reaffirming its support in 2009.<sup>519</sup> The two countries sought more comprehensive relations and hailed their 60-year diplomatic ties. Yet Burmese internal fighting has angered China because of refugees fleeing into China in August 2009.<sup>520</sup>

### *India*

China has had tense and competitive relations with India over time, but recently the two Asian powers have increased cooperation and economic exchange. Animosity between them stems from a 1962 border war and its lingering territorial disputes. India does not recognize China's claims to the Aksai Chin territory, and a small, northern portion of Kashmir that Pakistan ceded to China in 1964.<sup>521</sup> China also claims a large portion of the Indian state of



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Chinese-Indian border

Arunachal Pradesh (located east of Bhutan and south of the Tibetan Plateau). In 2009, China tried to block a USD 2.9 billion loan from the Asian Development Fund to India because Arunachal Pradesh was earmarked for part of that loan.<sup>522</sup> The unofficial border in this rugged Himalayan region remains militarized. China has recently increased its military and development activities in the region, which has compelled India to do the same.<sup>523</sup>

India's harboring of both the Tibetan government-in-exile and large numbers of Tibetan refugees is an additional source of tension in Sino-Indian relations. India has attempted to temper the situation, however, by prohibiting anti-Chinese demonstrations and protests

517 The New York Times. Lague, David. "China Braces for Prospect of Changes in Myanmar." 27 September 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/27/world/asia/27china.html?ex=1348545600&en=3f623b1d58539364&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss>

518 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State. "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2007: Burma." 11 March 2008. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100515.htm>

519 Xinhuanet. "China, Myanmar to Boost 'Comprehensive, Stable, and Lasting Relations.'" 16 June 2009.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/16/content\\_11553126.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-06/16/content_11553126.htm)

520 Reuters India. "FACTBOX: Five Facts about China-Myanmar Relations." 16 December 2009.

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521 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief, Vol. 4, No. 24. Daly, John C.K. "Energy Concerns and China's Unresolved Territorial Disputes." 7 December 2004. <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2372940>

522 New York Times. Asia Pacific. Wong, Edward. "China and India Dispute Enclave on Edge of Tibet." 3 September 2009.

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?_r=1)

523 The Heritage Foundation. Curtis, Lisa. "China's Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools." 20

March 2008. <http://www.heritage.org/RESEARCH/ASIAANDTHEPACIFIC/tst032008.cfm>

within its borders. Indian authorities arrested scores of Tibetan protesters during the March 2008 demonstrations in Tibet.<sup>524</sup> Other issues including nuclear proliferation, competition for energy resources, and divergent international ties—such as China’s close relationship with India’s rival Pakistan, and India’s growing ties to the U.S.—have further strained Sino-Indian relations.<sup>525</sup>

China, in accord with its wide-ranging diplomatic push, has worked despite these issues to improve relations with India, particularly in the economic sector. Bilateral trade has expanded considerably in recent years, making China the second-largest trading partner of India. Trade between them was valued at USD 52 billion in 2008, up 34% from 2007.<sup>526</sup> In addition, Chinese and Indian troops held joint military exercises in 2007.<sup>527</sup> Although these developments demonstrate a significant improvement in Sino-Indian ties, many observers note that each longtime rival remains wary of the other’s growing power. Despite 13 rounds of talks since 2005 regarding territorial claims, and perhaps because of Chinese border violations, India is expected to add tens of thousands of troops to the border region in the years to come.<sup>528</sup>

### *Kazakhstan*

Kazakhstan is a member of the SCO, and thus is closely linked to China through the organization’s multilateral economic and security interests. Kazakhstan is an important source of and transit country for China’s energy imports. In 1997, China and Kazakhstan agreed to build a pipeline, and then later doubled its capacity. In 2005, the China National Petroleum Corporation purchased a large, Kazakhstani oil corporation, and then constructed a pipeline to deliver the product to the Chinese border.<sup>529</sup> In 2007, the two countries agreed to extend the pipeline to the Caspian Sea, which is the site of considerable proven oil and natural gas reserves.<sup>530</sup> Completed in 2009, the 3,000 km pipeline has an annual capacity



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Chinese-Kazakh border

524 The Christian Science Monitor Online. McCawley, Tom. “Violence in Tibet Strains China’s Relations with India, Nepal.” 20 March 2008. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2008/0320/p99s01-duts.html>

525 The Heritage Foundation. Curtis, Lisa. “China’s Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools.” 20 March 2008. <http://www.heritage.org/RESEARCH/ASIAANDTHEPACIFIC/tst032008.cfm>

526 New York Times. Asia Pacific. Wong, Edward. “China and India Dispute Enclave on Edge of Tibet.” 3 September 2009. [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?_r=1)

527 BBC News. “India and China Launch War Games.” 20 December 2007. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7153179.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7153179.stm)

528 New York Times Online. Asia Pacific. Wong, Edward. “China and India Dispute Enclave on Edge of Tibet.” 3 September 2009. [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/04/world/asia/04chinaindia.html?_r=1)

529 The New York Times Online. Pala, Christopher. “China Pays Dearly for Kazakhstan Oil.” 17 March 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/17/business/worldbusiness/17kazakh.html>

530 Reuters UK. Golovina, Maria. “Kazakhstan, China Agree on Pipeline from Caspian.” 18 August 2007.

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/oilRpt/idUKL1872705320070818>

of 10 million tons but is expected to double capacity later.<sup>531</sup> The 1,833 km (1,139 mi) Central Asia-China natural gas pipeline, passing through Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, was inaugurated in 2009 and is expected to reach full capacity of 40 billion cubic meters annually by 2012 or 2013.<sup>532, 533</sup> These important energy deals have been accompanied by a number of bilateral development and trade agreements.<sup>534</sup> A new five-point plan for the development of relations was agreed upon by both countries in 2009.<sup>535</sup>

China and Kazakhstan have agreed to enhance bilateral efforts to combat the “three evil forces” of terrorism, separatism, and extremism that threaten security. They have also committed to fight drug trafficking, illegal immigration, and other regional criminal activity. These agreements were made as part of a joint communiqué signed in 2007,<sup>536</sup> and reiterated during official meetings between the presidents in late 2009.<sup>537</sup> Both countries also agreed to increase military cooperation and further develop military ties.<sup>538</sup> Kazakhstan expressed continued support regarding Tibet and Taiwan. Kazakhstan’s participation in such security efforts is particularly important to China, because the remote Xinjiang region bordering Kazakhstan is the site of many internal security concerns.

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531 Reuters. “Kazakhstan Expands China Oil Pipeline Link.” 1 July 2009. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL17937520090701>

532 Reuters UK. “China Extends Influence Into C. Asia with Pipeline.” 14 December 2009.

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKSGE5BD0BQ20091214?sp=true>

533 Reuters UK. Nurshayeva, Raushan and Shamil Zhumatov. “UPDATE 3—China’s Hu Boosts Energy Ties with Central Asia.” 12 December 2009. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKGEE5BB01D20091212?sp=true>

534 China Daily. Li Xiaokun and Jiang Wei. “China, Kazakhstan Ink Deals.” 10 April 2008.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-04/10/content\\_6604498.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-04/10/content_6604498.htm)

535 Xinhuanet. “China, Kazakhstan Pledge to Strengthen Strategic Partnership.” 13 December 2009.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/13/content\\_12638012.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/13/content_12638012.htm)

536 China View. “China, Kazakhstan Sign Joint Communiqué on Promoting Relations, Trade.” 18 August 2007.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-08/18/content\\_6561247.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-08/18/content_6561247.htm)

