This document consists of a collection of curriculum projects created by U.S. teachers after visiting China during 1990. The projects cover 16 topics concerning China: "The Education System in the People's Republic of China" (T. Birney); "What I Want to Know about the People's Republic: Brief Answers to Questions Asked about the People's Republic of China by Senior High School Students" (D. Chasko); "Tiananmen Square and China One Year Later" (D. Shea Doyle); "Doing Business in China: A Curriculum Unit on Joint Ventures" (J. Heine); "China: Transition and Transformation" (P. Kaufman); "Teaching Tiananmen: The Dream Deferred" (H. Kiernan); "Qin Shih Huang Ti: First Emperor of China, 221-210 B.C." (J. Kramer); "The Role and Status of Women in China and the United States from the Nineteenth Century to 1990" (T. Kiewiarowski); "The First Emperor of China and the Question of Unification: Does It Have Relevance to Contemporary China" (W. Piacentini); "The Effectiveness of the Demographic Initiatives in China Today" (E. Ross); "To Get Rich is Glorious: Student Analysis of Post-Mao Economic Reform in the People's Republic of China" (E. Pike); "The Optimist, Beijing 1990" (R. Ruth); "Women in China: A curriculum Project for Grades Nine and Ten" (S. Sable and D. Doyle); "China: A Pattern of Tradition and Transformation" (D. Solmitz); "The Sights and Sounds of China" (G. Swalley); and "The Transformation of the Chinese Family: The One Child Policy" (S. Tomlison). (DB)
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THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Research Project
Thomas Birney
Fulbright Hays Summer Seminar - 1990
China: History and Culture
INTRODUCTION

This research project will focus on the education system in the People’s Republic of China (PRC). I chose this topic because education is such an essential element in China’s efforts to modernize and also because there have been tremendous changes in this system in the past 100 years. The information set forth in this report is the product of my visit to China under the auspices of the Fulbright/Hays Summer Seminar Program in 1990. During this visit I attended numerous lectures on the subject of education on all levels, I visited several schools on different levels of education, I held many conversations and interviews with students and educators, and I gathered information from government publications, magazine, and newspaper articles. In addition, I relied on my own personal observations in drawing conclusions on the various aspects of education in China today.

I decided to approach this rather large topic from several different angles. I begin with a brief historical survey of education in China to provide the reader with a historical context within which s/he can appreciate the changes that have occurred in education over the centuries. I then discuss the structure of education on all levels along with the curriculum from preschool to the postgraduate stages of education. The information I acquired regarding teaching conditions seems to be contradictory when you compare Chinese perceptions with actual practices. I also report on several social factors because of the influence they have exerted on education. I conclude the report with
an overview of the educational reforms that have been introduced in recent years and the problems that continue to plague education in China today and tend to hinder progress. One final segment of this report includes some suggested classroom activities making use of the information available in the report.
China's educational system is a little over three thousand years old. The earliest schools began appearing in the 11th century B.C. From these earliest schools throughout the centuries until modern times education was only available to the wealthy. Schools were designed to prepare students for government service and there were very few changes in this educational system until the 19th century. During all this time the greatest influences exerted on the schools were the teachings of Confucius (551 - 479 B.C.) and the institution of the Imperial Examinations System in the year 606 during the Sui Dynasty (581 - 618). The Imperial Examinations System was modified during the Tang Dynasty (618 - 907), the Song Dynasty (960 - 1279), the Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644), and finally the Qing Dynasty (1644 - 1911). The Confucian classics became the core of the curriculum which had to be mastered by rote learning. The Imperial Examinations System reinforced this method of teaching by requiring a thorough knowledge of the classics to ensure passage of the exam. This system continued virtually unchanged right into the 19th century.

In the 19th century profound changes in the system of education began to take root. As increased numbers of people from Western nations started arriving in China during the 19th century, missionary schools and private schools were founded in large numbers. This Western influence gradually led to changes in the Chinese system of education. Courses in science, math, and foreign languages were added to the curriculum in an attempt to modernize education and to provide China
with the necessary skills to become an emerging industrial nation. The latter part of the 19th cen-
tury saw the founding of the first universities in China.

At the outset of the 20th century the Imperial Examinations System was abolished, women
gained equal rights in education, the number of newly founded universities and other institutions
of higher education reached 21, and more and more elementary and secondary schools were built
so that greater segments of the population would have access to educational opportunities. How-
ever, the political turmoil brought about by the revolutions and the civil war between 1911 and
1949 along with the war against Japan from 1931 to 1945 had such a devastating effect on education
that by the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 approximately 90% of the popu-
lation was illiterate and had little or no education at all. In some rural areas of China this number
reached an astonishing 95% illiteracy rate.

Clearly in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was faced with the enormous task of
breathing new life into an educational system that had not improved much in nearly half a century.
In the 41 years since 1949 the illiteracy rate has been reduced to approximately 20% of the popu-
lation. While this statistic would indicate a great achievement in the field of education, it was not
accomplished without difficulties. This reduction in the illiteracy rate can be attributed in part to
the establishment of an adult education system in part-time schools and evening schools since 1949
and the development of a system of simplified Chinese characters in the 1950's.

After 1949 the Chinese government took over all public, private, and missionary schools, in-
corporating them into one school system available to all segments of the population both in the
cities and in the rural areas. All levels of education were tuition free and compulsory education was required for 9 years. In the early years of the PRC there was considerable cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. China learned a great deal from the educational system in the Soviet Union and the Chinese used the Soviet model in the organization and structure of their own schools in the 1950's. In 1958, however, China entered into an ideological debate with the Soviet Union that strained relations between these two nations to the breaking point, resulting in the withdrawal of all Soviet technicians and advisors. This brought about dramatic changes in education required to meet the demands of the economic reforms envisioned in the Great Leap Forward. Many teachers and students were sent out into the countryside to work in the fields of the newly formed communes; other teachers and students were sent to work in factories. This unprecedented drain of the country's intellectual resources was a major setback for education. At about the same time, between 1959 and 1962, China was rocked with a number of natural disasters. The combination of all these factors at the same time -- the loss of Soviet technological expertise, the loss of educational resources, and the destruction caused by natural disasters -- coupled with the economic disaster brought about by the failures of the Great Leap Forward resulted in an educational system that, in a few short years, suffered much the same fate as education did in the years 1911 - 1949.

Another major setback to education occurred during the Cultural Revolution (1966 - 1976). All institutions of higher education were closed in 1966 and once again teachers and students were sent out to work in factories and in the fields. During this period as many as 106 institutions of higher education (nearly 25% of the 434 in existence in 1965) were completely dismantled, books
and equipment were destroyed or otherwise lost, and the buildings and facilities were used for various purposes by the Red Guards. The same fate befell many secondary schools as well. Teachers, professors, and students were ridiculed, attacked, persecuted, and jailed as "bourgeois intellectuals" and "counter-revolutionaries." In the early 1970's when the universities finally reopened only peasants, workers, soldiers, and their children were admitted. This was the same type of injustice and folly that existed in the feudal educational system when only the children of the wealthy had access to education. This condition continued until 1976 when, finally after Mao Ze Dong's death, the universities once again admitted only the most qualified students based on the results of a national standardized admissions examination. However, the damage had already been done.

In 1965 there had been 434 institutions of higher education in the PRC; by 1976 there were only 392 that had reopened. A whole generation of young people lost an education during the Cultural Revolution, the consequences of which are still being felt today in China. It is estimated that the Cultural Revolution set China back perhaps 20 years in its attempts to modernize.

Since 1976 new strides have been made to improve education on all levels. Numerous educational reforms have been introduced, the curriculum has been revised and updated, the structure of the educational system has been modified and new types of schools have been established, teacher training programs have been improved and expanded, and student enrollments have increased overall. All of these changes will be discussed in detail later on in this report. A glance at the tables in the appendices will give the reader a sense of the accomplishments that have been made in education since 1949. These accomplishments are all the more impressive when one considers
the periods of turmoil, upheaval, and disaster that have had such a devastating effect on education in the PRC in the last 41 years. Today approximately 96% of all school age children attend elementary school. This compares very favorably with a figure of 20% of the same school age children attending elementary school in 1949.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

There are great differences in the organization and structure of schools in the various cities and regions due to the varying social and economic conditions from one part of China to another. The following description of the educational system is therefore a general overview. The statistics cited here and in the appendices were taken from various publications in the PRC and most are based on the conclusions reported at the end of the 6th Five Year Plan in 1985. Complete statistics for the 7th Five Year Plan which will conclude in 1990 are not yet available. Additional information for this report was gathered from lectures I attended during my stay in China. I also obtained some very valuable information from conversations and interviews I had with administrators, professors, teachers, and students on all educational levels. Still other information resulted from personal observations made during visits to a number of schools.
While in China I had the opportunity to visit a Kindergarten in Beijing affiliated with Beijing Normal University and a Kindergarten in Da Ming Gong, a large village on the outskirts of Xian. In the same village I also visited an elementary/secondary school complex but school was not in session because of summer vacation. On the secondary level I visited the Beijing #2 Middle School (a key school affiliated with Beijing Normal University) and the Minority Nationalities Middle School in Dali in Yunnan Province. On the post secondary level I lived in the foreign experts dormitory on the campus of Beijing Normal University and I also visited the Beijing Foreign Language Institute, the Yunnan Institute for Minority Nationalities in Kunming, and the Shanghai College of Medicine. These visits were invaluable to me in providing a first hand look at education in China today.

The schools I visited are all key schools, that is, showcase schools which have expert teachers and which attract exceptional students. Key schools have been established on all levels of education: as of 1980 there were 7,000 elementary schools, 5,700 ordinary secondary schools, 239 specialized secondary schools, and 97 colleges and universities all of which were designated as key schools. In some key elementary and secondary schools students board because their homes are a great distance from the school. This was the case at the Minority Nationalities Middle School in Dali. There are often misconceptions among Americans regarding the Middle School in China because of our use of the term and its meaning in the United States. The Middle School in China is a six year secondary school from grade 7 to 12 which is divided into two levels: Junior Middle School for grades 7 - 9 and Senior Middle School for grades 10 - 12. To add to the confusion some Chinese publi-
ocations refer to these two levels of secondary school as Junior High School and Senior High School, terms which correspond exactly with many American school systems. For this report I will refer to the secondary level of education in China as the Middle School.

The school year for elementary and secondary schools lasts 40 weeks which is about the same as the school year here in the United States. Classes on these levels are held 6 days a week but elementary students receive an average of 25 hours of instruction a week while secondary students receive an average of 30 - 32 hours of instruction a week. In addition, all Middle School students must devote an additional 4 weeks to some form of manual labor and technical training during the Middle School years. The curriculum for elementary and secondary schools is standardized nationwide and it is prescribed by the State Education Commission (SEC). The college entrance examinations are also standardized nationwide but all other examinations are standardized by city and region. Most schools are coed but there are still a few all-girl and all-boy schools throughout China.

There are actually three different school systems in China today: full-time schools, part-time schools, and work/study schools. The largest system by far is the full-time school system which begins with Kindergarten (see Appendix A). Kindergarten is another term which is often confused because of its use and meaning elsewhere in the world. A Kindergarten in China is very similar to a nursery school or a day care center in the United States. In a Kindergarten in China children are admitted at the age of 3 although often younger children, even infants as young as 56 days, are accepted in some Kindergartens. The children are kept occupied with a full day of activities broken
up only by rest periods and meals which are also provided for the children. In Kindergarten the children are given the opportunity to develop their intellect as well as their physical coordination.

As part of their education in Kindergarten the children are introduced to music and the arts, language arts, simple math, and an appreciation and understanding of their environment and their heritage. This is accomplished by means of story telling, games, role playing skits, individual projects, and cooperative projects in large groups and small groups. In addition, these activities are designed to instill in the children moral values and social skills such as honesty, bravery, cooperation, friendliness, self-discipline, and politeness.

