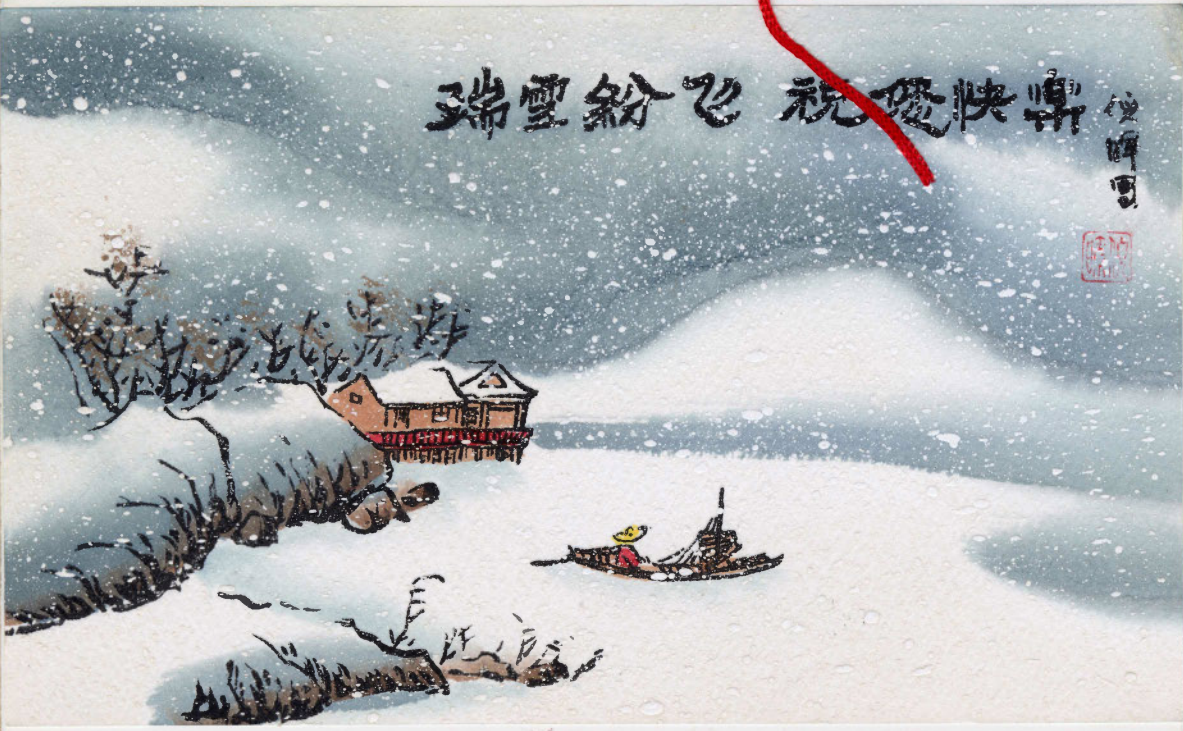


瑞雪纷飞 祝您快乐

任明画





Dear Prof. MacDonald and Mari:

聖誕快樂 · 新年如意

Best Wishes for A Merry Christmas
and A Happy New Year

Love.

Susan & James.

Dec, 1996. Beijing



賽肯賀卡

400-061

CHAPTER TWO: DISINTEGRATION OF THE OLD CHINESE WORLD ORDER

The late eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of a drastic change in the history of China's foreign relations. While China under the rule of the *Qing* dynasty still remained an East Asian resplendent and unrivaled spectacle with admiration of not a few famous European philosophers,¹ such pre-industrial glories had already passed their zenith. At the end of the eighteenth century, it became all too obvious that the *Qing* dynasty began to enter into an irreversible state of rapid decline -- a historical phenomenon characterized as dynastic cycle, and one century later, the development of all events sealed the dynasty's doom. Of course, this is not the place to discuss the causes for the *Qing*'s failure. But what deserves a particular attention is that "China's external order was so closely related to its internal order that one could not survive without the other."² The corollary of this historical experience dictates that, when turmoil developed from within, it invited aggression from without. The twin blow of "inside disorder and outside calamity (*nei luan wai huan*), which plagued the *Qing* dynasty simultaneously throughout the nineteenth century, finally led to the disintegration and collapse of the age-old Chinese world order.