537 Xinhuanet. “China, Kazakhstan Pledge to Strengthen Strategic Partnership.” 13 December 2009.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/13/content\\_12638012.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/13/content_12638012.htm)

538 People’s Daily Online. “China, Kazakhstan Agree to Bolster Military Cooperation.” 22 December 2009.

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6849299.html>

## *Kyrgyzstan*<sup>539</sup>

As an SCO member, Kyrgyzstan maintains a close and cooperative relationship with China. The two countries signed a “Sino-Kyrgyz Friendly Treaty on Good-Neighborly Cooperation” in 2002,<sup>540</sup> and they signed another treaty strengthening their economic and security ties in 2007. In the latter treaty, both sides agreed to collaborate to combat regional security threats and terrorism (specifically from the ETIM terrorist network). They also agreed to expand bilateral trade and development initiatives. Continued cooperation, trade, and partnership highlighted an October 2009 meeting in Beijing between Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and Kyrgyz Prime Minister Igor Chudinov, the first Kyrgyz prime minister to visit China in 16 years. The leaders signed deals on railroads, technology, economy, and finance during the visit, including an agreement to construct a road linking China, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan forming a new “Silk Road”.<sup>541</sup> China has completed its section of the highway and has invested heavily in the construction of the segment in Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan is rich in gold deposits, and Chinese companies have been involved in related development and mining operations there.<sup>542</sup>



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Kyrgyz-Chinese border

## *Laos*

Since 1961, China has maintained diplomatic relations with Laos, another Communist state, despite occasional tensions between the two countries.<sup>543</sup> Today, their relationship is friendly, with China acting as a key trading partner and a major source of foreign investment.<sup>544</sup> China has invested in the development of a road network linking Yunnan Province to Bangkok, Thailand, with a middle segment through Laos. Chinese construction crews have been working in Laos to improve its generally poor highway conditions.<sup>545</sup> The transnational route is particularly important because China’s free-trade agreement with ASEAN, of which Laos and Thailand are members, is set to be

539 China View. “China, Kyrgyzstan Sign Joint Statement on Enhancing Co-op, Friendship.” 15 August 2008.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-08/15/content\\_6532960.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-08/15/content_6532960.htm)

540 People’s Daily Online. “Backgrounder Sino-Kyrgyz Relations.” 12 August 2007.

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/6237625.html>

541 People’s Daily Online. China and World. “China, Kyrgyzstan Pledge to Bolster Relations as Kyrgyz PM Visits China.” 15 October 2009. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6784865.html>

542 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. “China Invests in Kyrgyzstan for Central Asian Leadership.” 25 April 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/04/25/china-invests-in-kyrgyzstan-for-central-asia-leadership.html>

543 China View. “Backgrounder: China-Laos Relations.” 31 March 2008. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-03/31/content\\_7891829.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-03/31/content_7891829.htm)

544 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: Laos.” March 2008. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2770.htm>

545 China Briefing. Scott, Andy. “China Looks to Southeast Asia, but Roads Continue to Hinder Development.” 17 January 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/01/17/china-looks-to-southeast-asia-but-roads-continue-to-hinder-development.html>

completed by 2010. Transportation routes into Southeast Asia will be essential for the China–ASEAN trading network, which will ultimately connect a massive market of 1.8 billion people.<sup>546</sup> China and Laos have recently signed several cooperation agreements addressing economic, energy, and technology issues,<sup>547</sup> and the two maintain military communication as well.<sup>548</sup> Thanks to extensive commercial development and aid projects, the Chinese have a significant presence in Laos.<sup>549</sup> In 2009, the two countries established a comprehensive strategic partnership,<sup>550</sup> and China became the top investor in Laos with trade values to exceed USD 500 million for 2009.<sup>551</sup>

### *Mongolia*<sup>552</sup>

While only an observer country in the SCO, Mongolia maintains strong economic ties with China. China is by far the country's largest trading partner, accounting for 74% of Mongolia's exports and 29% of its imports in 2009.<sup>553</sup> Mongolia's extensive mineral reserves (the country has 680 sites of mineral deposits) have been the target of Chinese interests in recent years. Chinese copper firms and coal-driven, electricity production companies have made large investments in Mongolia. Although weaknesses in Mongolia's infrastructure and regulatory environment have stalled further development and investment, the two countries remain interdependent, with Mongolia the more dependent of the two.<sup>554</sup> The two countries pledged to bolster bilateral relations during the 2009 Baoforum for Asia (BFA). Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao announced that they should prioritize infrastructure



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Mongolian border

546 China Daily. "China-ASEAN Free Trade Ahead." 23 June 2008. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-06/23/content\\_6787069.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2008-06/23/content_6787069.htm)

547 The People's Republic of China. Xinhua. "China, Laos Pledge Further Cooperation, Sign Agreements." 30 March 2008. [http://english.gov.cn/2008-03/30/content\\_932501.htm](http://english.gov.cn/2008-03/30/content_932501.htm)

548 China View. "Backgrounder: China-Laos Relations." 31 March 2008. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-03/31/content\\_7891829.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-03/31/content_7891829.htm)

549 BBC News. Pham, Nga. "China Moves into Laid-Back Laos." 8 April 2008. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7329928.stm>

550 Xinhuanet. "China, Laos Establish Strategic Partnership." 9 September 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-09/09/content\\_12023768.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-09/09/content_12023768.htm)

551 VOA News. Regions/Topics. "China Surpasses Thailand as Top Investor in Laos." 15 September 2009. <http://www.voanews.com/lao/archive/2009-09/2009-09-13-voa8.cfm>

552 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief, Vol. 5, No. 10. Batchimeg, Migidgorj. "Future Challenges for the PRC and Mongolia: A Mongolian Perspective." 5 May 2005.

[http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_details.php?volume\\_id=408&issue\\_id=3322&article\\_id=2369704](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=408&issue_id=3322&article_id=2369704)

553 CIA World Factbook. "Mongolia." 17 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mg.html>

554 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "China Eyes Mongolia's Resources." 8 January 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/01/08/china-uncovers-asias-el-dorado.html>

projects and mineral resource exploitation for their mutual benefit.<sup>555</sup> They also signed agreements on mineral resources, finance cooperation, and food safety.<sup>556</sup>

Mongolia's economic dependence has afforded China some political capital. Despite longstanding territorial and ethnic tensions between the two countries (especially over Inner Mongolia), a 1994 Sino-Mongolian treaty recognizing each country's sovereignty and territorial integrity has created relatively stable relations in recent years.<sup>557</sup> But China has strong objections to the Dalai Lama's visits to Mongolia since 1990. In 2002, China interrupted railroad links during the Dalai Lama's visit to Mongolia.<sup>558</sup> Strong Sino-Mongolian relations are important for China's security, because Mongolia borders the remote and occasionally troubled autonomous regions of Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia.