In Kindergarten the children are divided into three groups by age and level of maturity. In the Kindergarten I visited in Beijing the youngest group and the middle group were outdoors on the playground engaged in various games that were supervised by their teachers. The playground was well equipped with the usual playground equipment such as swings, slides, sand boxes, see-saws, and other such delights for children. The oldest group was inside the school building working on a project. The building consisted of two stories divided into large rooms where each group of children could work on indoor activities. The walls were covered with displays of the children's artwork and similar projects. One display consisted of the children's drawings depicting themselves and their family as well as their home and garden. In the Kindergarten outside Xian the youngest group was sitting all together on a long L-shaped bench in a garden playing a game. The middle group was in the school building taking a nap and the oldest group was seated on stools in a large circle in a courtyard. Nearby a teacher was playing a small piano and the children were engaged in
a sing-along game where one youngster would sit on a stool in the middle of the circle and exchange
places with another youngster with each stanza of the song.

After Kindergarten children enter elementary school at the age of 7 where they have 6 years of
schooling. In China this level of education is referred to as "the business of the future," that is pre-
paring students for continuing education and the work force. The primary goals of the elementary
school are to instill in the students patriotism and loyalty to the CCP and the country, to lay a solid
foundation in the basic skills, to develop good study habits, and to prepare students with the skills
they will need for future study and work. Students in grades 1 - 3 are not given any homework as-
signments because of the many after school activities that are provided by the school where students
have plenty of opportunities to use the academic skills they acquire in the classroom. Students in
grades 4 - 6 are given 1 hour of homework each day. Very often these assignments can be completed
in self study classes during the school day where teachers are always available to provide guidance
and assistance as needed.

In the past before the new compulsory education law was put into effect only about 50% of
elementary school students continued their education in Junior Middle School. Of these only about
33% continued on into Senior Middle School and of these only about 3% went on to study in
colleges and universities. The new compulsory education law which is being phased in between
1987 and 1990 requires that all students receive a minimum of 9 years of schooling on the elemen-
tary and secondary level. Theoretically, all elementary school graduates should complete 3 years
of schooling in a Junior Middle School but there are no statistics available that would indicate the extent of compliance with the new law.

After Junior Middle School students may enter several different types of secondary schools based on the results of a standardized test: Senior Middle School for a total of 3 years (at the present time only about 40% of Junior Middle School graduates continue their education in the Senior Middle School), specialized secondary schools for a total of 3 - 6 years based on the area of specialization, and agricultural and vocational schools for a total of 3 - 6 years depending on the field of study and training (see appendices A and B). Agricultural and vocational schools are relatively new in the Chinese educational system; they have only been in existence since 1976. The greatest majority of students enter a Senior Middle School, about 66% of all those continuing on in a secondary school in 1985 (see appendix C). The primary goals of secondary education are to instruct students in the fundamental principles of the CCP, to expose students to a wide range of academic subjects, to prepare students further with the skills they will need for future study and work, and also to provide students with life skills; for example, students are taught how to cook, to wash clothes, to do simple manual labor, to do simple carpentry work, and to perform other simple technical jobs.

At the completion of Senior Middle School students take a series of standardized college entrance examinations that are administered over a 3 day period. For those students who wish to enter institutions of higher education in the fields of science and math the exams test the students' knowledge in 7 subject areas: political science, Chinese language and literature, foreign language,
math, chemistry, biology, and physics. For those students who plan to enter fields in the humanities and social sciences the exams cover 5 subject areas: political science, Chinese language and literature, foreign language, history, and geography. Since there are so few openings for entering students in colleges and universities only about 4% of Senior Middle School graduates today are able to continue their education in a post-secondary school. The students can indicate their choices of schools when they take the exams but more often than not admissions are based on a student’s academic talent and aptitude as well as on the needs of society as perceived by the government. Those students who do not make the cut off for admission to an institution of higher education must wait for a job assignment based on the same criteria. Most often these job assignments are made in a student’s hometown or nearby but sometimes young people are sent to far off cities or villages. Since job assignments are usually for life this practice creates a great hardship for those families that are affected.

Specialized secondary schools provide the same basic education that students receive in a Senior Middle School while at the same time providing training in specialized skills for specific fields such as teacher training, engineering, forestry, agriculture, political science and law, business administration, physical therapy training, nursing, medical and dental technicians, the arts, and coal mining. Some schools that specialize in engineering may even operate their own factory. When students complete their studies in a specialized secondary school they are usually assigned to a job in their area of specialization but this is not always the case. During my stay in China in the summer of 1990 I had the opportunity to talk with many young men and women about their schooling and
work experiences. Two of the young people I spoke with were not assigned to jobs in the field of specialization that they had trained for. They were very bitter about their job assignments and dissatisfied with the work they were doing. They spoke vaguely about the possibility of changing jobs or transferring to a different department where their job skills would be more useful but I did not get the impression that they had much hope that this would actually happen.

Agricultural and vocational schools also provide the same basic education that students receive in a Senior Middle School. In an agricultural school the students also study agricultural science and they learn the skills and processes necessary for agricultural production. Some agricultural schools operate their own farm where students receive practical on the job training. Upon completion of their studies at an agricultural school students enter the agricultural work force. In vocational schools in addition to the academic subjects, the students also receive training in the vocational skills of a particular occupational field in much the same way as secondary school students do in BOCES schools in New York State. Upon completion of their studies in a vocational school the students enter the work force.

The few students who gain admission to a college or university generally follow a 4 year course of study; for science and engineering it is 5 years and for the medical sciences it is 6 years. In 1980 the teacher - student ratio in institutions of higher education was 1:4.6. In 1985 the percentage of students studying in various fields was reported as follows: engineering - 34%; teacher training - 25%; medicine and pharmacy - 9.3%; finance and economics - 8.7%; humanities - 7.5%; natural sciences - 5.7%; agriculture - 5.2%; political science and law - 2.1%; forestry - 1%; physical edu-
The field of study that a student will pursue is determined by the needs of the state. Job assignments upon completion of studies are also determined on this basis.

The primary goals of institutions of higher education are to train students in highly specialized fields and to promote research and development in science and technology. All students must also be proficient in at least 1 foreign language so that they can read professional journals and articles in that language that are pertinent to their field. Many universities have research institutes affiliated with them which serve as a training ground for students while also providing much needed research and development in such specialized areas as microbiology, nuclear energy, economics, etc. Tuition in institutions of higher education is generally free and students receive a small living allowance. In recent years, however, a certain number of openings in each school has become available to students who did not pass the college entrance exams but can afford to pay a relatively high tuition fee. Such students are referred to derisively by their fellow students as "back door students." They are usually the sons and daughters of government officials and CCP cadres. This practice has been one of the objects of student protests and demonstrations in recent years which ended so brutally in the bloody massacre at Tiananmen Square on June 3, 1989.

In the wake of Tiananmen Square some major changes have been implemented in higher education. The entering freshman class must now complete 1 year of military training before beginning their studies, resulting in the loss of a full year of education for an entire class throughout China. The number of Chinese students studying abroad has been reduced to almost zero today.
stands in stark contrast with the situation in this past decade. In the 1980's over 50,000 Chinese students have studied in the United States alone, many of them the sons and daughters of China's leadership today. This tremendous number of students studying abroad was China's attempt to make up for the losses in education suffered during the Cultural Revolution. It represented the only chance for China to begin to meet the needs of its policy of the Four Modernizations. In order for a student in China to get permission to study abroad today the student must first work for 5 years after completion of his/her studies. This new policy will virtually eliminate study abroad and adversely affect education. The number of foreign students studying in China has also been reduced to a mere fraction of last year's numbers. A glance at appendix E will show how the numbers of Chinese students studying abroad and the numbers of foreign students studying in China have doubled and tripled between 1980 and 1985. In 1983 over 100 American universities had exchange programs with universities in China. Today that number has probably been reduced considerably.

On the secondary level there were also a number of exchange programs with high schools in Japan, England, and the United States. The foreign students who went to China usually lived in the homes of teachers. The Beijing #2 Middle School that I visited has an exchange program with a high school in Washington State but no exchange has taken place between the two schools since last year. In order to arrange such a program with a school in China it would be necessary to contact the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Education Commission in Beijing.

In addition to all the various types of schools already discussed above, as of 1985 there were also 375 special schools for the blind and the deaf-mute. Students with other handicapping condi-
tions and retarded students are generally educated in special classrooms in ordinary schools, although in recent years a few experimental schools have been opened for the mentally retarded, notably in Shanghai.

Part-time schools, first established in 1951, exist on all levels of education. In order to complete any level a student must pass a written exam similar to our GED program, regardless of the number of years spent in studies on that level. Each level, however, does require a minimum number of class hours for graduation: elementary - 360 hours; secondary - 720 hours; and higher education - 2,000 - 2,500 hours depending on the course of study. Work/study schools are still in the experimental stages of development. They were first tried in 1958 and were completely closed down during the Cultural Revolution. They were originally designed to provide continuing education on all levels for those students who dropped out of school to enter the work force or to engage in agricultural jobs. In recent years correspondence courses, evening courses, as well as radio and television courses have grown in popularity.

THE CURRICULUM

The State Education Commission (SEC) prescribes one general preschool, elementary, and secondary curriculum for all students in the entire country. Variations are allowed for regional needs.
and especially in minority nationalities schools. In addition to traditional academic subjects, students are also taught that they have obligations and responsibilities to their family and to society.

In Kindergarten the children follow a prescribed program every day which includes rest periods, mealtimes, games and play time, as well as classes in a variety of subjects (see appendix F). The youngest group (3 and 4 year olds) have 14 classes each week; the middle group (4 and 5 year olds) have 21 classes each week; and the oldest group (5 and 6 year olds) have 24 classes each week. The classes for the youngest group last 10 - 15 minutes; classes for the middle group last 20 - 25 minutes; and classes for the oldest group last 25 - 30 minutes.

On the elementary level the students are instructed in ethics, Chinese language arts, math, science, geography, history, physical education, music, fine arts, manual labor (for grades 4 - 6 only), and foreign languages (in special key schools). In the upper grades students are required to perform 1 hour of manual labor each week which may include gardening, planting trees, cleaning, and other types of community service. In rural areas students may help in the fields to satisfy this requirement.

After school activities are provided 6 class hours each week. These extracurricular activities include private study time (for completing homework assignments under the supervision of a teacher), sports, academic and recreational activities, weekly club meetings, and activities of the Young Pioneers.

On the secondary level the curriculum becomes much more demanding in the academic areas and in political studies (see appendix G). At first glance a secondary school schedule looks very demanding until you realize that most courses do not meet every day. Only Chinese language
classes meet every day and then only in Junior Middle School. Math classes meet every day but only in the 2nd and 3rd year of Junior Middle School. Foreign languages begin in the 1st year of Middle School and continue throughout all 6 years. The most common foreign languages are English, Japanese, German, and Russian. Most Middle Schools offer only 1 or 2 foreign languages and students do not have a choice as to which language they will take. As a matter of fact, students do not have any choices in the curriculum as all courses are required except in some key schools where students may have a choice of electives in liberal arts and sciences. The electives include such courses as computer science, map making, electronic technology, basic astronomy, oceanography, elementary medical science, formal logic, history of literature, theory of art and literature, classical Chinese, and a second foreign language. Along with the academic program students are also instructed in moral values and appropriate behavior.

Most secondary schools also offer a varied program of after school activities which include sports and other recreational activities, clubs and special interest organizations, art and music, and lectures on topics in the fields of science and technology. In addition to this academic and extracurricular program, students are also required to devote 4 weeks to some form of manual labor and technical training during their 6 years of study in secondary schools. This work may be performed in a factory, on a farm, in a training center, or in some other form of public service.

In institutions of higher education required subjects for all students include foreign languages, political science, economics, the history of the CCP and the international communist movement, physical education, as well as basic and advanced courses in a student’s major field. Higher educa-
tion is highly specialized with very little emphasis on general education although some elective courses are available in subjects related to the student's major field and in liberal arts courses. Undergraduate studies usually last 4 - 5 years and graduate studies vary in length from 2 to 4 years. Graduate students are required to know 2 foreign languages in addition to an intense pursuit of advanced studies and research in their major fields. In addition, each student must devote 10 weeks in the performance of manual labor or public service in his/her major field during the undergraduate years.

