

John King Fairbank  
The United States &  
China fourth edition

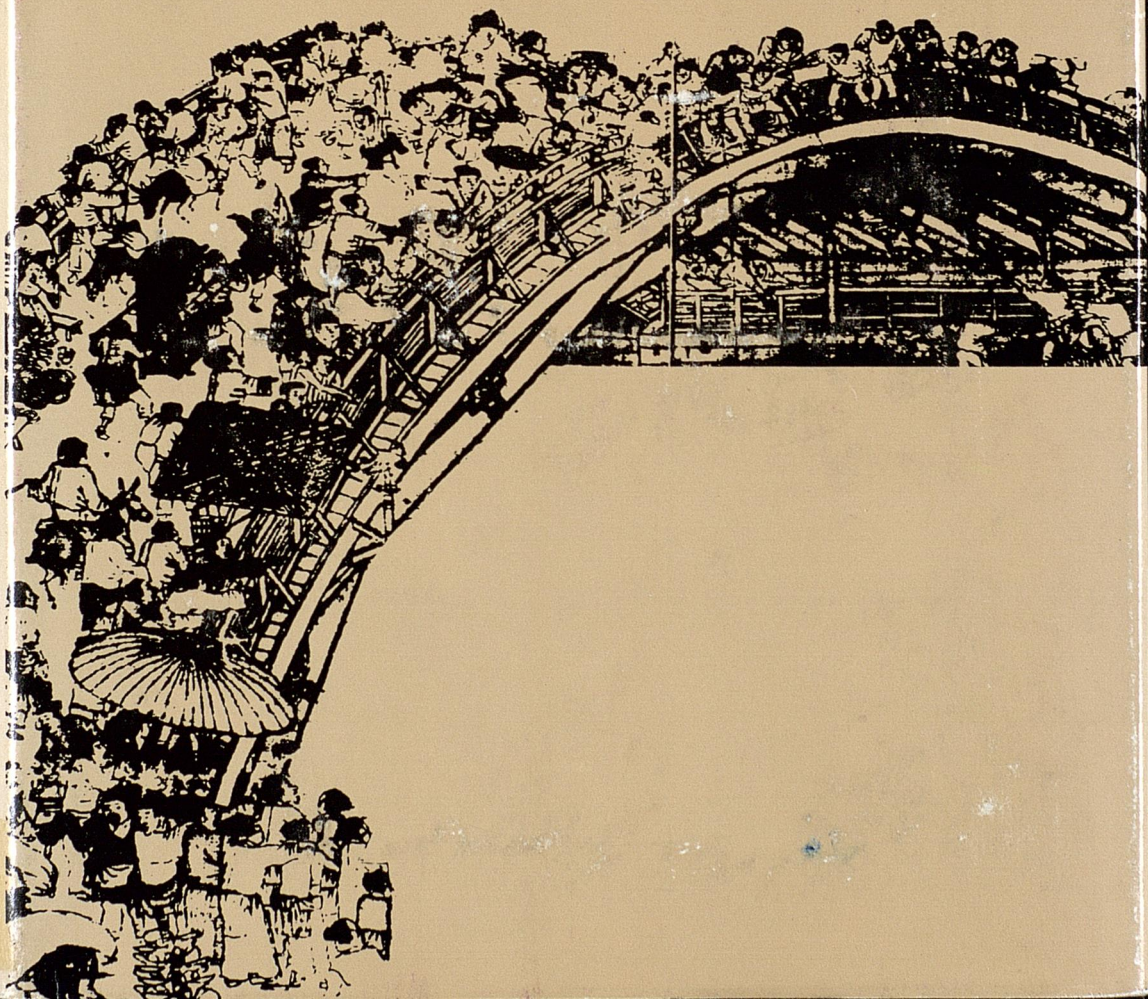


John King Fairbank The United  
States & China fourth edition

Harvard



John King Fairbank  
The United States &  
China fourth edition



"An indispensable book for thoughtful people."—*New York Times Book Review*

For two generations scholars and the general public have looked to John King Fairbank for knowledge and insights about China. In three editions of *The United States and China* he has provided these, and this fourth edition—revised throughout and brought up-to-date—remains "an indispensable book for thoughtful people." It stands almost alone as a history of China, an analysis of Chinese society, and an account of Sino-American relations, all in brief compass.