### *Nepal*

As another small, landlocked country between China and India, Nepal has attempted to maintain a delicate balance in its relations with the two Asian powers. For many decades, the country has suffered from limited economic growth and development, and its political situation has been extremely turbulent in recent years. After more than a decade of Maoist insurgent violence punctuated by occasional ceasefires, Nepal recently deposed its monarchy in favor of a federal democratic republic. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is now heavily represented in the Nepalese Constituent Assembly, which acts as parliament.<sup>559</sup> (Despite their nominal similarities, China has dismissed any ideological ties between the Nepalese Maoists and the Communist PRC.)<sup>560</sup> Nepal remains extremely poor, with a human development index of 0.553, placing it 144th out of 182 countries.<sup>561</sup> Nepali Prime Minister Madhav Kumar visited China at the invitation of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in December 2009. Both hope to consolidate relations and promote further



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Friendship Bridge, Nepal

555 Xinhuanet. "China, Mongolia Pledge to Deepen Bilateral Relations." 17 April 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-04/17/content\\_11200767.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-04/17/content_11200767.htm)

556 Xinhuanet. "China, Mongolia Pledge to Deepen Bilateral Relations." 17 April 2009. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-04/17/content\\_11200767.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-04/17/content_11200767.htm)

557 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. "Background Note: Mongolia." August 2009. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm>

558 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. "Background Note: Mongolia." August 2009. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm>

559 Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State. "Background Note: Nepal." June 2008. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5283.htm>

560 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "Via Nepal, China Gains Foothold in South Asia." 25 July 2005. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/07/25/via-nepal-china-gains-foothold-in-south-asial.html>

561 United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report 2009. "Nepal: The Human Development Index – Going Beyond Income." 2009. [http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country\\_fact\\_sheets/cty\\_fs\\_NPL.html](http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_NPL.html)

exchanges and cooperation.<sup>562</sup> Kumar may have sought Chinese support because large demonstrations by another Maoist opposition party had paralyzed the government a month before.<sup>563</sup>

China's interests in Nepal are strategic due to the country's location between India and the Xizang Autonomous Region (Tibet). Nepal has served as a home or transit country for large numbers of Tibetan refugees, who had fled after Tibet was taken over by the PRC in 1950. Roughly 20,000 Tibetan refugees live in Nepal. An estimated 2,500 more arrive each year, with most of them passing through to northern India, where the Tibetan government-in-exile is located. To support the "one China" policy and perhaps to appease the PRC, Nepal has cracked down on anti-Chinese and Tibetan independence protests.<sup>564, 565</sup> China and Nepal have recently increased their bilateral ties and exchanges, in part by expanding transportation services and the number of highways running between them.<sup>566</sup> China's efforts to befriend Nepal offer the larger country economic entry into South Asia and act as a counterweight to Indian–Nepalese relations, which have been strong.

### *North Korea*

Under the leadership of Kim Jong-Il, North Korea's complicated and often unpredictable politics have made for complex relations with China. The two countries have been closely aligned, particularly after Chinese PLA troops fought alongside North Korean forces during the Korean War. The PRC has been one of the few supporters of North Korea's two authoritarian regimes. China has been a major supplier of food, arms, aid, and energy to the isolated Pyongyang regime, whose economy has been in a state of disrepair for many years. Observers attribute the PRC's support of the North Korean government to a strategic desire to maintain a cooperative buffer state with the democratic nation of South Korea, where the U.S. military maintains a large presence. The collapse of North Korea's authoritarian regime could cause an undesired influx of North Korean refugees into China. Beijing currently classifies North Korean refugees as "economic migrants" subject to deportation.<sup>567</sup> The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, which could set up a third-



© htsh\_kkch / flickr.com  
Chinese border with North Korea

562 People's Daily Online. China and World. "Nepali PM Visits Lhasa, Kicking off China Tour." 27 December 2009.

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6852945.html>

563 China Daily. Zhang, Jin. "Nepal's Premier Comes to China Looking for Some Support." 25 December 2009.

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-12/25/content\\_9227722.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-12/25/content_9227722.htm)

564 The Christian Science Monitor Online. McCawley, Tom. "Violence in Tibet Strains China's Relations with India, Nepal." 20 March 2008. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2008/0320/p99s01-duts.html>

565 The Heritage Foundation. Curtis, Lisa. "China's Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools." 20 March 2008. <http://www.heritage.org/RESEARCH/ASIAANDTHEPACIFIC/tst032008.cfm>

566 The Himalayan Beacon. Sansthan, Gorkhapatra. "Nepal-China Relations Epitome of Friendly Coexistence: Zheng." 7 August 2008. <http://beacononline.wordpress.com/2008/08/07/nepal-china-relations-epitome-of-friendly-coexistence-zheng/>

567 VOA News. "Human Trafficking in North Korea." 13 March 2008. <http://www.voanews.com/uspolicy/2008-03-14-voa4.cfm>

country resettlement program, has not been allowed in to interview North Korean nationals. This makes women and children who cross the border into China particularly vulnerable to human trafficking. An underground railroad has been established to help refugees reach South Korea from China, sometimes via overland journeys that take them through Southeast Asia.<sup>568</sup> Those with money can also purchase black-market passports and fly from China to Seoul; however, if their documents are discovered to be forgeries before they leave China, they risk repatriation to North Korea.<sup>569</sup>

Besides the bad publicity China has received over its treatment of North Korean nationals, Chinese–North Korean relations have been strained in recent years due to Pyongyang’s claimed tests of a nuclear weapon in 2006 and 2009. These events compelled China to sign a UN Security Council Resolution imposing sanctions on North Korea, although China’s agreement to the first resolution came only after revisions that limited the severity of such sanctions.<sup>570</sup> China has hosted the Six-Party Talks, to negotiate North Korea’s nuclear disarmament.<sup>571</sup> In 2008, Chinese President Hu Jintao and South Korean leader Lee Myung-bak met to reiterate their mutual support for the disarmament negotiations.<sup>572</sup> The North Korean regime remains unpredictable, and its relations with China are somewhat unstable. Despite their dependence upon the PRC, leaders in Pyongyang understand that Beijing does not want U.S. troops on its border, and this leverage gives the regime significant autonomy.

### *Pakistan*<sup>573</sup>

Pakistan has been one of China’s strongest allies. It was one of the first countries to recognize the sovereignty of the PRC and to reject the claims of the ROC. The rejection of Taiwan became one of China’s official standards in establishing its foreign relations. China and Pakistan established diplomatic relations in 1951 and have maintained high-level communications in many fields. China’s relationship with Pakistan was further strengthened by their mutual conflicts with India and the Soviet Union.

China has been a major supplier of weapons and defense technology to Pakistan. From 2003 to 2007, Pakistan was China’s leading customer for conventional arms sales.<sup>574</sup> China has assisted in the construction of two nuclear reactors in Pakistan’s Punjab

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568 Los Angeles Times. Glionna, Joanna. “Aiding North Korean Defectors: A High-Stakes Spy Mission.” 25 November 2009. <http://www.latimes.com/news/nation-and-world/la-fg-korea-underground25-2009nov25,0,4150716.story>

569 Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea. Demick, Barbara. 2009. New York: Spiegel and Grau.

570 Council on Foreign Relations. Bajoria, Jayshree. “The China-North Korea Relationship.” 18 June 2008. [http://www.cfr.org/publication/11097/chinanorth\\_korea\\_relationship.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/11097/chinanorth_korea_relationship.html)

571 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: North Korea.” August 2008. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2792.htm>

572 Reuters. Kim, Jack. “S. Korea, China Urge Cooperation over North Korea.” 25 August 2008. <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/SP92804.htm>

573 TradingMarkets.com. “Pakistan-China Relations.” 16 April 2008. <http://www.tradingmarkets.com/site/news/Stock%20News/1381134/>

574 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. Publications. “Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People’s Republic of China 2009.” 2009. [http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_Report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf)

province. Recently, China has heavily invested in the development of a deep-sea port at a Pakistani naval base on the Arabian Sea. With the development of similar ports in Burma and Bangladesh (as well as significant investment in the PLA Navy), China is continuing its efforts to secure key shipping lanes for energy products originating in the Persian Gulf.<sup>575</sup> For its part, Pakistan has tried to eliminate Uighur separatist camps operating within its borders. Some of China and Pakistan's coordinated security efforts are organized through the SCO, where Pakistan is an observer country, not a full member.