TEACHING CONDITIONS

The number of teachers on all levels of education has grown on an average of 10 times since 1949 (see appendix II). Teacher training and background will vary depending on the educational level in which the teacher is employed. Teachers on the elementary level must be graduates of a normal school (teacher training school). Middle School teachers must be graduates of a college or university. Today 25% of all college and university students are pursuing programs in teacher training -- second only to the number of students pursuing engineering studies (34% of all college and university students). On the secondary level teachers teach an average of 10 - 12 classes a week (compared to the average of 25 classes a week in the United States) but they must also be available
to assist students during self study classes and after school in extracurricular activities. They also spend some time each week visiting the homes of students. Teachers have half a day off once a week to pursue professional development programs. Salaries are commensurate with a highly respected position in society. As a matter of fact, elementary and secondary teacher salaries are now higher than those of university professors. Female teachers may retire at age 55 and male teachers at age 60 with 100% of their final salary.

Ironically, these relatively favorable teaching conditions are the result of the Cultural Revolution. The loss of prospective teachers during the Cultural Revolution created such a tremendous shortage of teachers on all levels during the late 1970's and early 1980's that the government had to take drastic action to reverse this situation and to make the teaching profession more attractive for young people. Aside from substantial pay increases for teachers, additional measures were taken to alleviate this problem including special in-service training programs holiday periods for teachers whose training was interrupted or cancelled in the years 1966 - 1976. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that the teaching conditions of today will remain the same in the future. Once the teacher shortage has been eliminated completely government policies can change unpredictably and without warning. The end result is a paradoxical uneasy sense of security in the teaching profession.
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS THAT IMPACT ON EDUCATION

A number of social and economic factors is having a significant effect on education, especially on the elementary and secondary level. Based on lectures I have attended on the subject and my own personal observations in the PRC, I have identified 4 factors which seem to be most influential: economic reforms and the free market system, the government's policy of one child per family, parental involvement in the schools, and government policies geared toward the minority nationalities. While economic reforms have generated a great deal of entrepreneurial activity, increased productivity, and some small degree of prosperity, especially in rural areas, these same reforms have also resulted in an increase in the school drop out rate. More and more students are dropping out of school to work in a family enterprise or to mind younger brothers and sisters because both parents work. This new development is bound to come into conflict with the new government policy of compulsory education.

The fact that some students drop out of school to mind younger siblings would seem to be a contradiction of the government policy of one child per family. Actually, this policy only seems to be having some success in the cities. It is not observed in rural areas where approximately 80% of the population of the PRC lives and the minority nationalities are exempt from the policy. In the cities where it is working, it is creating a number of problems in the schools never before experienced on such a large scale. Teachers are reporting many cases of spoiled and self-centered children in their classes, a phenomenon that is rather humorously referred to in China as the "little emperor"
complex." This situation is resulting in an increase in the incidents of conflicts between male and female students. Another unfortunate consequence of the one child per family policy is the fact that many families want a son and if they have a daughter the parents may not place much emphasis on her education.

The schools recognize the dangers of this form of neglect and they also recognize that parental concern and involvement in the educational process is crucial for a good atmosphere of cooperation between home and school. In order to ensure that society, the family, and the school work as a unit, schools have established various procedures to make the schools more accessible to the parents. Each class has a teacher advisor /tutor or homeroom teacher who is responsible for holding parent meetings for his/her class. Most often these open house meetings are held at the beginning of each semester and also just before mid-term and final exams. Frequently, parents are invited to visit the school and observe classes. There is no nationwide organization like our PTA but in some schools parents form a parents committee to serve in an advisory capacity to the school. Some schools even have parent-teachers who meet with teachers to discuss and make recommendations on educational issues and who also serve as teacher aides in the classroom. Most of these measures have only been introduced in recent years and seem to have achieved the main goal of developing a spirit of cooperation between home and school.

Since the founding of the PRC the Chinese government has made great progress in improving educational opportunities for the 55 minority nationalities in China. In 1949 there were almost no schools for the minority nationalities. Since then the state has invested more money in minority
schools than it has invested in ordinary schools. As a result of these expenditures many new schools on all levels of education have been built just for minority nationality students. In addition, large numbers of minority nationality teachers have been trained to provide improved educational programs in minority regions all over China. The curriculum in minority nationality schools is the same as that in other schools except for the fact that minority students study their own native language as well as Chinese. For this reason Middle School studies generally take 1 year longer than they do in non-minority schools. In some minority regions students cannot speak Mandarin Chinese and for them instruction is in their own native language while they begin to study Chinese.

Gradually, instruction is provided in both languages until the students have gained proficiency in Chinese. There are a few problems involved in teaching in minority languages. Some of the minority nationalities do not have a writing system for their language while others use writing systems similar to Arabic and Hindi. The vocabulary of some minority languages is also a difficult problem because the vocabulary has not kept up with the latest scientific developments and technological advances. Therefore, instruction in Mandarin Chinese plays a very important role in minority areas.

During my stay in China I had the opportunity to visit Yunnan Province in southwestern China where some 25 of the 55 minority nationalities live. The total population of Yunnan Province is 34 million of which some 10 million are minority nationalities. In Yunnan Province I visited a Minority Nationalities Middle School in Dali which is attended by approximately 800 students from 14 different minority nationalities from the region. The Chinese government has invested 5 million yuan (about $1,062,00 at today's rate of exchange) in this school since it was built in 1982. The
student population is roughly 75 - 80% boys and 20 - 25% girls all of whom board at the school. This imbalance in the ratio of boys to girls is due largely to the high drop out rate of girls after the Junior Middle School level. The language of instruction at this school is Mandarin Chinese but the students are encouraged to speak their own native languages after class. They are also encouraged to wear their native costumes and to maintain the traditions of their individual minority group. Evening activities are designed to encourage the maintenance of cultural identity by participation in native dances and the singing of songs from their native regions. Many of the activities are designed to help students from different minority groups to get to know one another and to gain an understanding and appreciation of other cultures and traditions.

After graduation from the Dali Minority Nationalities Middle School about 30% of the students are accepted into key universities. Others enter normal schools and colleges where they participate in teacher training programs and then return to their native villages to assume a teaching post. Still others are sent to minorities training centers where they are prepared for government positions in their native regions. The students I met at the school were asked to indicate what their career goals are. Their responses were not unlike those of American high school students. The most frequently mentioned occupational fields were photography, teaching, police work, translation work, biology, law, forestry, theology, a writing profession, and military service in the People's Liberation Army.

There are several minority nationality colleges and universities throughout China. Minority students do not have to take the national college entrance exams for admission to these schools.
Local authorities prepare their own entrance exams in the native languages of the minority students.

Other colleges and universities have lowered admission requirements for minority students in order to give more of these students opportunities to pursue further studies. Often these students are enrolled in special Chinese classes at the outset of their studies until their proficiency in Chinese has improved to the point where they can be mainstreamed.

I also had the opportunity to visit the Yunnan Institute for Minority Nationalities in Kunming in Yunnan Province which was founded in 1951. Although it had the title of an institution of higher education the academic standards were on a much lower level in the beginning. The teachers were Middle School teachers and the textbooks were actually elementary school textbooks. Enrollments at that time were extremely low due to the poor economic and political conditions of the period. Some of the students were as young as 16 while others were as old as 55 and older. The students also came from many different minority groups and they were not used to living together. These differences in age and background resulted in many arguments and fights in the beginning. In the ensuing years there have been many improvements at this school. Today the students from different minority groups get along well with one another. The school is staffed with university trained professors and in the 1980's the school finally gained true university status in its curriculum and in its standards.

The example of the Yunnan Institute for Minority Nationalities underscores the importance of teacher training as a key factor in improving education for the minority nationalities. Yunnan Province has a very successful minority educational system for several reasons:
1. the SEC has staffed the Yunnan Provincial Education Commission with well educated and competent minority members from the region.

2. Education is available to all minority groups on all levels from preschool to university.

3. Minority studies classes have been introduced in many schools on all levels.

4. Minority students enjoy equal educational opportunities with the Han majority students because of the lower test score cut off levels on the national college entrance exams.

The success of the government's policies toward the education of minority students in Yunnan Province can be measured by the percentage of these students who attend school. Minority groups make up about 31.7% of the population of Yunnan Province. In education they compose about 32.1% of the total elementary school population; 27.5% of the total secondary school population; and 18% of the total university population. Today 99.3% of all school-age children in minority groups in China attend elementary school, a figure that is nearly 3.3% higher than the national average. In spite of these impressive numbers the illiteracy rate among minority nationalities still remains very high at 58%.
EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Today many reforms are in preparation to improve the quality of education and to solve lingering problems. Perhaps most notable among the current educational reforms is a new emphasis on teaching methods. The age old system of rote learning is gradually giving way to new methods of teaching such as peer teaching, inductive and deductive reasoning, and the use of outlines and highlights. The process of learning is becoming more important than the result as quality is now preferred over quantity. Teachers now guide students to identify problems and greater emphasis is placed on developing originality and creativity so that students will learn to think for themselves in finding solutions to problems. Reforms are also underway in the requirements for textbooks. In the past one standardized textbook was required for each subject for the entire nation. It has been recognized that this policy is inappropriate because it does not take into account regional differences. The work load for teachers is being reduced as more and more younger teachers enter the teaching profession. It is estimated that today nearly 90% of all teachers have an unduly heavy work load. Every year more and more general secondary schools are being converted to agricultural, vocational, and specialized secondary schools. The new compulsory education law, discussed earlier in this report, requiring students to attend elementary and secondary school for a minimum of 9 years will complete its phase-in period in 1990 in an attempt to eliminate illiteracy and to assure a better educated populace. Finally, Premier Li Peng recently proposed a reduction in the work load for ele-

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mentary school students, saying: "Too much homework is detrimental to the pupils' moral, intellectual and physical development." The SEC responded by issuing regulations in 1988 limiting testing and restricting homework assignments to no more than 1 hour a day.

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

In spite of some of the favorable statistics reported earlier in this report, there are still many ongoing problems that threaten to reverse the gains that have been made in education in recent years. Everywhere I went in China officials and educational leaders conceded that there were numerous problems in education but they always countered with the statement: "China is a developing country and we are working hard to overcome our problems." These words, repeated so often by so many people, had the ring of a government sanctioned directive.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of the government's strictly centralized control of education is that it is resulting in neglect of a system that is already in crisis. The lack of government funding for education, especially in rural areas, is resulting in shortages of basic equipment such as books, chairs, desks, and even chalk. Dilapidated school buildings and other facilities are not being replaced which is resulting more and more in dangerous conditions for students and teachers alike. China spends only 2.6% of its GNP for education compared with a 4% figure in other developing coun-
tries. This lack of government financing and the introduction of school fees which a family must pay to cover the cost of electricity, books, and teacher salaries are causing a relatively high drop out rate. As a consequence, the illiteracy rate is on the rise again. Some observers estimate that in 10 years as many as 50% of children in rural areas will be illiterate. Upgrading the quality of education in rural areas and border areas where most of the minority nationalities reside will be one of China's greatest challenges in the future.

There are other problems that will need to be addressed as well. For example, there are not enough openings in universities and other institutions of higher education for the number of students who are well qualified. Only about 4% of Senior Middle School graduates have the opportunity to enter college or university. This results in large numbers of young people being assigned to jobs where they are dissatisfied. Students realize that they have little hope of continuing their education unless they are at the very top of their class. Consequently, many do not take their studies seriously. It also creates problems at the college and university level because students tend to relax their efforts in their studies once they are accepted. In an attempt to avoid this problem, admissions policies have changed to take into account recommendations and student involvement in school activities in addition to test scores on the college entrance exams. Still other problems on the elementary and secondary level include class sizes between 40 and 60 students which create a great challenge for teachers to maintain discipline in the classroom. The most common discipline problems are cheating on exams and fighting. Teachers salaries, while improving, are still not as high as the salaries of cab drivers, hotel workers, entrepreneurs, and even some students who
moonlight in the free market. Consequently, there are many unqualified teachers on all levels and fewer students have an interest in teaching as a profession compared with the situation of just a few years ago. One official newspaper, the Worker's Daily, estimates that as many as 70% of classroom teachers today are unqualified to teach.