There are new sections on the last decade's historic events, including United States recognition of China in December 1978. The older portions of the book still sparkle, and they have been refined by the latest scholarship, and the author's own observations in the People's Republic. And for the first time, illustrations, especially chosen by John and Wilma Fairbank, have been included in the book. As before, the comprehensive bibliography has been completely revised and updated.

Edwin O. Reischauer writes in his Foreword to the new edition: "No one has written more clearly or perceptively about China . . . than John Fairbank, and no one has contributed more to American understanding of that country, its traditions, its tumultuous recent history, and its enigmatic present conditions. . . Fairbank has a knack for combining broad perceptions and deep analysis with clarity of expression. That is why this book has been and will long continue to be a classic."



*John King Fairbank*  
**The United States  
and China**  
*Fourth Edition*

*Harvard University Press*  
*Cambridge, Massachusetts*  
*and London, England*  
*1979*

# Contents

Foreword by Edwin O. Reischauer xi

Preface by John K. Fairbank xv

## Introduction

### 1 The Chinese Scene 1

The Contrast of North and South 1

China's Origins 9

The Harmony of Man and Nature 11

## Part I *The Old Order*

### 2 The Nature of Chinese Society 17

Social Structure 17

The Peasant: Family and Kinship

The Market Community

Early China as an "Oriental" Society 27

The Medieval Flowering

The Gentry Class 32

The Chinese Written Language—The Scholar 39

Chinese Writing

The Scholar Class

Nondevelopment of Capitalism—The Merchant 46

- 3 The Confucian Pattern 53**  
 Confucian Principles 55  
     Government by Moral Prestige  
     Early Achievements in Bureaucratic Administration  
 The Classical Orthodoxy 62  
     Neo-Confucianism  
 Chinese Militarism 68  
 Individualism, Chinese Style 71  
 The Nondevelopment of Science 74
- 4 Alien Rule and Dynastic Cycles 80**  
 Nomad Conquest 81  
 The First Sino-Foreign Empires 83  
 The Manchu Achievement 91  
     The Nature of Chinese Nationalism  
 The Dynastic Cycle 100
- 5 The Political Tradition 106**  
 Bureaucracy 106  
     Central Controls  
     Government as Organized "Corruption"  
 Law 117  
 Religion 123  
     Taoism  
     Buddhism  
 Chinese Humanism 134  
 Folk Sects and Peasant Rebellion 137

## **Part II** *The Revolutionary Process*

- 6 The Western Invasion 143**  
 European versus Chinese Expansion 146  
     The Arab Role  
     The Ming Explorations  
     Early Maritime Contact  
     The Jesuit Success

- China's Impact on Europe 155  
 The Tribute System 158  
   The Canton System and Its Collapse  
 The Treaty System 163  
   Extraterritoriality  
 The Demographic Disaster 171
- 7 Rebellion and Restoration 176**  
 The White Lotus as a Prototype 178  
 The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom 181  
   The Taiping Religion  
   Taiping Communism  
 The Nien and Other Rebels 189  
 The Restoration of Confucian Government 190  
   "China's Response to the West" in Retrospect
- 8 Reform and Revolution 196**  
 The Self-Strengthening Movement 196  
 Imperialism and Reform in 1898 201  
 Revolutionaries versus Reformers 205  
   Sun Yat-sen  
   Liang Ch'i-ch'ao  
 Dynastic Reform and Republican Revolution 210  
   The New Nationalism  
   The Revolutionary Leadership
- 9 The Rise of the Kuomintang 220**  
 The Search for a New Order 220  
   The Collapse of Parliamentary Democracy  
   The Republic's Decline into Warlordism  
   The Growth of Urban Nationalism  
 The May Fourth Movement 230  
   The Student Movement and New Literature  
 The Nationalist Revolution 235  
   The Kuomintang-Communist Alliance  
   The Nationalist Accession to Power

- 10 The Nanking Government 244**  
 Political Development 245  
   Party Dictatorship  
   Rights Recovery  
 The Rise of Chiang Kai-shek 249  
   Echoes of Confucianism  
   Roots of Totalitarianism  
 Progress toward Industrialization 256  
   Transportation  
   Industry  
   Banking and Fiscal Policy  
   Public Finance  
 Local Government 267  
   The Rural Problem
- 11 The Rise of the Communist Party 276**  
 Vicissitudes of the First Decade 276  
   The Attractions of Communism  
   The Comintern's Difficulties  
 The Rise of Mao Tse-tung 284  
   The Maoist Strategy  
   Yenan and Wartime Expansion  
   Organization of Popular Support  
 Wartime Ideological Development 296  
   The New Democracy  
   Liberation
- Part III *The United States and the People's Republic***
- 12 Our Inherited China Policy 307**  
 American Expansion and Britain's Empire 308  
   America's Role within Britain's Informal Empire  
 The American Ambivalence about China 314