The two countries are important trading partners, with China accounting for 16.3% of Pakistan's imports in 2006.<sup>576</sup> In line with the "China-Pakistan Joint Five-Year Economic and Trade Cooperation Plan," China and Pakistan recently pledged increased cooperation in economic matters. The potential development of Pakistan's energy and mineral resources was identified as a major interest in this effort.<sup>577</sup> Several additional large-scale investment projects between the two countries have been initiated or are in the planning stages. China and Pakistan are strong allies, demonstrating broad-based support for each other in military and foreign policy matters.

### *Russia*

China maintains cooperative, multidimensional relations with Russia, another member of the SCO and a major power on the Asian continent. The two countries had a strained and often adversarial relationship during the Cold War, despite their ideological similarities at the time. At a low point in Sino-Russian relations, the two sides fought a series of border disputes in 1969. Sino-Russian relations began to improve in the years following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and in 2001, the two countries finalized a "Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation."<sup>578</sup> Along with signing many cooperative agreements, the two sides resolved several longstanding boundary disputes. (The final outstanding dispute in such matters was officially settled in 2008.)<sup>579</sup> But China did not support Russia's military activity in Georgia in 2008.

Political and military connections between the two countries have been especially close. Russia has been the primary provider of weapons and wide-ranging defense and space technologies that China has used to modernize its military.<sup>580</sup> Through the SCO, the two sides have performed joint military exercises to demonstrate regional military power and

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575 The Heritage Foundation. Curtis, Lisa. "China's Expanding Global Influence: Foreign Policy Goals, Practices and Tools." 20 March 2008. <http://www.heritage.org/RESEARCH/ASIAANDTHEPACIFIC/tst032008.cfm>

576 CIA World Factbook. "Pakistan." 21 August 2008. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pk.html>

577 China Daily. Xinhua. "China, Pakistan to Strengthen Economic and Trade Ties." 15 April 2008. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-04/15/content\\_6619313.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-04/15/content_6619313.htm)

578 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "China Wrestles with Russia for Control of Central Asia." 14 April 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/04/14/china-wrestles-with-russia-for-control-of-central-asia.html>

579 The Economist. "The Cockerel's Cropped Crest." 24 July 2008. [http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=11792951](http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=11792951)

580 International Herald Tribune. Lague, David. "Russia and China Rethink Arms Deals." 2 March 2008. <http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/03/02/asia/arms.php>

cooperation.<sup>581</sup> They have signed agreements stating their shared position on various international issues.<sup>582</sup> Economically, China and Russia are significant trading partners, with two-way trade reaching USD 48 billion in 2007.<sup>583</sup> Russia is a key supplier of oil, gas, and electricity to China. To feed China's considerable energy demands, Russia is developing two major natural gas pipelines, and an oil pipeline from Siberia to China and nearby regions.<sup>584</sup> There is a hint of competition between the two powers, although their relationship is largely cooperative.

### *Tajikistan*<sup>585</sup>

Tajikistan is an SCO member and another important Chinese ally in Central Asia. Like Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan cooperates with China on a number of trade, development, and security initiatives, though on a smaller scale.<sup>586</sup> Tajikistan's proximity to Afghanistan (as well as Xinjiang Province) makes it especially vulnerable to terrorist or extremist activity and drug-trafficking. To prepare themselves, Chinese and Tajik soldiers performed joint-military exercises in 2006 that simulated military engagement with hostile terrorist forces in the region's mountainous areas.<sup>587</sup>

With an undeveloped mining industry and a lack of oil and gas resources, Tajikistan remains a poorer country in the region, and in the world. China has provided Tajikistan with low-interest loans, including funds for the construction of a large, hydroelectric power plant.<sup>588</sup> China is also the second-largest source of Tajikistan's imports, accounting for 12% of them in 2009.<sup>589</sup> Tajik Prime Minister Akil Akilov met Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao Beijing during an SCO meeting in October 2009. The leaders pledged to build on their current economic and trade cooperation, and to expand bilateral ties. Akilov welcomed water, electricity, mineral resource, and textile cooperation.

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581 International Herald Tribune. Associated Press. "Russia and China Hold Joint Military Exercise." 17 August 2007.

<http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/08/17/europe/EU-GEN-Russia-China-Maneuvers.php>

582 China Daily. Qin Jize. "Sino-Russian Stance on Int'l Affairs Outlined." 24 May 2008. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-05/24/content\\_6709315.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-05/24/content_6709315.htm)

583 China Daily. "Sino-Russian Ties Set to Strengthen." 30 July 2008. [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-07/30/content\\_6888112.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-07/30/content_6888112.htm)

584 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "China Wrestles with Russia for Control of Central Asia." 14 April 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/04/14/china-wrestles-with-russia-for-control-of-central-asia.html>

585 Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State. "Background Note: Tajikistan." December 2007. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5775.htm>

586 China View. "China, Tajikistan Vow to Boost Co-op." 26 July 2008. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-07/26/content\\_8772085.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-07/26/content_8772085.htm)

587 People's Daily Online. China Daily. "Sino-Tajik Exercises Promote Partnership." 25 September 2006. [http://english.people.com.cn/200609/25/eng20060925\\_306138.html](http://english.people.com.cn/200609/25/eng20060925_306138.html)

588 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "China Invests in Central Asian Stability through Tajikistan." 22 May 2008. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2008/05/22/china-reconnects-with-tajikistan.html>

589 CIA World Factbook. "Tajikistan." 22 December 2009. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ti.html>

Besides advancing economic trade in Tajikistan, China is willing to work toward regional peace and stability.<sup>590</sup>

### *Vietnam*

Due to increased economic exchange, China and Vietnam have greatly improved their relations in recent years, despite an ongoing territorial dispute. The establishment of normalized Sino-Vietnamese ties in 1991 followed a history of strained relations, especially after China's brief invasion of northern Vietnam in 1979. (China's incursion responded to Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, a Chinese ally, and to its ties to the Soviet Union, which China saw as an adversary at that time.)<sup>591</sup> Since normalization, China and Vietnam have become substantial trading partners, with two-way trade reaching USD 20 billion in 2009.<sup>592</sup> Trade between the two countries is fueled by oil, coal, and natural rubber exports from resource-rich Vietnam. Yet China has maintained a trade surplus due to its export of valuable manufactured goods, such as cars, machinery, and pharmaceuticals.<sup>593</sup> Vietnam offers a major inroad to Southeast Asia and the ASEAN trade network. The two countries resolved their border dispute in 2000.<sup>594</sup> In 2010, Vietnam took over the ASEAN chairmanship, and even greater cooperation between China and Vietnam is expected.

The lingering barrier to fully cooperative Sino-Vietnamese ties is a long-standing territorial dispute over maritime claims in the South China Sea. Both China and Vietnam claim sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly Islands. In recent years, the two sides have faced off over the issue, including small-scale, armed confrontations that caused fatalities. The South China Sea's potential for oil and natural gas extraction is a major factor in the dispute, as are its fishing grounds.<sup>595</sup> (Other countries, such as Malaysia and the Philippines, claim portions of the South China Sea as well.)<sup>596</sup> It represents the shortest shipping lane between the Indian and Pacific oceans, a route vitally important to the Chinese economy. Chinese and Vietnamese officials have worked to peacefully

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590 People's Daily Online. China and World. "Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao Pledges to Expand Cooperation with Tajikistan." 15 October 2009. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6784822.html>

591 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "Resources, Relations, and Free Trade: How China is Opening Up Its Borders to Vietnam." 10 December 2007. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2007/12/10/resources-relations-and-free-trade-how-china-is-opening-up-its-borders-to-vietnam.html>

592 The People Daily. "ASEAN-China TRA Makes Vietnam-China Trade Easier and Better: VCCI Vice Chairman." 31 December 2009. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6857469.html>

593 China Briefing. Roque, Joyce. "Resources, Relations, and Free Trade: How China is Opening Up Its Borders to Vietnam." 10 December 2007. <http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2007/12/10/resources-relations-and-free-trade-how-china-is-opening-up-its-borders-to-vietnam.html>

594 The Jamestown Foundation. China Brief, Vol. 8, No. 8. Storey, Ian. "Trouble and Strife in the South China Sea: Vietnam and China." 14 April 2008. [http://jamestown.org/china\\_brief/article.php?articleid=2374100](http://jamestown.org/china_brief/article.php?articleid=2374100)

595 Reuters. "FACTBOX: Southeast Asian Nations—Friends or Foes?" 22 October 2009. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSBKK467116>

596 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. "Background Note: Vietnam." December 2007. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/4130.htm>

resolve the dispute so the two countries may maintain stable and cooperative ties.<sup>597</sup> Policymakers from ASEAN met in late 2009 to discuss this and other regional territorial disputes.