There are also numerous problems in higher education. In the wake of the Tiananmen Square incident of June 1989 a crisis of morale has set in on China's campuses as a result of new government policies and dashed hopes of greater academic freedom. This crisis has been building over the past few years and is reflected in the fact that 2 out of 3 students who went abroad in the past decade did not return to China. The despair has been fueled by new government policies that place restrictions on study abroad, require entering freshmen to undergo 1 year of military and political training, provide for the transfer of young professors to outlying areas to teach for 1 year, and the implementation of stricter controls on job placement practices. The shortage of job openings for graduates has led to the fear that only those with connections will be able to get good jobs in the field that they were trained for.
The following activities are designed for use by secondary school students:

Working individually or in small groups, have the students analyze the table in appendix E, "Number of Students Studying Abroad & Returned," and have them determine what problems these numbers pose for China. Then have the students also suggest reasons why so many Chinese students abroad would choose not to return home after finishing their studies. Ask the students to voice their views on China's new policy regarding student eligibility requirements for study abroad.

Have the students read the segment on the problems still faced in education in China and ask the students to suggest solutions they would propose if they were members of the SEC.

Have the students compare their own class schedules with the courses that a Chinese student on the same grade level would be required to take (see appendix G - "Curriculum") and list the advantages and disadvantages of both programs. Some questions to ask students as a follow-up activity are:

1. If you were a Chinese student of the same age what suggestions would you make to improve the Chinese school system?

2. Which course in the Chinese curriculum on your grade level would you want to see dropped? State why!
3. Which course would you add to the Chinese curriculum on your grade level? State why!

4. Would you be willing to devote 4 weeks of your own free time to community service during the 6 year period you will spend in grades 7-12 as students do in China? Indicate why or why not!

The 5 stories on the following pages were taken from *Road of Life*, a collection of the accounts of people's experiences at various stages of life. Have the students read these stories and answer the following questions:

"Homework Blues" by Rao Wei:

1. What experiences do you share with Rao Wei? Describe your own experiences!

2. What attitude or viewpoint expressed by Rao Wei do you agree with very strongly? Explain why!

3. What attitude or viewpoint expressed by Rao Wei do you disagree with very strongly? Explain why!
4. Do you approve of the measures taken by Rao Wei's teachers and family to correct his behavior in school and at home, to change his attitude toward homework, and to improve his achievement in school? Explain your answer!

5. Do you agree with Rao Wei's statement that if you have enough money you will be free? Explain why you agree or disagree!

6. Why do you suppose a 10 year old in China would express such a viewpoint?

"A Country Boy Goes to School" by Li Shuncai:

1. What problems or injustices in the Chinese education system are evident in Li Shuncai's story?

2. What do you admire most about Li Shuncai?

3. If you were in a position to help Li Shuncai what would you do to help out?

4. In your opinion, what is Li Shuncai's greatest motivation to get a good education?
"Being a Monitor" by Zhang Jianguo:

1. What seems to be the function of a monitor in Zhang Jianguo’s school?

2. Does your school have a student organization similar to the monitor system in this Chinese school? If so, compare it with the organization in the Chinese school! If not, should your school have such an organization? Explain why or why not!

3. If you were a student in Zhang Jianguo’s school would you be willing to serve as a monitor? Explain your answer!

"Dating in Senior Middle School" by Jin Hua:

1. What similarities are there in the dating practices of teenagers in China and in the United States?

2. What differences are there in the dating practices of teenagers in China and in the United States?

3. Why do you suppose Jin Hua has chosen not to find a boyfriend?
4. If you were Jin Hua's teacher what would you have said in the class discussion about the positive and negative aspects of teenage dating?

"Exam Fever" by Wang Yan:

1. Do American students experience the same anxieties as Wang Yan did in preparing for her college entrance exams?

2. What study techniques did Wang Yan use in preparing for her college entrance exams?

3. Do you ever use any of these study techniques in your classes? If so, which ones? If not, which study techniques do you use?

4. Why was Wang Yan's experience at the village school beneficial for her?

5. In all the stories you have read what role do parents in China play in the education of their children?
Homework Blues

RAO WEI

I am 12 years old, a student in the fifth grade of Baiwanzhuang Elementary School near the China Reconstructs office in Beijing. I was born at a time when China had already begun its birth control policy of "one family, one child," so I am the only son in our family. My parents and grandparents dote on me, sometimes with too much love and care. Children like me are often called "little kings" or "queens."

When I was six years old, my parents sent me to school. At first I was fascinated by the bright, clean classroom, and the unfamiliar faces of pupils sitting nervously on their chairs. I walked around happily, watching this, touching that, but when class began, the teacher pulled me down into a chair. This was the beginning of my school life.

I had been very free at home and couldn't sit quietly on a chair for 45 minutes, listening attentively to what the teacher said. In class I drew pictures on my bag and books, and walked around in the classroom while the class was still on.

Soon my parents were asked to come to school. I did not understand when the teacher said to them, "Your son is clever and active. The only problem is that he does not listen attentively in class. I hope you can do something to change him." From then on, my parents became "teaching assistants." Every evening while I did my homework, they would sit one on either side of me. Whenever I tried to stand up, they would pull me back. When Grandma saw this, she did nothing, but she sighed. "He is like a caged bird. Why does he have to live such a hard life at such an early age?"

All I had to do was study, I was not expected to do any housework. When I tried to sweep the floor, Grandpa or Grandma would stop me because they were afraid I might get too tired. When I tried to fetch hot water, Dad or Mom would stop me because they were afraid I might get scalded, and I was not allowed to wash dishes in case I dropped something.

When it came to mealtimes, however, it was a different story. Grandma would shell the boiled eggs and put them into my bowl; Grandpa boned my fish and put it into my mouth, and Dad and Mom always told me to eat more vegetables. Having meals was not enjoyable, but a struggle against the "oppression" of too much care. I could not do anything for myself. Once, on a school excursion I found I had two boiled eggs for lunch, but had to take them home again because, after several tries, I had not been able to get the shells off!

At home, I am king. Grandpa and Grandma spoil me, and although Dad is strict, he has to do whatever Grandpa says. When my parents cannot control me, they ask my teachers for help.

There are 40 pupils in my class, of whom 30 are only
children. In the early years of elementary school, the teachers often held contests involving dressing ourselves, tying shoe laces, pencil sharpening, and washing up to help us develop independence. Although I never came first, the teachers often praised me for my progress. Each week we have an ethics class, which is one of my favorites. The teacher tells us stories to help us to love the motherland and the people and live independently as soon as possible.

Holidays like Children’s Day (June 1), National Day (Oct. 1) and Spring Festival are the best times because we receive presents from our parents and only children also get presents from their parents’ work units. Before the holidays, we decorate the classroom and sing, dance, and play games. Afterward we eat cakes and dishes brought from home. Sometimes we make jiaozi (Chinese-style ravioli with meat and vegetable stuffing), which are traditionally eaten on the eve of a holiday. Most of us have never learned to make them at home, but at school we all compete with one another to wrap the small pieces of dough neatly around the filling. It’s fun, and we laugh a lot while we do it.

In fourth grade, we went regularly to a home for the aged in the western outskirts of Beijing where over 30 childless old people live. We helped them to do housework and sing songs and told stories about our life and study. They seemed very happy to see us, which made me feel I had grown up.

I am now in fifth grade, but my parents still treat me like a child. I think that I am already nearly grown up. Not long ago Mom got seriously ill and had to stay in bed while Dad was away on business. Because it was cold in the room, I filled a hot water bottle to help her warm her body and then I cooked a bowl of instant noodles for her. When I presented her with the noodles I saw tears running down her face. “You aren’t feeling well, Mom?” I asked. “No, I am so proud of you,” she said.

What bothers me most is too much homework. For instance, last summer vacation lasted for 45 days. Apart from finishing a book of exercises assigned by the city’s educational department, we were told to copy 20 texts from our textbooks, looking up every new character in a dictionary and writing down their pronunciation and definition in a notebook, as well as reading one or two other books. I had planned to have a real vacation, but when I learned that I had to do so much homework it broke my heart. Chinese language in particular gives me a headache. I have to remember every character, and I easily get impatient because I find it unbearable to copy and recite things.

My parents have the same attitude as my teachers towards study. They form a “united front” to supervise me. We have a homework notebook, which my parents must sign every day when I have finished my assignments. I then have to take the book to school for the teacher to see. Whenever I complain about homework, my parents get angry and say, “How can you learn without working at it?” I guess they are
strict with me because they want me to do well later and so that they won't lose face.

But I have ways of dealing with them. If I want to go and play with other kids, I lie and say that I am going to the toilet (the place we are now living in does not have an indoor toilet.) As it gets close to lunchtime, I do my exercises very slowly because I know the teachers will get too hungry to supervise me.

In front of our school there is a big free market where people sell vegetables, meat and fruits. There are also Uygur people from Xinjiang, in northwest China, who sell kebabs. Every time I pass the market, I look at those sellers crying “kebabs, kebabs” with envy. Once Dad asked me what I was going to do when I grew up, “I'm going to be a rich farmer,” I quickly answered. He was shocked at my answer and asked me why. “Farmers are the freest people. They don't have to go to work every day. If they have enough money, they will be free, won't they?” I said. He stared at me and then smiled. I wondered whether the smile was natural or forced.

Today many people are demanding that the burden of homework for children be reduced. We are very happy about this. The school is also doing something to change the situation. Teachers ask us to finish our homework in class so that we can have more spare time to develop our interests. Nature, biology, music, painting and table tennis clubs have been organized. I like biology and I am now a member of the biology club. I often go with my parents to collect specimens in the countryside, and am beginning to like school and my parents more and more.
A Country Boy Goes to School

LI SHUNCAI

I AM FROM a farmer's family in Weishi county, Henan province, and at 16 the eldest of four children. My parents are illiterate, and they have suffered for it. Last year, for example, my mother damaged our cotton by using too much pesticide. So, although they are poor, my parents are determined to see us through school.

I have been doing quite well. After I graduated from elementary school, my scores were high enough to get into Weishi No. 1 Junior Middle School, the key school in our county. The school is 15 kilometers away from home. In the past, few village children could enter a county-level school, so when the news came my friends, relatives and neighbors all came to congratulate me. I was so happy I even smiled in my sleep.

However shortly before school started, my parents began to worry. They needed money to pay my fees, and they wanted to buy me some new clothes. In the end, they managed to scrape together 35 yuan by selling one of our elms and borrowing money from other families.

When I first saw the school, I was stunned. The buildings were even taller than our elms. Some of the students were wearing well-pressed Western-style suits and shiny leather shoes. Other students whose fathers were probably cadres came to school by car or motorcycle. Looking at the way we were dressed, I could see seven or eight students like me who were obviously members of the "third world."

Some of the courses were new to me, including English, physics, chemistry and botany. I liked English best, but I did well in the other courses, too. I remembered what my father had told me on the way to school the first day: "They say you can find a good job anywhere if you master math, physics and chemistry, but I think you'd better learn some practical things, too, so you can help improve our farming and raise animals." Now I think he was setting his sights too low — why shouldn't I go on to college later?

Because my home is far away, I board at school. There are several things I am afraid of. One is meals. Although my family has contracted over 1.5 hectares of land and we have enough wheat, we do not have enough money. Other students can buy their favorite foods, but I have to sneak away and eat pickles brought from home. I have to save money because my younger brothers and my younger sister also need money to put them through school.

I'm afraid of the weekends, too. On Saturday afternoon, most of the students go back home. I have to stay at the school even though I'd like to go home and help my parents with the farm work, because I don't have a bike or enough money for the bus fare. Last year my father got so ill that he had to stop work for a time. Because of that, my younger sister had to stop school. Many country people still think that because girls move in with their husbands' families when they marry, seeing them through school is a waste of money. In our village many girls stop school before they finish middle school, and sometimes even elementary school. My sister cried and did not want to leave school. Her teachers also came and told my parents she was a top student, hoping they would let her stay, but in the end she had to leave.