The Evolution of the Open Door	320
The Integrity of China	
The Nature of the American Interest	
America's Contribution and the Fate of Liberalism	327

### **13 United States Policy and the Nationalist Defeat 336**

American Aid and Mediation	340
The Nationalist Debacle	344
The "Loss of China" in America	350
Our Ally Taiwan	353

### **14 The People's Republic: Establishing the New Order 358**

Political Control	361
Coalition Government	
The Party, Government, and Army Structures	
The Mass Organizations	
Law and Security	
Economic Reconstruction	370
Land Reform	
Social Reorganization	375
Thought Reform	
Communism and Confucianism	
Criticism, Literary and Political	
The Korean War and Soviet Aid	386

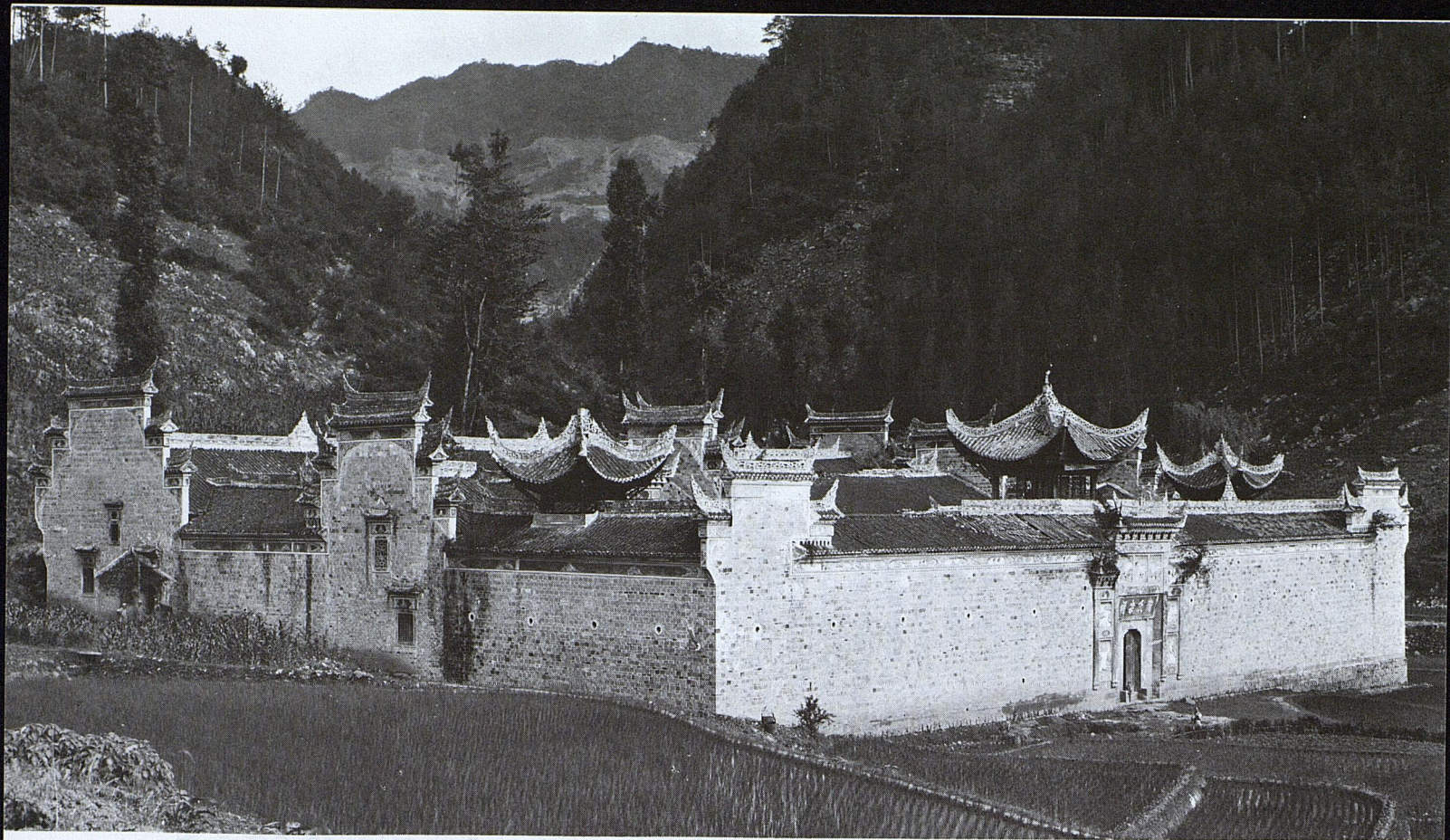
### **15 The Struggle for Socialist Transformation 391**