### *Japan*

China and Japan are presently involved in a territorial dispute concerning maritime and sovereignty claims over a series of uninhabited islands in the East China Sea. The two countries have had a history of hostile relations and conflict, including the First and Second Sino-Japanese Wars of 1894–1895 and 1937–1945. The CCP-led government's legitimacy is tied to its resistance activities during the Japanese occupation. The Nanjing Massacre, in which the Japanese Imperial Army slaughtered as many as 300,000 Chinese civilians in 1937, remains a potent symbol of Chinese victimization at the hands of imperialist aggressors.<sup>598</sup> Political and diplomatic relations between the two countries are often tense over many issues. Part of the dispute involves the distance each country should keep from the exclusive economic zones in the East China Sea, which contains at least 100 billion barrels of oil and about 7 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.<sup>599</sup> China and Japan decided to temporarily halt the dispute in 2008 to jointly develop a gas field.<sup>600</sup> However, other disputes remain. The discord has endured even though Sino-Japanese trade has expanded considerably in recent years (two-way trade totaled USD 236 billion in 2008).<sup>601</sup> Chinese President Hu Jintao has made efforts to improve relations and expand ties between the two countries.<sup>602</sup>

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597 The Jamestown Foundation. *China Brief*, Vol. 8, No. 8. Storey, Ian. "Trouble and Strife in the South China Sea: Vietnam and China." 14 April 2008. [http://jamestown.org/china\\_brief/article.php?articleid=2374100](http://jamestown.org/china_brief/article.php?articleid=2374100)

598 *The Nanjing Massacre: In History and Historiography*. Fogel, Joshua. "Chapter 2: Aggression, Victimization and Chinese Historiography of the Nanjing Massacre [p. 11–69]." Eykholt, Mark, Ed. 2000. Berkeley: University of California Press.

599 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. Publications. "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009." 2009. [http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_Report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf)

600 Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense. Publications. "Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009." 2009. [http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Power\\_Report\\_2009.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Power_Report_2009.pdf)

601 Reuters. "FACTBOX: Key Facts on Japan-China Trade." 5 May 2008. <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL0532922120080505>  
[http://www.cfr.org/publication/8025/strained\\_ties\\_between\\_china\\_and\\_japan.html?breadcrumb=%2Fregion%2Fpublication\\_list%3Fd%3D271](http://www.cfr.org/publication/8025/strained_ties_between_china_and_japan.html?breadcrumb=%2Fregion%2Fpublication_list%3Fd%3D271)

602 China View. "President Says China Ready to Work with Japan for Relations Promotion." 8 May 2008.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-05/08/content\\_8131552.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-05/08/content_8131552.htm)

## Sovereignty Issues

*Taiwan (Chinese Taipei)* <sup>603</sup>

After Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist army retreated to Taiwan in 1949, “recovering the mainland” remained a priority, however logistically implausible. Native Taiwanese, the island’s Han Chinese majority who had deep roots in Taiwan, never shared his government’s enthusiasm. Under martial law, however, they could not voice opinions contrary to official policy freely. In 1991 the Nationalist government, under its first Taiwan-born president, relinquished its claims to govern mainland China but maintained its sovereignty claim over the island. Beijing, however, sees the situation differently. As an essential tenet of its “one China” policy, China considers Taiwan a part of its territory. Washington finessed the issue at the time of normalization of relations with Beijing in 1979 by declaring “the Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.” <sup>604</sup> At the time, this was the position of both the Nationalist government on Taiwan and the CCP government in Beijing.



© Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS, NASA/GSFC  
Satellite photo of Taiwan

Taiwan’s democratization, which started in the late 1980s, created tension across the Taiwan Strait because it gave voice to independence sentiments. The arguments surrounding Taiwan’s historic relationship with mainland China have figured prominently in the island’s elections. History has been invoked in different ways to legitimize either eventual reunification or outright independence. Beijing, which is viewed warily by almost all the island’s voters, has learned not to denounce candidates with a “splittist agenda,” or those favoring independence, because it only improved their standing with the Taiwanese electorate. Cross-strait relations improved in 2008, after the Nationalist Party candidate Ma Ying-jeou was elected president to succeed Chen Shui-bian, leader of the Taiwanese Democratic Progressive Party (DDP), who had promoted an explicit Taiwanese identity during his two terms. Nonetheless, even under Chen economic relations between the mainland and Taiwan grew steadily closer as Taiwanese businesses relocated to China to take advantage of cheap labor. China accounted for an estimated 29% of Taiwan’s exports (Taiwan’s top export partner) and 13% of imports (its second-highest import partner) in 2009. <sup>605</sup>

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603 Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. “Background Note: Taiwan.” March 2008.

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35855.htm>

604 Council on Foreign Relations. Roberge, Michal and Youkyung Lee. “China-Taiwan Relations.” 11 August 2009.

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9223/>

605 CIA World Factbook. “Taiwan.” <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tw.html>

U.S. arms sale to Taiwan in early 2010 resulted in a PRC test of its “first land-based missile defense system.” This is part of a military buildup that includes 1,000 missiles, opposite Taiwan along the Taiwan Strait.<sup>606</sup> In the words of an analyst, “China still lacks the leverage to force the White House to stop these sales. So they feel like they must make a lot of noise.”<sup>607</sup> China has positioned military units and weapons across the Taiwan Strait for many years. Taiwan has a long-established military force, with weapons and defense technology supplied primarily by the U.S. (U.S. military support dating back to the Korean War has been responsible for preventing a PRC takeover of Taiwan.)<sup>608</sup> The current relationship between the two entities is often described as a delicate “status quo” in which the Taiwanese shun an actual move toward independence while the Chinese refrain from warlike rhetoric to retake the island by force.<sup>609</sup> For its part, the U.S. encourages the two sides to peacefully resolve the issue through dialog. A symbolic but important breakthrough occurred in 2008, when Taiwan agreed to allow direct flights between Taipei and five mainland cities. This helps travelers to avoid stopping in Hong Kong. But direct cargo flights, which are more important for Taiwanese businesses invested in the mainland, remain blocked by Beijing.<sup>610</sup>

### *Tibet*

Over 50 years after the Tibetan revolt, protests and riots inside and outside China continue to occur, calling for the region’s independence.<sup>611</sup> The protests revolve around longstanding issues about the region’s relationship to the PRC, and to the Chinese empire that preceded it. This debate was ignited after the PRC took control of Tibet in 1950, and suppressed a Tibetan uprising movement in 1959. The latter caused the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lama to flee to India.<sup>612</sup> Pointing to historical, political, and military connections, the PRC claims that the region has belonged to the Chinese empire for over 700 years. The Tibetan government-in-exile asserts that the region was a sovereign state when the PRC entered the territory in 1949–1950.<sup>613</sup> They maintain that its primary connection to the Chinese empire was



© buddhismus.at  
Dalai Lama

606 The Guardian UK. World News AP. “US to Provide Arms to Help Taiwan Fend Off Possible China Attack.” 13 January 2010.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jan/13/us-arms-taiwan-china-attack>

607 The New York Times. Asia Pacific. Jacobs, Andrew and Jonathan Ansfield. “With Defense Tense, China Shows Displeasure of U.S.” 12 January 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/13/world/asia/13china.html>

608 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. “Country Profile: Taiwan.” March 2005.