Another thing I fear is homesickness. Sometimes I can't get to sleep, and I miss my family very much. The household responsibility system relates income to output, but it also means the land is divided up into small family plots, and oxen have to be used instead of tractors to plow the fields. Those families who do not have an ox have to use spades. My mother is one of the people who has to use a spade, and I've made up my mind to study harder and modernize our village.

One thing I'm not afraid of is exams. Most of the top students are from the countryside in our class, but I still think
it is difficult for country children to learn in school. It is not that they are slow-witted, but that the teachers themselves are not so knowledgeable. Some of them are only junior middle school graduates themselves. They know very little about some new sciences, so how can they teach them to their students.

In the past, country children went to high schools so they could find a good job in the cities, but the countryside has changed a lot recently. Some students still take jobs in the cities, but others are out doing business by themselves. They've made their families rich, but when my mother sees other families' color TV sets and two-story homes, she often says to my father, "Aren't we poor because our children are at school? They spend money instead of earning it. If they stop school and work, we'll be better off. Our three sons are growing up, but none of them is engaged. Haven't you thought about that?"

But my father never says anything. He wants us to stop being poor as soon as possible, but he has his own ideas. He wants his children to stay at school even if he has to do all the hard work by himself. What a great person he is.

When I come home during the holidays, I often help my parents with the farm. Sometimes, when I see them dripping with sweat from the work, I wonder if I should go on in school. I am as capable as other young people, and I'm not afraid of hard work. But when I told my father I was hesitating about whether to go on, he got mad at me and said, "My son, don't be silly. Do well in school. Your father is illiterate, but he can see the future."

Because of that, I began to study harder. The teachers and the students from the town understand us students from the countryside. They help us a lot, and we ourselves make full use of our time to learn. I've been in junior middle school nearly three years, and I have always been a top student. My parents are very happy about this. Before long I will graduate. I am determined to go on to senior middle school, and later to a university. This has been my father's wish all along.
Road of Life

Being a Monitor

ZHANG JIANGUO

MY NAME is Zhang Jianguo, and I'm a 16-year-old student at Beijing No. 110 Middle School. On my first day at the school, in the summer of 1986, my teacher asked me to be a monitor. I said no straight away—I was at the school to learn, and I thought being a monitor would be too much trouble, as well as making it difficult to get on with my classmates.

My teacher finally convinced me to do the job by explaining that it was only temporary, and a new monitor would be elected in three months' time.

There are 45 students in my class, most of them born in 1973. Like other schools, we have a student union and a class committee for each class. These are organized by the students and are meant to help teachers with their work and to develop various activities for the students. The class committee consists of a form captain, a deputy form captain (usually a girl who looks after the girl students), a sports monitor, a class news monitor, a classroom monitor and two studies monitors.

After three months at the school, I was re-elected monitor in a secret ballot. I suppose I must have done a good job.

Being a monitor is very difficult, since most of the boys and girls don't like being ordered about. Once I saw a boy copying somebody else's homework. I took his notebook and we nearly had a fight. He was very angry with me. I went to talk to him, and explained that I was only doing my job, and would be neglecting my duty if I didn't bother about him. After a while he could see my point and our relationship improved.

One day I had to break up a chalk fight during our break. I gave the other students a talking-to and tried to get them to stop. We also decided to fine all those involved 50 cents, which would be used to pay for class activities. Most of them didn't mind, they could easily pay the fine out of their pocket money, but they felt ashamed and the classroom was quiet for a couple of days.

Sometimes the other students complain about me and say I am the teacher's favorite. When we all have our hands up to answer a question, the teacher often asks me to answer, but what can I do? There are also a lot of social duties involved with being a monitor and I have to organize my time well so that they don't affect my studies. I work hard, and so far have managed to stay among the top two in the class.

My home-room teacher, Lu Enhong, does a really good job. She knows all the students very well and has visited most of our parents. She is so dedicated that she carries on teaching even when she is sick. Once I went with her to visit the parents of a boy who misbehaved in class. The boy was terrified of the visit because he thought his father would beat him, but Lu Enhong handled the situation very well. She praised the boy's talent for painting before telling his parents that he must work harder. Both the boy and his parents appreciated her help, and later in the year the boy gave her one of his paintings.
Students in my class used to divide themselves into groups, the good students in one group, the poor students in another. This was all right for good students, but the poorer ones influenced each other and their results got worse. The class monitors tried to improve the situation by getting the top students to give a hand to the poorer ones. We moved their seats together, and the poorer students were supervised during lessons. Their notes were checked after classes, and we also helped them with their homework. I chose to help Cui Weisheng, who was not very good at studying. I made friends with him, and gradually he accepted my advice and made some progress.

I enjoy being a monitor now because I can help the other students with their studies, and arrange interesting activities. I think I do the job well, and even voted for myself in the last election.
Road of Life

Dating in Senior Middle School

JIN HUA

AFTER I became a senior middle school student, I felt just the same as always, but gradually I began to rebel against the clothes that Mom and Dad chose for me. I realized that I had become an adolescent.

When I graduated from junior high school in the summer of 1985, I, like many other students, had to make a choice between going on to a general or a vocational senior middle school. (In Beijing the ratio between the number of students at general senior high schools and those in vocational schools is 6:4). Finally, I went to Ganjiaokou School, a three-year vocational school sponsored by the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse. Graduates of the school eventually go to work at the guesthouse. Students at general schools have to work very hard if they want to pass the entrance exams for college or university after graduation. But students like us, assured of a job, don't work so hard.

UNTIL recently even a simple dating relationship between senior middle school students of the opposite sex caused great concern among sociologists, writers, teachers and parents. When I was in junior middle school, a few students in my class began to date. Both the teachers and the students' parents worked together to stop it. The students found to be involved were penalized by the school. Teachers gave each student a piece of paper recording the time when the last class was dismissed. The paper had to be handed to the students' parents, who could then tell if their children had not come straight
home. If any student was thought to be dating, he or she would receive a talking to from both teachers and parents. Parents kept a close watch on their children, secretly reading their diaries and letters to find out what was going on.

The greater the pressure from parents, the more students' curiosity is aroused. They believe the forbidden fruit is sweeter. A few brave students stole the printed notepaper for recording the time of dismissal, and wrote their own notes so that they could go out with their friends without fear of being questioned by their parents.

Today, students receive more understanding and are more likely to receive advice than condemnation. All the students in my class are now 18 or 19 years old (I'm 18), and most of them have found a girlfriend or a boyfriend. Teachers tell them to treat their relationships seriously and not to neglect their studies. (Parents, however, still do not allow the students to bring friends of the opposite sex home.) It's no longer considered strange for a student to have a girlfriend or boyfriend, and teachers and students often talk about love on an equal footing. My English teacher once asked me whether I had a boyfriend. When I said no, she told me not to worry and said there were nice boys everywhere, and she would help me to find one later on.

Other students in my class say that I am too proud because I never considered finding a boyfriend while I am still at school. Several boys have asked me out, but I have always refused. However, there is one boy I care about. I met him late one afternoon last summer when I heard him singing and playing the guitar in a park. He told me he had fallen for me, and had tried to talk to me several times. He had even asked other students about me. My heart was racing and I became quite speechless. I thought about it for a long time after I got home and felt I hadn't handled things very well. He is very talented, good at sports and public speaking. Many of the girls at school are crazy about him. I really like him, but I don't love him. My parents do not want me to have a boyfriend while I am still at school, they feel I should concentrate on my studies. I find I don't really want such a popular student as my boyfriend, but we have remained good friends.

HUI LI, one of my best friends, has got a beau who is three years older than she is. Students at vocational schools often go outside school to practice what they have learned. In one such period, she got to know a young man. She was mesmerized by his deep eyes and good looks. But she hid her feelings for the time being to preserve her dignity. Later they worked together again. They were attracted to each other. The young man expressed his love for her on the last day of the practice program.

Our teacher once held a discussion on the positive and negative sides of love among secondary school students. I asked Hu Li what she thought. She grinned and said, "Students who are in love can help each other. When they get tired of studying, they can go out for a drink, see a movie or go dancing. It makes life more colorful.''

Secondary school students are usually very serious about their relationships, even though some grown-ups think we are too ignorant and naive. No matter what happens in the future, I think we'll cherish these experiences of young affection. Though it's true that people's feelings can get hurt. Yao Qin,
a boy in my class, fell in love with a girl in the second year of senior high. For quite some time, they were always together, but she fell in love with someone else and left him. He was so hurt that he could not concentrate on his studies, and later told me that he would never love anybody else. At least, that's what he thinks now.

Ye Fei, also in my class, is very warm and cheerful and has several boyfriends. She has a bad reputation with the rest of the class, however, because we believe she hurts the boys' feeling.

I don't believe it does any good to tell students of my age, "You should do this or you shouldn't do that." I agree with those teachers and parents who say that many high school students are too young to fall in love, but giving advice is better than just imposing restrictions. We are beginning to experience life, and need to make our own decisions, but I feel that "blooming too early is a beautiful mistake."
DAD SHOOK me awake. “Come on, time to get up and study,” he said.

“It’s Sunday. I want to sleep,” I groaned, burying myself further under the bedclothes. Unfortunately, as I turned over I caught sight of the calendar on my wall and realized that Dad was right. The date of the college-entrance exams was getting uncomfortably close. I would have to get up and study.

Ever since junior middle school, I was sure I would go to college or university for further education. It seemed as natural to me as growing up. I didn’t really think about getting a good job afterwards, that decision could wait until I became a college student. In junior middle school, I liked math very much, but now I’m determined to enter an arts college and major in mass communications. Perhaps this is because my father is a journalist. He travels a lot and is always full of fascinating stories about the people and places he has seen. The life of a journalist seems much more interesting than dealing with pages of boring figures every day.

AFTER graduation from junior middle school I went to an ordinary secondary school—Beijing Senior Middle School No. 43. I found it very difficult to study, the whole atmosphere was just wrong, and by the spring semester of my first year I had decided to change schools. I knew that there was a very good key middle school in my parents’ home village, Loudi in Hunan province. My uncle works as a Chinese teacher at the school, and I thought studying there would give me a better chance to pass the college-entrance exams.

Dad didn’t agree with me at first, he thought it would be difficult for me to get used to the hard life in the countryside, but I persisted and finally he gave in.

I found the students in the countryside very different from those in Beijing. They were much more diligent—their eyes almost never left their books except to eat and sleep. Perhaps this is because it’s not easy for them to go to school, and they value the chance to study much more than urban students. Knowing I was from the capital, at first my classmates stayed a respectful distance from me, but I soon became friends with them. I made considerable progress during those two years in the village.

At the beginning of the last semester of secondary school, I transferred back to Beijing, because according to regulations every student must take the examination in his or her home town. The last semester was the hardest for me. To enter a liberal arts college I had to take exams in Chinese, math,
politics, English, and the biggest headache of all — history and geography. Much of the work was rote learning and required little comprehension, but the amount to be memorized was enormous.

I hate mechanical memorizing. I like to learn the principles of things. But to pass the examinations I had to do it. To make things a little more interesting, my classmates and I made up rhymes to help us memorize the dull facts and figures. We often got together to ask each other odd and esoteric questions which made studying more fun. It’s a joy to stump others with really hard questions, and to be able to come up with the answers to these brain-teasers yourself.

The students who want to enter for the science exams don’t need to learn history and geography, but study physics and chemistry instead. I don’t think this early tracking is a good idea. Quite a number of science students know nothing about history and geography, while others are illiterate in science. I’m glad to hear that this division will be eliminated next year. What a pity it will be too late for me to benefit from the change!