Collectivization of Agriculture	393
The First Five-Year Plan	399
The Struggles with Intellectuals and with Cadres	401
China in the World Scene	405
The Great Leap Forward	408
The Communes	412

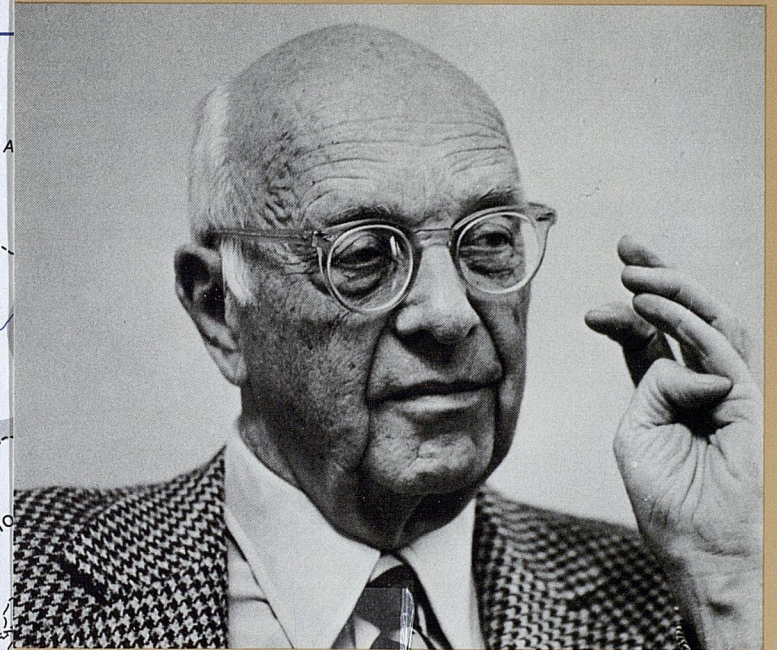
- 16 The Second Revolution 417**  
 Mao and His Opponents 417  
     The Two Approaches to China's Revolution  
 The Sino-Soviet Split 422  
 The Growth of Bureaucratic Evils 426  
     Cadre Life  
 Mao Revives the Revolution: The Socialist Education  
 Movement 431  
     Repoliticizing the Army  
 The Cultural Revolution 436  
     The Aftermath  
     Mao Tse-tung's Monument
- 17 Perspectives: China and Ourselves 450**  
 Our China Policy and the Wars in Korea  
 and Vietnam 452  
 New Perspectives of the 1970s 457  
 China Today in the Light of Her Past 462  
     Echoes of the Dynastic Cycle  
     Processes of Modernization  
 Problems of the New Order 470
- Suggested Reading 481  
 Index to Suggested Reading 571  
 General Index 581  
 Credits for Illustrations and Figures 607

## Figures

- The People's Republic of China ii—iii  
 Geographic Features 5  
 Population Density and Annual Rainfall 7  
 Administrative Areas under the Ch'ing Dynasty 108-109  
 Historical Periods 140  
 Foreign Encroachment on China 166  
 Railways of China, 1936 259



*The gentry.* Country house of T'ao family, Yun-yang hsien, Szechwan, 1910. Thirty-foot walls dwarf half a dozen human figures.



Photograph by John C. Phillips.

John King Fairbank is Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University. Among his numerous works are a series of fifteen color filmstrips, *China Old and New*, and a series of six cassettes on Chinese history and society and Sino-American relations, entitled *China Talks*, both produced by Mass Communications and distributed by Harvard University Press.

ISBN 0-674-92435-5

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London  
England