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Taiwan.pdf>

609 SAISPHERE, Johns Hopkins University. Brown, David. “What About Taiwan?” 2006. <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/pressroom/publications/saisphere/2006/brown.htm>

610 BBC News. “Direct China-Taiwan Flights Begin.” 4 July 2008. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7488965.stm>

611 Council on Foreign Relations. Publications. Bajoria, Jayshree. “Tibet’s Tense Anniversary.” 9 March 2009.

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/18710/tibets\\_tense\\_anniversary.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/18710/tibets_tense_anniversary.html)

612 “Tibet [pp. 317–319].” In *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. Michael Dillon, Ed. 1998. Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

613 Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Dumbagh, Kerry. “CRS Report for Congress: Tibet: Problems, Prospects, and U.S. Policy.” 30 July 2008. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34445.pdf>

one of religious counsel, not political subjugation.

In 2008 PRC officials accused the Dalai Lama of inciting violent protests in the region. The Dalai Lama has denied such claims. He says that he does not advocate violence or independence for the region, only greater autonomy, especially for religious and cultural freedom. According to many Tibetans, historical grievances over the region's autonomy have worsened in recent years due to efforts by the PRC to suppress Tibetan religion and culture. Critics state that as increasing numbers of Han Chinese migrate to the region, the culture of the Tibetan people has been further diluted. The PRC asserts that it has delivered improved services, infrastructure, and a higher standard of living to the area. Tibetans disagree because they see such development as disrupting their traditional way of life and benefiting the local Han Chinese. No government recognizes the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India, which seeks autonomy, not independence, for Tibet—although it is unclear whether they can speak for Tibetans in Tibet.<sup>614</sup> Parroting this line, other governments, including the U.S., merely call for Beijing to demonstrate greater respect for the cultural and religious rights of Tibetans.<sup>615</sup>

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614 Wall Street Journal, Agence France Press. "Exiled Tibetan Government Says Sovereignty Not An Issue." 1 February 2009. <http://www.livemint.com/2010/02/01145437/Exiled-Tibet-government-says-s.html>

615 Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Dumbagh, Kerry. "CRS Report for Congress: Tibet: Problems, Prospects, and U.S. Policy." 10 April 2008. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34445.pdf>

## Terrorist, Separatist, and Radical Groups

### *Tibetan People's Uprising Movement*

The Tibetan People's Uprising Movement (TPUM) is a recently formed movement consisting of at least five international Tibetan organizations that support the region's independence: the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), the Tibetan Women's Association, the Gu-Chu-Sum Movement of Tibet, the National Democratic Party of Tibet, and Students for a Free Tibet, India.<sup>616</sup> (The TYC recently broke from the TPUM to form the Tibetan People's Mass



© Akshay Mahajan  
Tibetans in exile protest

Movement.)<sup>617</sup> The PRC has not officially condemned the TPUM as a terrorist organization, but the TPUM and its individual groups have been described in state-run media as separatist organizations, and as threats to the PRC's stability.<sup>618</sup> Chinese media also describe these and similar groups as the "Dalai clique," with the implication that the Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, is behind such activity.<sup>619</sup> Members of TPUM and its subgroups have organized and participated in a variety of protests and demonstrations. When unrest in Lhasa quickly spread to other areas with Tibetan communities in 2008, Beijing portrayed the violence as being engineered by hooligan looters. Footage shown on Chinese TV was edited to highlight the saffron-robed monks in the angry Tibetan mobs, to show the monks as other than peace-loving, non-political people who only want to practice their religion.<sup>620</sup>

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616 Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Dumbagh, Kerry. "CRS Report for Congress: Tibet: Problems, Prospects, and U.S. Policy." 10 April 2008. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34445.pdf>

617 Phayul.com. Thinley, Phurbu. "'Tibetan People's Uprising Movement' Declares More Protests Worldwide." 22 July 2008. <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?article=%E2%80%9CTibetan+People%E2%80%99s+Uprising+Movement%E2%80%9D+declares+more+protests+worldwide&id=22059>

618 China View. "Expert: 'Tibetan Youth Congress' a Violent Spearhead." 2 July 2008.

619 China View. "Spokesman: Lhasa Violence Part of Dalai Clique's 'Uprising.'" 1 April 2008.

[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-04/01/content\\_7899505.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-04/01/content_7899505.htm)

620 Los Angeles Times. Magnier, Mark. "China Plays Victim for its Audience." 17 March 2008.

[http://msl1.mit.edu/furdlog/docs/latimes/2008-03-17\\_latimes\\_china\\_media\\_strategy.pdf](http://msl1.mit.edu/furdlog/docs/latimes/2008-03-17_latimes_china_media_strategy.pdf)

Based in the western reaches of China's Xinjiang Autonomous Region, the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) is a small, militant, Muslim extremist group. The ETIM is one of several ethnic Uighur separatist groups that support the creation of an independent state known as East Turkistan, which would comprise the Xinjiang region of China and a number of existing Central Asian countries. (Unlike the extremist ETIM, the vast majority of Uighurs in Xinjiang are peaceful and do not advocate separatism for the region.) Between 1990 and 2001, Chinese officials attributed over 200 attacks in the Xinjiang region to the ETIM. Such attacks included bombings, arsons, and assassinations, resulting in substantial numbers of fatalities and injuries.

Both Chinese and U.S. officials have reported that the ETIM has connections with the Al Qaeda terrorist network. ETIM militants are thought to have received training, funding, and weapons from Al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan. Although some experts currently doubt the extent of the ties between the two extremist groups, ETIM militants are known to have cooperated with Al Qaeda and Taliban forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The ETIM has also been linked with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), a terrorist network also known as the Islamic Party of Turkistan. Accordingly, the ETIM has been formally designated as a terrorist organization by the PRC, the UN Security Council, and the U.S.<sup>623</sup>

A number of recent violent attacks, including a series of deadly bus explosions in Shanghai and Kunming, have heightened tensions in China. A group calling itself the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) claimed responsibility for several of the attacks. It is uncertain whether the TIP is another name for the ETIM or a splinter group of either the ETIM or (perhaps) the IMU. Chinese officials have rejected the claims made by the TIP, asserting that there is little evidence connecting the particular attacks to terrorist organizations.<sup>624</sup> The government's dismissal of these claims may have been intended to lessen any public alarm caused by the attention to terrorist threats before the Olympic Games. Otherwise, Chinese authorities have taken the threat of terrorist and separatist activity quite seriously, particularly in the Xinjiang region. In recent years, raids on

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621 Council on Foreign Relations. Fletcher, Holly and Jayshree Bajoria. "Backgrounder: The East Turkestan Islamic Movement." 31 July 2008.