As the date of the exams comes closer, I remember good students who have failed, and my confidence becomes a bit shaky. Of all the hundreds of thousands who try, only a small minority can go to college right now, simply because our country does not yet have enough schools or teachers. But I wasn’t the only one to suffer, my parents and teachers become tense and nervous, too. They know how much depends on our success in the exams. I’m grateful to my father for helping me so much. After work, he devoted almost all his time to me, preparing meals and traveling all over town in search of reference books. He inspires me to work harder and be well prepared for the final hurdle.
Full-time school system:

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**APPENDIX B**

### Number of Schools by Level & Type

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Note: Numbers rounded to nearest whole number.
### Enrolment of Schools by Level & Type

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APPENDIX E

派出国和毕业回国的留学生人数
Number of Students Studying Abroad & Returned

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来我国留学的外国学生人数
Number of Foreign Students in China

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## APPENDIX F

### Kindergarten Timetable

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## APPENDIX G

### Curriculum

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* Job training hour calculation is based on four classes daily for both junior and senior secondary schools.
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WHAT I WANT TO KNOW ABOUT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Brief answers to questions asked about the People's Republic of China by Senior High School Students

BY

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In the summer of 1990, I traveled to the People's Republic of China as a member of a Fulbright Seminar. In preparation for that trip, I asked my senior economics students at Tigard High School to create a set of questions they wanted me to investigate. My assumption was that their questions would represent what a typical group of high school students would want to know about China.

Answering these questions has been both interesting and challenging. Interesting because the questions asked by the students are excellent. Challenging because of the variety of possible answers that I found in China. Let me try to explain what I mean.

First of all, the People's Republic has over one billion inhabitants who live in a wide variety of situations from small villages to some of the largest cities in the world. Their huge nation varies tremendously in climate and topography from one side of the country to the other. Because of this vastness and huge population, it is very difficult to give an answer that is accurate for all of China or all of the Chinese. The reader should realize that these are my answers and represent what I learned from visiting four large cities over a thirty day period in the summer of 1990. It seems to me to be very possible that another observer visiting other cities could have different answers from these.
I WANT TO KNOW ABOUT A TYPICAL HIGH SCHOOL. HOW LONG IS THE SCHOOL DAY, HOW MANY DAYS OF SCHOOL IN A WEEK?

In China a senior high school is called upper middle school and comes after the nine years of compulsory education required by law. Students who choose to go on to upper middle school must take and pass an entrance test. Students are placed in a school based on their GPA and their test score. The best students go to the best schools. The schools offer two courses of study: a liberal arts track and a science and math track. The difference between the two is in the amount of material and the difficulty level of the courses. For example, all students take math. But the liberal arts track student will not cover as much mathematics as the science and math track student will.

A typical school day begins at seven o'clock with an hour study hall for language, literature and social studies. Between eight and noon there are five classes of approximately 45 minutes. Between the second and third period there is an half-hour exercise class. Lunch is at noon and that is followed by another study period. School begins again at two in the afternoon with two more periods until four p.m. This is followed by a voluntary activity period. Students are supposed to have two hours of homework but my impression is that they have much more than that. School is six days a week.

By the way, teachers in China have a very different situation than your teachers in the U.S. Language and social
studies teachers teach 12 hours of class per week while math, science and P. E. teachers teach 10 hours a week. Teachers are expected to help students during study time, to visit their students homes and to run student activities.

HOW DIFFICULT IS IT TO GO TO COLLEGE IN CHINA?

It is very difficult to become a college student in China. The educational system in China has placed a great deal of emphasis on the passing of exams. While the current laws provide for a mandatory nine years of education, the practice of encouraging only the best stills seems to be very influential.

The number of students helps to explain the situation. The number of junior high school students in 1987 was 41,743,800 while the number of senior high students was 7,737,300 and the number of undergraduates was almost 2,000,000. One way to analyze these numbers is to notice that a senior high class of about 2,500,000 compete to join a freshman college class of 500,000.

Students who are admitted to undergraduate school have to pay a very small amount of money for their education. In recent years, a few colleges have allowed a small number of students who almost passed the entrance exam to attend as tuition-paying students. The amount of tuition at one Beijing University was 1,000 to 1,500 yuan per year (about five to seven months wages for a professional). One U.S. dollar is 4.71 yuan. The
government seems to be discouraging this practice for the 1991 school year.

Besides college there are other types of post secondary education available to students. There are agricultural and vocational institutes, and specialized technical institutes that prepare students for careers in tourism, industry, and business fields.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THE POPULAR SPORTS THAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PLAY?

I had a chance to visit three urban secondary schools. Every school had a large field for playing soccer. The fields were dirt without any grass. There were movable basketball standards on the edge of the field. Some students told me that they had a school basketball team and that they played teams from other schools. I don't know if they played in a gym or not. I didn't see one. In Shanghai the leaders of a village within the city told me that the village ran a swimming pool for all ages to use. In general, I did not see evidence of the emphasis on sports that you see in the U.S.

WHAT DO TEENS DO FOR FUN ON WEEKENDS?

While in China I saw many teens going to movies, parks, shopping and riding bicycles. I would say that the average teen
spends his free time in inexpensive recreation with other friends of the same sex. The typical teen does not have a lot of money to spend and, unlike the U.S., I did not see merchandizing directed towards the "teen market". Teens who are still in school seemed more academically serious and probably use their one day off to study. Teens who are working are probably working six days a week and the system in the large cities at least does not give every one the same day off. So, in one sense, there are no weekends as we know them in China.

I WANT TO KNOW WHAT THE REQUIREMENTS ARE FOR A DRIVERS LICENCE AND HOW MUCH DO CARS COST?

First of all, you need to realize that China, as a developing country, has a very different view of cars than we do. There are many more bicycles on the road than cars, trucks or busses. In fact, major roads in cities are divided between center lanes for motor vehicles and outer lanes for bikes. There is usually an island or some other divider between the bike and car lanes. The government is not encouraging individuals to get their own cars. I think there is a very practical reason for this. Cities such as Beijing with a population of over nine million people or Shanghai with over eleven million do not have a road and highway system to handle a large number of family cars. Air quality is already affected by the extensive use of coal for heating and cooking. The addition of a few million cars would
be awful.

The government uses challenging drivers licence requirements and high costs of cars to keep the numbers down. In order to get a regular drivers licence you have to first take a driving course. The course is very comprehensive and is a commitment of six month of full time school. The course for a chauffeur licence to drive a van, truck, bus or taxi lasts for a year! The cost of a car is also an obstacle. While I do not have any information on a domestic make car, I do know that a new, base model, small Toyota costs 188,400 yuan (about U.S. $40,000). This is in an economy where a doctor in Beijing is paid 400 yuan a month, secondary teachers 200 yuan, and an aircraft machinist 90 yuan.

Public transportation in the urban areas is abundant and cheap. Beijing, for example, has many articulated buses and regular buses that cost about five U.S. cents to ride. There are many taxis. For eight cents you can ride Beijing’s modern, clean subway system.

I WANT TO KNOW IF IT IS COMMON FOR TEENS TO MOVE OUT OF THE HOUSE WHEN THEY ARE EIGHTEEN?

No, it is not very common. There are several reasons for this. The major factors are a strong family cohesiveness and the limitations of space.

The tradition in China is for males to remain with the
family, or household, permanently. This resulted in a multi-generational household living in a cluster of buildings. Daughters traditionally left their families when they married and moved into their husbands household. This tradition is still common in rural regions. And while it is less common in an urban area to have the space to keep the extended family intact, it is not uncommon at all to have sons and daughters who are in their twenties to still be living at home.

In urban areas the household tradition is now much less common. But don't get the impression that the situation is similar to yours in the U.S. One difference is the availability of housing. In urban areas housing is usually available from the work unit to which you belong to. Once a person has a full time job with a recognized work unit, the unit provides the worker and his family with a place to live. This is usually an apartment. There are very few apartments or condominiums available to rent.

AT WHAT AGE DO MOST CHINESE GET MARRIED?

The legal age for women to get married is 20 years old and for men it is 22. The practice for couples in major cities, such as Beijing, is for women to marry at about 23 and men at 25. The reason for the delay seems to be primarily economic. The delay gives the couple more years to work and save some money so that they can start their marriage more comfortably. The practice in the countryside is for marriage to be closer to the legal
minimum. The government is encouraging later marriages as a part of their population control efforts. Couples that belong to one of the fifty-five minority groups can marry at age 18 for the woman and 20 for the man. They are also exempt from China's one child policy.

**WHAT DO THE CHINESE THINK OF THEIR GOVERNMENT'S ONE CHILD PER FAMILY POLICY?**

China is home to more than one-fifth of the human race and the government estimates the current population to be one point one billion people. Since the mid 1970's, China has encouraged population control. In the past 30 years, 600,000,000 babies have been born. This is about two million a year. The population growth rate is about the same as Australia but the numbers are larger than most nations. There are about 40,000 Chinese born every day. The government is quick to point out the effect of such a huge population on the country.

Let me give you some of their examples. China ranks third in the world in land area but when you divide that area by the population to get a per capita number, the country is thirty-three percent of the world's average. China ranks sixth in the world in fresh water resources but on a per capita basis it is at eighteen percent of the world average. Its GNP in 1988 was twenty percent larger than in 1949 and ranked eighth in the world. However, on a per capita basis, it ranks 120th with the
equivalent of three hundred U.S. dollars a year.

The government believes that the way to improve the quality of people's lives is to control the quantity of people. Their goal is to reduce the rate of growth to 9.4 births per thousand people by the end of the century. Currently they have reduced it to 14 births per thousand. The approach taken by the government stresses educating couples regarding the benefits of a small family. Besides this stress on civic duty there are also rewards and penalties imposed by the state.

The government issues a Certificate to Honor for Couples with Only One Child to couples after the birth of their first child and a promise from the couple that they will not have any more. Urban couples then receive a bonus of about 60 yuan a year. Preferential treatment is given to the child and the family in nursery, elementary, and secondary school enrollment. This goes along with special consideration for college enrollment, housing distribution and medical treatment. Couples breaking this promise face the possibility of a 2,000 yuan fine, loss of privileges and a five to ten percent deduction from their monthly wages for seven to fourteen years. There are similar rewards and penalties for rural couples.

The government reports good cooperation in urban areas where enforcement is strict but less success in rural area where authorities are not as diligent. By the way, the ethnic minorities, who make up five percent of the population, are not included in the one child policy. The government recognizes that
these fifty-five different groups need a higher birth rate in order to survive and keep their ethnic identities.

The Chinese to whom I spoke concerning the policy all said that they understood the necessity for the program and that they agreed with it. Now, it is important to remember they were all either professionals or students and that I cannot say from personal experience what the "average" citizen thinks about the policy. One group that usually is opposed to family planning is the Catholic Church. In China we had a chance to meet with the leaders of the Catholic Church, which is an approved organization within the country. They said they understood the necessity for population control in China and therefore did not oppose the one child policy.

WHAT IS CHINESE TV LIKE?

During the month I was in China, I had an opportunity to watch about fifteen to twenty hours of TV. Much of it was at the same time of the day, a few minutes in the afternoon and late in the evening so I missed more programming than I saw. A major city like the capital, Beijing, has two channels. I was told that with better reception you could pick up more channels from other areas but I never saw them. Programming on one station seemed to begin before noon and on the other at about four. Both stations had a lot of what we would call educational programs in the afternoon and early evening hours. The programs were on
computer programing, mathematics, Russian language, and Japanese language. At least two a day were on English language and one was on Esperanto (a language invented about 80 years ago by combining the chief European languages). There were some American programs with Chinese dubbed over the English. I saw the series Hunter and Beauty and the Beast. They also showed two American movies. One was an old Bob Hope movie that I did not recognize and the other was Delta Force. Delta Force was not dubbed or sub-titled. On late night TV once a week they showed the 1989 NBA Finals between the Pistons and the Lakers (without time outs or commercials).

The Chinese programing included movies (from the People's Republic, Hong Kong and Taiwan); a series about a group on business women that was set (and made) in Hong Kong; a series about the lives of a multi-generational family; two mini-series one on the life of Mao during the 1930's and the other on a guerilla group fighting the Japanese in the 1930's. I saw a variety show that was featuring comic routines and what seemed to be a special program that had an all military audience watching a variety show that praised a man by the name of Lei Fung (Lie Fung has been held up as an example, since the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989, of how a loyal Chinese Communist should live and act).

The sports broadcasts I saw were World Cup soccer games. A soccer game between a team from the People's Republic and one from North Korea and a basketball game between a women's team from the People's Republic and another team. What caught my eye
in that game was the fact that it was broadcast from Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia.

At ten p.m. on one channel, and eleven p.m. on the other, there was a news broadcast that was divided between national news, some international news, sports and the weather.