I. China vis-a-vis the West

To the extent that the Manchus established their power as

alien barbarian conquerors their overriding consideration during the entire *Qing* period was to maintain their legitimacy to rule. In order to win the acceptance by the Chinese, the Manchu rulers had been striving to identify themselves with the traditional Chinese order that had been followed over milleniums.³ As a result, the *Qing* dynasty, the the most thoroughly Sinicized of all alien dynasties of China, became a staunch champion of the Chinese cultural heritage.⁴ It adopted the Confucian ideology as a state orthodox philosophy. It continued to use the Chinese institutions that had come with the country.⁵ It tenaciously clung to the age-old myth that China was the universal overlord and that all nations desiring relations must acknowledge its superiority and accept tributary practice.⁶ It carried out ruthless literary inquisitions to repress any critics of the alien rule. It dispatched military expeditions to the far corners of the country to quell revolts and expand frontiers, making the territory of the dynasty the second largest only to that of the *Yuan* in the thirteenth century.⁷

All these policies and undertakings were designed to ensure the permanence of the *Qing*'s rule, and they did contribute to a quite successful consolidation of the Manchu power in China. The resultant century-long peace and prosperity ushered the country in an era of *Pax Sinica* in which China remained as one of the most advanced countries on earth in the eyes of the West.⁸

Below the height of the fortune, however, the seeds of decay had long since been sown. The perennial concern of preserving *status quo*, while contributing to achieve the most durable period of alien rule in China, generated a mentality of indifference to progress, which in turn invited a tendency in the officialdom towards superficiality, compromise, temporization and less responsibility -- anything so as not to disturb the *status quo*. Apparently, these characters strangled the capacity of the dynasty for energetic action and imaginative response to challenge. However, these problems did not bother the Manchu rulers, for their primary concern was not for dynamic or even efficient administration but for the dynasty's security.⁹ Seized by such a mentality, the Manchu rulers convinced that, so long as they tried to rule like previous dynasties, the Mandate of Heaven (the legitimacy to rule) would always be on their side.

Thus, by the late eighteenth century, while the state of the world and the position of China in it had in reality changed profoundly, China had not. It still indulged in cherishing and preserving the outmoded traditional Chinese order, unwilling to learn, and unable to recognize the nature of the impending confrontation with the West. When the Western imperialistic expansion reached ~~the~~ East Asia in the first half of the nineteenth century, China's political system, social structure, economic institutions, and intellectual atmosphere remained substantially what they had been during the previous two thousand

years. Apparently, this state of affairs seriously conditioned China's capacity to adequately cope with the Western impact by initiating far-reaching reform in order to swiftly transform the country into a modern state.

In addition to the ignorance of the Western challenge, what made the situation much worse was that, by the late eighteenth century, the *Qing* dynasty was plagued with all the symptoms of disrepair~~s~~ which China had come to associate with dynastic decline. Within the *Qing*'s officialdom, corruption grew so rampant and widespread that extortion, graft, irregular levies in both the civil government and military services became commonplace, almost *de rigeur*. Due to a prolonged period of peace, the once high~~l~~ martial spirit of the bannermen who constituted the backbone of the Manchu military power declined to a debauched life of hedonism. National defence became lax, and the discipline, morale, and skills of soldiers had degenerated to the point that, long before the onslaught of the Western imperialistic invasion in China, they could no longer fight.¹⁰ Political mismanagement plunged the broad masses of people into *an* abyss of sufferings~~s~~, which in turn evoked repeated anti-*Qing* uprisings. Indeed, throughout the 25-year reign of Emperor *Jia Qing* (1796--1820), not a day passed without domestic rebellions. When the onslaught of the Western imperialistic expansion reached China, the *Qing* dynasty was already "outwardly strong, but inwardly weak" (*wai qiang zhong gan*), and its ultimate failing

was just a matter of time.

In contrast with the irreversible downward course of the Chinese world, the late eighteenth century witnessed the rapid rise of the Western world. Sustained by a modern and dynamic civilization which was superior to the Chinese in many respects, and characterized by factors such as ships and guns, trade and evangelism, and imperialism and nationalism, the Western world also represented a new system of world order, the capitalist world order. The central base of this world order was in ~~the~~ Western Europe. It was rooted in an ideology that asserts the naked, shameless, direct and brutal competition and contention in human relationship,¹¹ and thus was distinguished by "uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation".¹² In this way, capitalist world view contrasted sharply with the Sinocentric one by negating the very possibility of a harmonious world system based on virtue and benevolence.¹³