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/9179/east\\_turkestan\\_islamic\\_movement\\_etim.html?breadcrumb=%2Fissue%2F456%2Fterrorist\\_organizations](http://www.cfr.org/publication/9179/east_turkestan_islamic_movement_etim.html?breadcrumb=%2Fissue%2F456%2Fterrorist_organizations)

622 Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State. "Country Reports on Terrorism, 2006: Terrorist Organizations." 30 April 2007. <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2006/82738.htm>

623 Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. "Country Profile: China." August 2006. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/China.pdf>

624 The China Post. "Bus Explosions Not Terrorist Acts: China." 27 July 2008.

<http://www.chinapost.com.tw/china/national%20news/2008/07/27/167324/Bus-explosions.htm>

suspected terrorist compounds have resulted in numerous arrests and seizures.<sup>625</sup> Many observers have accused the PRC of exaggerating the terrorist threat in order to crack down on political dissent and religious practice in Xinjiang, particularly just after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. Others have suggested that such harsh crackdowns have spurred increased violence.<sup>626</sup> As in Tibet, where the Dali Lama is cited as an instigator even before an investigation into unrest has begun, in Xinjiang, exiled political activist Rebiya Kadeer is immediately denounced as instigating any unrest.<sup>627</sup> Terrorist violence in the region remains a threat. Recent attacks in the Xinjiang region, including deadly assaults on Chinese policemen and security officers, have been linked to the ETIM.<sup>628</sup>

The U.S. recognized the East Turkistan Islamic Movement as a terrorist organization in 2002, but it is unclear whether the ETIM is related to Al Qaeda.<sup>629</sup> Violence and threats attributable to the ETIM led up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics but did not disrupt the Games.<sup>630</sup> Other separatist organizations designated by the PRC as terrorist groups in the Xinjiang region include the World Uyghur Youth Congress and the East Turkistan Information Center. However, their activity has generally been less pronounced than that of the ETIM.<sup>631</sup> Nevertheless, there is continual social unrest and ethnic conflict between Han Chinese and Muslim Uighurs, the ethnic majority in Xinjiang Province. Clashes between the two ethnic groups in Urumqi in July 2009 resulted in a harsh crackdown and the deaths of at least 140 people.<sup>632</sup> Uighurs have complained about government discrimination and inequality for many years, and a possible resolution to this conflict may require addressing those issues.<sup>633</sup> The Hizb-ut Tahrir al Islami and the East Ruckstahn Islamic Movement have also been identified as additional security threats in the region.<sup>634</sup>

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626 MSNBC.com. Associated Press. "China Crackdown Fueling Xinjiang Attacks." 14 August 2008. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/26203482/>

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628 The New York Times. Wong, Edward. "Attack in West China Kills 3 Security Officers." 12 August 2008. [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/13/sports/olympics/13china.html?\\_r=1&scp=1&sq=Attacks%20Xinjiang&st=cse&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/13/sports/olympics/13china.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Attacks%20Xinjiang&st=cse&oref=slogin)

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## *Falun Gong (Falun Dafa)*

Self-described as a spiritual exercise movement, Falun Gong has been designated by the PRC as a subversive group. Since 1999, when Falun Gong members demonstrated against government restrictions on the movement, the group has been widely suppressed by China's law enforcement authorities. The government is said to have been shocked because its extensive security forces had no knowledge of the group's plans to gather outside the gates of Zhongnanhai, where the PRC's top leaders live. It was the largest demonstration in Beijing since the 1989 democracy movement. Falun Gong was immediately denounced as an "evil cult" and banned.<sup>635</sup> While this may seem an extreme reaction on the part of Beijing authorities, many of China's large-scale rebellions were fomented by unorthodox religious sects. For example, the Taiping Rebellion of 1845–64, which posed a formidable threat to the Qing dynasty, was led by a man who claimed to be the younger brother of Jesus, and to have been sent to earth to destroy the alien Manchus and restore China to Han rule.<sup>636</sup>



© ClearWisdom.net  
Falun Gong group practice in Chengdu

Although Falun Gong may have been silenced domestically, its controversial and charismatic leader, Li Hongzhi, lives in New York. Overseas followers have pressured Beijing by publicizing claims that practitioners inside China have been tortured and abused.<sup>637</sup> In the U.S., the group has founded the Global Internet Freedom Consortium (GIFC), a group of software engineers and Falun Gong believers. The GIFC applied for money earmarked by Congress in 2008 to support efforts aimed at curtailing internet censors.<sup>638</sup> Thus far it has been unsuccessful in obtaining U.S. government funds, but the group is actively seeking resources that can be used to fight the Chinese government.

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## Human Trafficking

China is a source, transit, and destination country for the trafficking of men, women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation and forced labor. It is on the State Department's Trafficking Victims Protection Act's Tier 2 Watch List for failing to prove that it is mounting a greater effort to curtail human trafficking.<sup>639</sup> Significant trafficking occurs internally, where the one-child policy has created a lopsided gender ratio in the countryside. There are an estimated 32 million more boys than girls under the age of 20 in China.<sup>640</sup> The need for poorer males to marry has created a market for trafficked females, most of whom are Chinese citizens. Few are reported missing to the police, who do not make trafficking a high priority. As a destination country, women and children are trafficked to China from Burma, North Korea, Mongolia, Vietnam, and Russia for marriage, forced labor, and prostitution.<sup>641</sup> An estimated 10,000 to 20,000 women and children are also trafficked to Malaysia, Australia, Europe, Canada, Japan, Italy, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Taiwan for sexual and labor exploitation.<sup>642</sup> China is stepping up publicity campaigns, border liaison offices, and reintegration centers to fight human trafficking.<sup>643</sup> In 2009, a film produced by the Music Television Channel (MTV) about the subject was broadcast on Southeast Asia channels to raise awareness of the issue. An estimated 2 million women and children are trafficked every year, and 30% of that occurs in Asia.<sup>644</sup> The Chinese government began to consider ratifying the UN supplementary protocol to fight human trafficking in late 2009.<sup>645</sup> China's punitive measures are harsh and include the death penalty.<sup>646</sup>



© Tranuf / flickr.com  
Burmese children

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## Water Security

Rights to water usage have proved contentious between the PRC and its neighbors. The biggest dispute involves the Mekong River, whose headwaters rise in the Himalayas and travel through Tibet and China's Yunnan Province (where the Chinese are building multiple dams) before passing through five other countries. Two organizations have emerged to regulate use of the Mekong: the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) and the Mekong River Commission (MRC). China is only a "dialogue partner" in the MRC due to the organization's criticism of its plans for dams. While the PRC is a full-fledged member of the GMS, as a scholar observed, "It is probable that China—which is not inclined to yield its sovereignty to international organizations and certainly not to consensus-based ones like the GMS—will hold the whip handle in the Mekong in the not too distant future."<sup>647</sup>



© Eustaquio Santimano  
Mekong River Bridge, Thailand - Laos Border

Another problem is China's increasingly polluted water supply. Industries that pollute locate to areas struggling to attract investment. Often, they are upriver of the booming coastal cities where residents have increasingly adopted a consumption-oriented lifestyle, mimicking that of the United States. Hong Kong's water supply, which comes from a tributary of the Pearl River in Guangdong Province, is threatened by pollution and persistent drought.<sup>648</sup> Local officials often take the view "develop first and clean up later." As one explained, "[I]t is better to be poisoned than poor ...."<sup>649</sup> Yet the pollution often gets in the water supply of other communities, who are interested parties that confront the problem of "tolerated non-compliance" law enforcement within a decentralized governance structure. The PRC enacted a national water law in 2002, stating that it is illegal to construct sewage outlets in protected drinking water sources. But those who enforce the law often work for the local government that has approved the presence of the polluter in order to expand the tax base. A China specialist summed up the dilemma well, "[E]conomic growth sustains the Chinese Communist Party in the short run, while in its current form and at its current pace that growth may ecologically destabilize the entire system in the medium to long run."<sup>650</sup>