Chinese commercials were interesting. On one channel, commercials come on about every twenty or thirty minutes. On the other, the interruptions were less frequent but the commercial interruption was for about twenty minutes. Items advertised included expensive things such as refrigerators, televisions and Volkswagens. More often, however, they were inexpensive consumer items such as toothpaste, shampoo, hand cream, make-up, hairspray, clothing, beer, bug-spray, China Cola and, of course, Coca-Cola. At the end of every commercial was the address and phone number of the advertiser.
TIANANMEN SQUARE AND CHINA
ONE YEAR LATER

DEBORAH SHEA DOYLE
PITTSFORD SUTHERLAND HIGH SCHOOL
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Tiananmen Square, Mao's Masoleum, The Forbidden City. As I walked in this enormous open section of Beijing in June 1990, I recalled the poignant covers of Time magazine of a year ago with Chinese students calling for more democracy, leading a hunger strike in protest of their government's policies, erecting the "Goddess of Democracy" and even defacing Mao's portrait with red paint. Yet one year later I was on a Fulbright program seminar in China with eighteen high school teachers. Our trip was postponed for one year because of "the events of last June" but now we were spending four weeks in China studying Chinese History and Culture. For me it was an opportunity to observe the effects of a political revolution first hand and to view those eventful days of the spring of 1989 from several perspectives.

Before arriving in China I read critiques of the democracy movement in the American press. I watched every television news report I could, and heard Ted Koppel interviewing Beijing University students about their dreams for the future of China. I admired the students' courage to go on a hunger strike until their demands were met. I cheered as they erected the "Goddess of Democracy" and placed it on the sacred meridian line which extends through the Meridian Gate into the Forbidden City. I admired the people of Beijing who rode their bicycles to the square to bring food and water to the protesting students. But when some of the workers began to join with the students, and when Deng Xiaoping lost face with the disruption in the central square of Beijing during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, I began to fear that the noble ideals of the students would not be realized. When the uprising was surpressed by "The Beijing Massacre" according to the American press or "The Turmoil in Beijing" according to the Chinese press, I
knew that my 1989 Summer Fulbright Seminar would be postponed, perhaps even cancelled. In retrospect, going to China in 1990 was a much more meaningful experience. I was able to assess this historic event not only from the point of view of the press of each country, but from personal interviews with people directly or indirectly affected by it.

During our orientation in San Francisco, we had a briefing with the Consul General of China. He encouraged us to feel free to talk to anyone during our stay in China. He told us the government had released about eight hundred of the protestors and still retained three hundred of them. He blamed the "events of last June," as so many Chinese refer to them, on the Communist Party, saying "We didn't explain enough to them (the students)." When asked to enlarge upon this statement during the question and answer period, he said that the students forgot their patriotism, their obligation to the state. He said the "education system is to blame." "If the students are not educated, the state (party) is to blame."

While in China I took every opportunity to question people about their impressions of "the events of last June." They did not speak with one voice. In a lecture at Beijing Normal University, Professor Jin shu-xian, a professor of Marxism-Leninism, stated that last June a few persons wanted to overturn the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. He said most students don't want to overturn the state and that the government's ending of the turmoil met "most people's needs." He emphasized that the government's drive to modernization necessitated complete internal stability. "The people will suffer if there is turmoil," he concluded, giving what I discovered is the official rationale for the government action.

A young female translator in Beijing was ready to study in Ottawa, Canada last June, but because of the "events of last June" she cannot go.
Now in order to leave, she must be either thirty-five, have worked for five years, or have a scholarship from the United States or Canada. She said that the only way around these requirements is to pay 2000 Yuan to the government for each year short of the required five years. This is an impossible figure for her on a salary of 130 Yuan a month. Like many other ambitious young students she is frustrated by the system and desperately wants to explore the world beyond China.

Professor Wang Yingjie, of Beijing Normal University was a visiting professor at the University of Vermont in the spring of 1989. When asked whether the American media was fair in its coverage of the event, he said, "No one really knows what happened." He returned to Beijing in December 1989 and talked with everyone he could. People told him the suppression of the rebellion occurred, but it "was exaggerated." When he first watched it on American television, he cried, thinking that many his students must have lost their lives; however, when he returned, he discovered that only one of his students had been killed. Having personal experience with some of the atrocities committed during the Cultural Revolution, Wang was especially fearful of the repercussions for those involved in the protests.

When Gorbachev's visit was disrupted in mid-May, Professor Wang knew the situation would take a serious turn because the government had lost face. Like many of the official communiques, he felt the students had forgotten what the country had done for them and that disagreements within the government prevented it from acting sooner to quell the disturbances.

We visited the American Embassy in Beijing where we had a briefing with Jim Moriarity, a political officer in the embassy, who arrived in Beijing in May 1989. He went to the square each day and spoke to the students.
He said they wanted "democracy - to be able to elect their leaders on a regular basis." He felt the government didn't try to negotiate with them and the government didn't have the equipment (i.e. hoses and rubber bullets) to use other methods of control. The Beijing University students are the "creme de la creme." They have more hope, more opportunities than the students in less prestigious universities. Therefore, the Beijing University students dropped out earlier and those students from "the dorky little towns" outside of Beijing dominated the rest of the rebellion. Mr. Moriarity feels that based on conversations with "well-plugged cadre kids" at least 700 - 1000 people were killed. Thousands were arrested by the "sons of bitches." "We never hear about these," he said in an acerbic tone. The government says there are "three hundred in detention but it doesn't say how many others are already convicted." Clearly his cynical attitude reflects the effect of his daily confrontations with the Chinese government, its insistence on stability over free expression of ideas, and his knowledge that his apartment is bugged. A minor government official in Kunming in southwest China said there were also student protests in this capital of the Yunnan Province. He agreed with the protests of government corruption and stated that since last June some officials have been discharged. He said no students from Kunming were killed but he felt that the government had no other alternative in responding to such a direct challenge to its authority. Several people connected with the government mentioned "extremists" or "outside influences" as playing a role in the uprising. They seemed to be referring to radical students, Taiwanese or Overseas Chinese, groups which had a stake in disrupting the government. He said that "extremists used the students" and he is angry at the democrats. They "caused bad things for China
economically," a reference to the international economic repercussions since Tiananmen.

Another man in Kunming, a translator, looked furtively over his shoulder as he whispered to me that there were many student protests in Kunming. He said many other people agreed with the students but were too afraid to vocalize those protests. He knew of one Bai minority student who was dismissed from his university in Kunming, and sent back to his hometown where he has become a "persona non grata." This student will have difficulty getting a job and his record will follow him for the rest of his life. This gentleman said the peasants and the workers have enough to eat and therefore didn't join in with the students. He added, "I am warm in winter. I have enough to eat. But I want to be free to think for myself, to be rewarded for what I do. Here it is just the same for everyone." His frustration is with the system. He desires a better future for his family, particularly for his young daughter. This concern reflects the attitudes of many younger people we met. They are ambitious and yet unconnected with the party. They see others getting ahead through connections ("the back door") and realize that despite their personal efforts and ambitions, few opportunities are open to them because they have chosen not to join the Party.

We also had a conversation with a teacher who spent a year on an exchange in the United States. Since his return to China he has joined the Communist Party and has risen in the field of education. He expressed a different point of view. He said most of the students in Kunming demonstrated (at least 10,000). He felt the government was patient with these protests. The students voted to send ten students on to Beijing. Later "some elements" controlled the students. When questioned specifically
about Tiananmen Square, he said "the government reported that 34 - 36 students were killed." He added, "since I am in this position, I believe the figures." He mentioned that now the government pays attention to privateering. A teacher from his university is still in prison because he got "out of hand." When this teacher gets out of prison, he can't return to Kunming. This educator then added humorously, and with some sarcasm in his voice, "when he gets out of prison, he'll start a free enterprise and get rich." He also felt that Mr. Zhou Zhiang was used by the students. "He should have worked with the leaders. But he went his own way." He also believed, as did several other Chinese we interviewed, that foreign journalists were provoking the situation. This teacher has obviously chosen to buy into the system, and accept with little reservation the party explanations of events. As a result, advancement opportunities are open to him.

Xi'an, the ancient capital of eleven dynasties, was another stop where we were able to explore feelings about the democracy movement. Throughout the trip students and young people came up to us on the streets anxious to practice their English and to question us about America. A young Xi'an university student told us that "every student participated in the June 4, 1989 uprisings." He demonstrated but he doesn't feel he'll be blacklisted and chastised. A teacher at a university in Xi'an confirmed that all the students protested and filled the people's square. He said some classes stopped and many of the teachers went to the square "to watch out for their students." He confirmed that anyone who protested could be blacklisted and have difficulties for the rest of their life. This young professor earns about 130 Yuan a month (US$26.00). He hopes to work for one of the joint-venture hotels where he could earn several times that amount. Meanwhile, his wife works, and he moonlights so that he can afford such "luxury" items
as a refrigerator which costs about 1930 Yuan ($380). This is an ambitious young teacher who, rather than "buying into the system," has figured out how to live with it and in some ways to get around it!

In Shanghai, our last stop, I was able to gain even more insight into China of May and June 1989. This bustling city had a European feel in some areas due to its settlement by Western merchants between the Opium War of 1840 and World War II. On a steamy night while walking along the Bund, I met a young man of twenty-eight who taught himself English by listening to tapes. When I mentioned I was from New York State, but not New York City, he astounded me by saying "Oh, Upstate New York, Buffalo? Rochester? the Finger Lakes Region? Lake Ontario? Lake Erie?" He loves everything about the West, even romanticizes its benefits. He found a sponsor in the United States and hopes to be able to leave China and come to the United States to study and to work. He and his sponsor have completed all the necessary paperwork and guarantees, and he plans to wait in one of the long lines we saw near the United States Consulate in Shanghai in hopes of being one of the five percent of the applicants to obtain a visa. Like other Chinese who want to leave the country, he complained about the lack of opportunity to advance in China. "Everyone is treated alike and it doesn't matter whether you do a good job or not. People sometimes sleep or read on the job." This energetic young man said he felt many who get ahead do so through quan chi or "the back door," that is through knowing someone in the party. The Chinese will lose one of their "best and brightest" when this young man leaves for good.

As a history teacher, I try to have my students look at historical events from different perspectives. In Beijing, I was able to purchase several books published through the China Press. One slick publication
entitled *The Turmoil in Beijing* presented "the events of last June" from an entirely different perspective than the American press. Here you saw no bleeding students, no goddess of democracy, no students suffering the effects of their hunger strike. Here were young uniformed members of the People's Army smiling, helping people, bleeding from rocks being hurled at them, and even strung up naked and burned. I thought to myself these were not the images I received from the United States press and media. The China press reflects the government and Communist party positions, and the leadership's emphasis on stability and the need to preserve their hard-fought revolution. For the American press, the rights of the students, their desire for more say in the government, and an end to corruption, were the focus of their news reports.