Capitalist world economy was characterized by ^{an} assumption that control over any part of the economy is difficult and unnatural even if necessary.¹⁴ Thus, "in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedom, (capitalism) has set up that single, unconscionable freedom -- Free Trade."¹⁵ This notion dictated ~~the~~ economic expansion in the form of international trade to the limit of the planet and required ^{the} state as a

political instrument to support such expansion. In the Sinocentric world, however, the state did not function to support economic expansion.¹⁶ Instead, the prevailing social and political philosophy ridiculed the idea that national finance and wealth should be or could be promoted by means of international trade.¹⁷

In the capitalist world, culture and territory became closely linked. This development in turn gave rise to nation-state and nationalism, which were rooted in the consciousness of territorial, ethnic, and linguistic differences. Nevertheless, in the Sinocentric world the link of culture to different socio-ethnic groups remained much stronger than the link of culture to territory,¹⁸ and this socio-ethnic group based cultural differentiation served primarily to distinguish civilization from barbarity.

One of the basic characters of the capitalist world was constant economic and colonial expansion, through which non-capitalist and less industrialized countries were forced into the capitalist world economy to serve as the source of cheap raw materials and human resources. As Lenin pointed out, "Capitalism can not exist and develop without constantly expanding its dominance, opening new markets, and involving non-capitalist old nations in the swirl of world economy."¹⁹ Again, ~~the~~ capitalist expansionism contrasted sharply with the characters of non-

exploitation and stability cherished by the Sinocentric world.

Brief as is the above survey, it nevertheless sketches some of the distinctive characteristics of the capitalist world order vis-a-vis the Sinocentric one. With this survey, one may more readily appreciate the Chinese conduct vis-a-vis the accelerated Western activity in the nineteenth century. Indeed, if we put the relations between China and the West within the context of the two mutually exclusive world orders, by this time, the head-on confrontation between them had become inevitable. Released from the Napoleonic Wars, and greatly strengthened by the Industrial Revolution, the aggressive and expansionist West resolved to batter down all Chinese walls through the agency of their governments, missionaries, merchants, and military forces. It would force the Chinese intensely obstinate view of the world to capitulate. It would compel China, on pain of extinction, to adopt the Western system. In one word, it would destroy the old-established Chinese world order and drag it into the capitalist world system after its own image. In this drive, it is no accident that England, as the cradle of the Industrial Revolution, accompanied with enormous interest in trade, took the lead.

04/12/93

Prof. Macdonald:

This is a translation excerpted from the Chinese sources. It gives general information about T. Y. Jones at Qinghua, which you may find useful for your footnote citation. I had a very bad cold last weekend, and am still in the process of recovery. Sorry, I can not see you personally these couple of days.

James

Beginning in 1928, Qinghua was changed from a preparatory school for students who were going to study in the United States to a full university.¹ Wu Zhichun was appointed the dean of the department of political science. He travelled twice that year to Wuhan to consult with Wang Shijie, the then head of the bureau of legal affairs of the KMT government, and Zhou Gengsheng, the expert of public international law about the curriculum of the department. Concomitantly, there was a radical increase of courses. An American professor, Professor Dr. E. S. Corwin of Princeton, was invited to offer a course, Political Issues. In the new curriculum, legal subjects covered half of the entire courses. This was because there was no department of law in Qinghua at that time. On the other hand, Students majoring in political science had to be given a chance to choose courses on legal subjects. Therefore, as a matter of expedient, courses on law had to be part of the curriculum of the department of political science. The student body of the department was composed of both male and female students. In June 1929, the Ministry of Education issued an order to divide Qinghua into three schools. The department of political science belonged to the school of law. The dean of the law school was still Wu Zhichun. In the first semester of that year, the law school invited Professor Dr. Quincey Wright, one of the world authorities in international law to teach advanced courses on international law. In the autumn of 1930, a research institute was set up under the department of political science and three graduate students were admitted into the institute. That year, 21 students graduated from the department. Beginning from September 1931, Pu Xuefeng became the dean of the department of political science. Under his leadership, the department embarked on a reform program both to the faculty and to the curriculum. The faculty increased to 19 members and there were 32 courses available to the students. All the courses were divided into three categories (for the institute) and five disciplines (for the undergraduate program). The three categories included public law, political systems and political thought. The five disciplines were constitutional law and administrative law, international law and international relations, political systems, municipal administration and political thought. The institute admitted graduate students through a very strict screening process. Each year, only one or two were admitted. The graduate students with excellent academic record often sat for government scholarship to study abroad. Although Wang Tieya successfully sat for the government scholarship to study in the United States in 1936, he still planned to complete his graduate thesis before he went abroad. The title of his thesis was Issues on the Leased Territory in China.²

¹. History of Qinghua University, Zhonghua Shuju Press, 1981, 220--222. Selected Materials of the history of Qinghua University, Qinghua University Press, 1990, vol 2, 362--375.