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China's future stability depends on a number of complex, interrelated factors. The nation's economic growth has provided it with huge foreign currency reserves. China has used these funds to initiate a wide range of development projects, both domestically and abroad. In terms of foreign policy, China has been quite successful in developing bilateral ties with a number of regional and global entities. The PRC recently announced that its bilateral policy would be heavily directed toward energy security, as it has been for several years.<sup>652</sup>



© Trevin Chow  
Young boy in Beijing

Besides securing access to resources, China's so-called "charm offensive" has also increased its political leverage in the international community, especially with developing countries. Such leverage can be most readily seen in the international acceptance of the "one China" policy, which has stifled the position of Taiwan to be recognized as a separate entity. The Chinese have also deterred any official support for independence movements on the mainland. Although the PRC has encountered criticism for some of its practices and associations (such as with military regimes in Burma and Sudan), its foreign and economic policies have nonetheless provided it with the time and money it needs to address domestic issues. China has developed a foreign policy in accord with its own domestic agenda. Seeking stability in both areas, China encourages international conflicts to be resolved through dialog and domestic conflicts to be solved internally, without foreign intervention.

Domestic social unrest continues to threaten China's overall stability. It has been 20 years since elections for village head (*cun zhang*) were introduced. Candidates usually run on economic development platforms. Yet the CCP village party secretary, who is not elected, retains greater power over policy implementation.<sup>653</sup> CCP overhauls remain mostly internal affairs.<sup>654</sup> Recent "mass incidents"—protests in Tibet, the perceived corruption responsible for the faulty buildings that collapsed during the Sichuan earthquake and caused fatalities, and riots over the perceived mistreatment of migrant workers in the southern provinces—all reflect problems that could not be ignored. In the summer of 2008, the CCP launched yet another effort at personnel reform, to emphasize

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654 China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham. Zheng, Yongnian and Zhengxu Wang. "China's National People's Congress 2008: New Administration, Personnel Reshuffling and Policy Impacts." March 2008.

<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/briefings/briefing-38-npc-2008.pdf>

public service in the face of mounting criticism over corruption and misuse of public funds.<sup>655</sup> In some instances, the CCP has allowed citizens to submit petitions in an effort to expose corrupt or unjust practices. This may not have a deterrent effect, however, because those who are prosecuted for corruption have probably fallen out of favor with their superiors for other reasons.

Many observers hope that as China continues to liberalize its economic policies and further integrate into the community of nations, it will gradually relax the strict authoritarian controls that contribute to unrest.<sup>656</sup> For the foreseeable future, the prospects for significant political reform remain slight. China's hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games demonstrated some of the contradictions of the nation's rise as a major geopolitical power. The safe and successful nature of the Olympic Games displayed China's ability to organize and secure a large-scale, international event of considerable complexity. It also showcased the country's economic successes and rich cultural traditions. At the same time, incidents such as the 2008 arrest and deportation of several American protesters, and the 2009 Urumqi crackdown highlighted the CCP's continued reliance on repression rather than a legal system to remain in power.<sup>657, 658</sup>

Such contradictions reflect the challenges faced by the CCP as it attempts to foster growth and control the consequences. Regarding China's global role, the Obama administration seeks the PRC's cooperation on a variety of issues and may require less from China, given its rising stature relative to the U.S.<sup>659, 660</sup> Although Washington wants to maintain the status quo in the region while promoting political liberalization, Beijing wants to stave off calls for multi-party democracy, and to make the PRC the dominant player in its neighborhood, displacing the U.S.<sup>661</sup> Nonetheless, China and the U.S. have agreed to regular exchanges for a more comprehensive partnership.<sup>662</sup> Discussing the potential of the PRC, U.S. President Barack Obama said: "We welcome China's effort to play a greater role on the world stage—a role in which their growing economy is joined

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655 The Jamestown Foundation, China Brief. Vol. 8, No. 16. Lam, Willy. "China Launches Personnel Reform to Stem 'Mass Incidents.'" 1 August 2008. [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=5097](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=5097)

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by growing responsibility” and “...[T]he rise of a strong, prosperous China can be a source of strength for the community of nations.”<sup>663</sup>

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<sup>663</sup> America.gov. Peace and Security. Kellerhals, Merle David Jr. “United States Pursuing Renewed Engagement in Asia-Pacific.” 13 November 2009. <http://www.america.gov/st/peacesec-english/2009/November/20091113215718dmslahrellek0.4669415.html>

## Security Assessment

(1) China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

**True.** Beijing actively promotes the view that the UN Security Council, of which the PRC is a permanent member, should be the final arbiter in the use of force internationally.

(2) Chinese men and women between the ages of 18 and 22 are required to join the military.

**False.** Chinese males from the ages of 18 to 22 are subject to selective conscription, with a 2-year obligation of service.

(3) The U.S. established diplomatic relations with China after the 1989 Tiananmen Square student-led protests.

**False.** The U.S. and China officially normalized relations in 1979, and Washington shifted diplomatic recognition from Taipei, Taiwan, to Beijing.

(4) The U.S. and China are equal trading partners.

**False.** The U.S. has been a strong advocate for China's integration into the world economy, and the two countries are major trading partners although China consistently sells more to the U.S. than it imports.

(5) China supplies food, weapons, aid, and energy to North Korea.

**True.** China has been a major supplier of food, arms, aid, and energy to the isolated Pyongyang regime, whose economy has been in a state of disrepair for many years.

## Final Assessment

1. In a village the male head of a nuclear family household is asked how many children he has. The man explains “one baby boy.” A little girl toddles into the room who appears to live there. Why didn’t he mention her?

- a) He was trying to cover up the fact that his family broke the “one-child” policy.
- b) Children in villages wander from home to home without supervision.
- c) He wasn’t asked “How many sons” and “How many daughters” do you have.
- d) He forgot he had a daughter.

2. You visit an internet cafe and assume you can surf the web freely since it’s a privately owned business. You decide to access Falun Gong sites, whereupon you lose access. Who shut you down?

- a) The government since it knows everything.
- b) The person at the next monitor who fears being implicated.
- c) The shut down was due to spotty electricity not screen content.
- d) The business owner since he does not want the police closing his business.

3. You are close to finishing an important negotiation and want to press on despite the fast approaching lunch hour, which requires you to wrap it up in a time-efficient manner. Your Chinese counterparts appear increasingly distracted and uncomfortable. Why?

- a) Mealtimes are set in stone for Chinese regardless of the importance of the matter at hand.
- b) Someone has family responsibilities which must be attended to but cannot be acknowledged.
- c) The Chinese are feigning discomfort as an excuse to end the negotiations to enable them to re-strategize their position and begin anew after lunch.
- d) The Chinese don’t like the agreed-to terms but can’t say so.

4. You hand a taxi driver directions in pinyin to a local destination and he looks puzzled and shakes his head. What is the problem?

- a) He will not accept a non-Chinese passenger.
- b) He knows exactly where you want to go and it is a ruse to increase the fare.
- c) Pinyin does not convey the tone mark which gives words their meaning in Chinese.
- d) Another Chinese should have passed them to him rather than the foreign visitor.

5. A Chinese asks “Have you eaten yet?” although s/he is clearly not in a position to invite you for a meal. What’s the point?

- a) This is a question akin to “How are you doing?” reflecting an interest in your well-being.
- b) The person plans to offer you food s/he was going to discard.
- c) Chinese think Westerners need to eat more because they are bigger.
- d) The person has taken advantage of the situation to appear generous without having to follow through.

## Resources

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