². Selected Materials, *ibid*, at 596--597.

Curriculum³

Public International Law by Wang Huacheng

This course studies rules which states have recognized to comply with in their mutual relations. This course is divided into four parts: I. Introduction. It includes the definition, nature and history of public international law, and the relationship between international law and municipal law. II. Public International Law of Peace. It deals with the birth, recognition and extinction, succession of states; fundamental rights and duties of states; conclusion of treaties; exchange of ambassadors and consuls; and settlement of international disputes. III. Public International Law of War. It discusses belligerent states during a war, relations between belligerent states and rules they should abide by. IV. Public International Law of Neutrality. It covers rights and duties of neutral states and their peoples.

International Relations by Wang Huacheng

International relations has a considerable scope of coverage. This course puts emphasis on the present international relations. Students are expected to attain within the shortest possible period of time clear understanding about the world affairs. It will elaborate the rivalry between imperialist powers and the struggle waged by weak and small nations, prior to the First World War; the cause and consequence of the First World War; and issues brought forth by the First World War, such as peace, disarmament, war reparation, war debt, economic recovery, national self-determination, open door policy, equal opportunity, Monroe Doctrine, extraterritoriality, campaign for abrogating unequal treaties, Manchurian issues, etc..

Modern History of the Chinese Foreign Relations by Chiang Tingfu (Jiang Tingfu)

The purpose of this course is to describe and analyse the process of China's entrance into the world's international system, and on this basis, to make students aware of the international status of today's China. The books used for this course are particularly Chinese historical materials as well general works on the history of the Chinese foreign relations.

History of Western Political Thought by Zhang Xiruo

This course discusses the political theories of various important European political thinkers from ancient times to the present and their historical influence. Special attention will be given to Greek and modern famous thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Hopps,

³. *ibid*, 368--375.

Locke, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx. The textbook is Gettel-History of Political Thought as well as more than 80 books in Western languages.

Cases of Public International Law by Wang Huacheng

This course studies the application of various principles of public international law to practical issues. It will select 70 to 80 important and internationally related cases and opinions from the cases and opinions of the world court, the Hague International Tribunal of Arbitration as well as European and American domestic courts for the purpose of detailed studies. It will compare the difference between application of international law by international tribunals and that by municipal courts. It will also observe the substantial difference between the consequence of court decisions and that of arbitral awards. In this course, stress is put on self-study by students and class discussion.

Private International Law by Yan Shutang (for graduate students)

This course discusses general principles of private international law, the applicable rules of the existing law, conflicts between international law on the one hand and Chinese and foreign laws of nationality on the other, special provisions in Chinese-foreign treaties concerning private international law, as well as other legal rules dealing with foreign elements. It also studies the difference between the doctrines adopted by the European continental states and those by Anglo-American states. Whether general principles are in correspondence with practical circumstances will also be discussed.

International Organizations by Wang Huacheng (for graduate students)

This course will first account for the significance and needs of international organizations. It will then discuss the origin and work of international legislative, administrative and judicial organizations. Detailed studies will be conducted about the League of Nations and the World Court.

To: Professor Ronald St. J. Macdonald
Fax Number: (416) 978-2648
From: James Li
Fax Number: 86-1-256-4095
Date: August 8, 1992

Re: Beijing Symposium

Dear Professor Macdonald:

I got home safely. I was very excited to see Susan's parents and other friends. Right now, I am working like hell for the preparation of the Symposium. Everything is going fine. On the night of August 15, Professor Wang, Mrs. Dai and I will meet you and Mairie at the Beijing Airport.

I am wondering if you could call Martar, telling her that I have sent to your travel agency, by express mail, a bank draft of \$3,534.02 Canadian dollars as the payment for your air ticket. She should receive it by the end of this week or early next week. Also, please inform Ms. Margaret Gahlin, Charlette Ku and Dellapenna (Fax Number: 215-645-6472) of the payment in bank drafts of their air fares by express mails. I would appreciate it if these people can confirm to me the receipt of the payment. I incidentally left Professor Wang's article (the one for the background materials) in Toronto. Could you please fax it to Professor Wang before you leave for Beijing. This is a very urgent matter. Professor Wang's fax number is 86-1-256-4095.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely yours

James Li