After five weeks in China, I have many images. There is not just one China. There are many Chinas. It is a vibrant country with thousands of years rich in history. There is the genius of a China which made engineering, scientific, domestic, and musical discoveries much earlier than those same discoveries in the West. There is a China with 80% of its people engaged in labor intensive agriculture, a China still employing farming methods of 2000 years ago. Yet there is a China which has made amazing advances since liberation in 1949, and especially in the last ten years. Through my personal interactions, I discovered a China with warm, friendly and open people, many of whom shared their feelings, hopes and dreams with me. I observed a China with people willing to do anything to leave their country, with others willing to join the Communist party in order to advance themselves. There were still others leading successful, fulfilling lives without buying into the system. I experienced a China with a family of four welcoming me, a total stranger, into their 8 foot by 12 foot living
room/bedroom, and offering me dinner and their best rice wine. I observed a China with a population of 1.2 billion where the people in the cities are accepting and adapting to the one-child policy, while the people in the countryside are largely ignoring these policies because they need sons to work their fields. I witnessed women still suffering the effects of years of bound feet and interviewed other women who spoke of infanticide of baby girls, and of many opportunities and job advancements denied to them. I observed a China which has a rigid political system yet has opened its economic system to the free market techniques of the West. I saw a China which feels it needs political stability in order to advance economically, a China which is experiencing grave problems and is still feeling the repercussions of June 1989. I travelled to a China which the United States government and United States students must come to know, to appreciate, and to live with in the Twentieth Century.
DOING BUSINESS IN CHINA:
A CURRICULUM UNIT ON JOINT VENTURES

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1990 CHINA FULBRIGHT SEMINAR PARTICIPANT
Doing Business in China:
A curriculum unit on Joint Ventures

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1990 China Fulbright Seminar Participant

Grade levels: 9-12
Subjects: Asian Studies
          Economics

Time: 5 to 7 days

Day 1- Show slides or pictures to class which illustrate the existence of Sino-foreign joint ventures. Examples may include:

Boeing
Coca-Cola
Chrysler Jeep Cherokee
Gillette Razors
Good & Plenty (Leaf Inc.)
Holiday Inn
Johnson & Johnson Band-aids
Kentucky Fried Chicken
Mc Donnell Douglas Corp.
Otis Elevators
PPG
Polaroid
Proctor and Gamble
Reebok
RJR Nabisco (Ritz crackers)
Seagram wine coolers
Sheraton Hotels
Smith Kline Beecham Laboratories
Volkswagen

Questions for students may include:
What products or services do each of these companies provide? What do they have in common? (All have entered into joint venture arrangements with China.)
Why do these advertisements present a paradox? (They are viewed as symbols of capitalism and produce their products in the mixed economy of China.)
Why did these companies decide to invest in China? (Population, untapped third world market, source of resources).
What other nations have entered into Joint ventures with China?
Evaluation Instrument:
Students will research a specific corporation's joint venture in China and prepare a short paper at the end of the unit.

Day 2
Divide the class into 4-5 groups of students.
Teacher may select articles from the accompanying bibliography and supply copies to the groups. After reading the articles, the groups will present oral reports which answer the following guide questions:
What company is involved?
What is their product?
What are their reasons for establishing joint ventures in China?
What particular problems have they encountered?
How financially successful is the joint venture?

or
Distribute copies of "One Company's China Debacle", a 3 page review of Jim Mann's book Bellowing Jeep to the entire class. After reading the article, have class discuss the reasons for the debacle.
What other questions does the article raise which need to be answered to complete the assigned paper on joint ventures?

Homework - Distribute reading on "Joint Business Ventures in China" and which will be the basis of next day's class.

Day 3
Students should have an understanding of a "planned economy" or a "command economy" and the history of Sino-foreign business investment 1800-1900. Depending upon the background of the students in Chinese history and/or economics, this topic may be extended to cover two or more days.

Materials needed:
Map of China.

Teacher will review the background of foreign business investment in China (1800's-1949) and the policy of the People's Republic of China toward capitalism and foreign investment (1949-1990).
Discussion Questions may include:
What changes have taken place?
Why?
How consistent has Chinese policy been?
After a discussion of the planned economy of China, have class indicate the areas of China's Special Economic Zones on a map of China.

Discussion questions may include:
- Why have these regions been selected? What historic role have they played in the Chinese economy?
- What natural resources are located in these areas?
- What is the availability of transportation and labor in the SEZ's?
- What are the incentives provided to foreign companies to interest them in investing in China?
- What are the prospects for growth in China?
- What are the benefits to China? To the foreign company?

* Parallels can be drawn to the "500 Day Plan" for restructuring the economy in the USSR and the potential for US joint ventures there and in the newly opened Central European nations.

Day 4

Materials
Chinese currency or pictures of Chinese currency, both FEC and Renminbi.
Foreign exchange report rates chart from a current newspaper and one from approximately one year ago.

Objective: Students will understand foreign exchange and its importance in doing business internationally.

Teacher will assist the students to understand the meanings of the chart, by asking them to read information from it. Questions may include:
- If a tourist wishes to convert $100 to English pounds, how many will he/she receive? How many French francs? How many German marks? How many Mexican pesos? How many Japanese yen? How many Taiwanese? How many Hong Kong dollars?
- How many would have been received last year? (Reading from the older foreign exchange rate chart)
- If a Japanese tourist or businessman wishes to convert yen to US dollars, how many will he/she receive? An Englishman? A Frenchman? A German? A Mexican? A Japanese? A Taiwanese? A resident of Hong Kong?
- How many would have been received last year? (Employ older foreign exchange rate chart)
- Why is the currency of the PRC not included?
- What does this mean for businesses wishing to engage in import and export activities with China?

After examination of the two Chinese currencies, discuss the reasons for having two types operating within the same nation. What are the implications for Chinese business?
Day 5

Materials- Readings "FOXBORO-SHANGHAI" & "A TAIWANESE JOINT VENTURE"

After reading the articles, students will discuss the problems and possibilities of doing business in China.

Discussion questions may include:

- What are the political or economic inhibitors to doing business in China?
- What are the advantages seen by specific companies to doing business in China?
- In what ways are the two companies different and in what ways are they similar in their attitudes on doing business in China?
- On a personal level, what problems do each businessman suggest exist in managing a Chinese joint venture production plant?
- What does each think the future holds for their company? For further business ventures in China?

Day 6

Divide class into groups of 4 to 5 students. Each group will assume the role of the Board of Directors of a foreign company contemplating a Joint Venture or the expansion of business with the People's Republic of China.

A. A Hong Kong hotel corporation considering opening a luxury tourist hotel in a major city.
B. A Japanese truck manufacturer interested in a joint venture with a Chinese company.
C. A Taiwanese clothing designer needing to find a Chinese textile firm to produce the goods.
D. A French pharmaceutical company involved in the production of a new antibiotic.
E. A German maker of oil refinery equipment.
F. An American Oil Company seeking new oil fields for drilling.
G. An American Chemical company interested in forming a Joint Venture with a Chinese plastics company for the manufacturing of biodegradable plastic bags.
H. An American toy maker which wishes to find a Chinese manufacturer for its new line of toys.

or

Other roles that the teacher may wish to create.

Student groups will be given 10-15 minutes to discuss the financial prospects of expansion into China and then be asked to share the decisions with the class. Suggested considerations include:

1. Is there a market for the product worldwide? In China? What might happen to change the market potential? (What would make it improve and what would make the market weaken?)
2. Does China have the necessary resources and labor to benefit your firm?
3. Is there a specific area in China where your firm would plan its expansion?
4. If it is expected that the start up costs of the expansion will be so large that there will not be profit for at least 3 years. Do you still feel that it is wise to expand?

5. Does the fact that Chinese currency cannot be directly exported affect your plans for expansion? What plans does your firm have for removing its profits from China?

Presume that it is late June of 1989, after the violence in Tien An Men Square. Will the changed political situation change your company's plans for expansion? Why?

Presume that it is August 1990, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Will the changed political situation change your company's plans for expansion? Why?

Each group will report on their plans under each of the three circumstances. Time should be given for debriefing of the groups and drawing conclusions. (Particular importance should be paid to the role that political and foreign policy play in making economic expansion decisions.)

Day 7

As a culminating activity, students will write an essay in class, discussing the importance of international investment in China. Students should be sure to discuss topics such as the following:

- The past history of foreign investment in China.
- The changed attitude toward foreign investment in China.
- The impact of foreign investment on the current Chinese economy.
- The expansion possibilities for foreign companies within China.
- The political and social problems that have accompanied "Westernization" and foreign investment in China.
- The ability of foreign governments to pressure China to make political, social and economic changes.
- The potential for changed economic policy under a younger political leadership.
- The likelihood of real economic restructuring of the Chinese economy.
JOINT BUSINESS VENTURES IN CHINA

In past centuries, when China was weak, China was occupied by foreign powers and the Chinese were forced by a series of "unequal treaties" to give up trading privileges, manufacturing concessions, control of customs, and extraterritorial rights to foreigners.

During the 1950s, over half of China's trade was conducted with the USSR and Soviet-bloc countries. The PRC imported machinery, automobiles, steel, timber, and many other commodities. The Soviets, in return, purchased vast amounts of food, textiles, and metal ores. But as ideological differences grew wider in the late 1950s, Sino-Soviet trade dropped abruptly.

With the Cultural Revolution over, in the early 1970s the relations with Moscow still frosty, Beijing began to seek new trade partners, including Third World nations. In the Mao's last years there was a realigned its trade toward the United States, Western Europe, Japan, and other non-Communist countries.

Between 1971 and 1978 trade between China and the US increased from almost nothing to more than $1 billion annually. Full diplomatic relations with China were opened in 1978 and the US granted China "most favored nation" status, which made China eligible for special loans, and promoted the establishment of government and private trade offices in both nations. By 1981, trade had increased to $5.5 billion. Until the mid-1970s, China's leading export was food grain, but since then textile products have emerged as the top commodity, but petroleum products are gaining fast. By 1984 China's greatest import needs were machinery, iron, steel, corn and wheat, and textile fibers.

Since opening diplomatic relations with Japan in 1972, their trade has grown to more than $10 billion annually, making Japan China's leading supplier of machinery and equipment. Together with Japan, China's other important trade partners (Hong Kong, West Germany and the US) account for about half of China's total foreign trade and over 90% of its trade today is with non-Communist nations. Nevertheless, in its pursuit of modernization and economic strength, Beijing has expanded bilateral trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe.

China has introduced a system of economic zones, "open cities," and "open coastal areas" to facilitate foreign investment in China and encourage the inflow of capital, technology, and managerial skills.

There are five "Special" Economic Zones or SEZ's. The SEZs are located at Shunzhen, Zhuhai, and Shantou (all in Guangdong Province), Xiamen in Fujian Province and Hainan Island. In addition, 14 coastal cities of China have been granted economic decision-making power allowing them to offer incentives similar to the SEZs. The fourteen coastal cities are, from north to south, Dalian in Liaoning Province; Qinhuangdao in Hebei Province; Tianjin; Uantao and Qingdao in Shandong Province; Lianyungang and Nantong in Jiangsu Province; Fuzhou in Fujian Province; Guangzhou and Zhanjiang in Guangdong Province; and Beihai in the Guangxi Autonomous Region. The rush to bring in foreign capital and technology is not only directed at the coastal areas. Those provinces located in China's vast interior are trying to
encourage foreign investment too. But while a number of them are rich in resources and can provide special incentives, they tend to lack the transport network, power and communications facilities provided on the coast.

In an effort to open its doors, China has endeavored to attract foreign corporations and financial institutions. This effort has helped China renovate old factories, absorb foreign technology, and earn Western management methods, as well as generate new sources of business income.

They have provided a favorable environment for foreign investment, including inexpensive labor, cheap land, tax breaks and other incentives in the new "coastal economy". Enterprises are managed almost exclusively by foreigners, with plants as models for learning new methods. The SEZs also represent an experiment in the capitalistic system and each one operates according to free market economics. Though factories in the SEZs produce goods primarily for export, the zones may also include housing and office complexes and holiday resorts.

Included in the incentives offered to investors in regional development centers are: an income tax rate of 15 percent compared with 33 percent elsewhere in China; tax holidays or reductions in tax for large capital investments; reduction or elimination of import and export taxes; simpler visa procedures; the right of enterprises to hire and fire staff under a contract system; the right to repatriate after-tax profits; sale of up to 30 percent of certain products within China; no restriction on sales within China of certain "high tech" products; and preferential land use leases.

In an effort to open its doors, China has endeavored to attract foreign corporations and financial institutions. The Fifth National People's Congress in June 1979 adopted a new law on foreign investment in China which has offered contracts for "joint venture" projects by which the Chinese government and a foreign firm share in the development and profits of a new factory or other undertaking.

A joint venture in China can take one of three basic forms: a "compensation agreement," "contract manufacturing," or direct investment. In a compensation agreement, the foreign firm sets up a plant and the government repays the cost with factory profits, periodic cash payments, or other fees. In contract manufacturing, the foreign firm merely provides the raw materials, machinery, or other essential components to a Chinese plant, while the firm keeps plant profits but pays a fee to the facility. Finally, the government is now also allowing joint-venture operations in which foreign firms make a direct financial investment in a particular project and share in actual ownership. Specific ventures can take any variation or combination of these three forms, with individual licensing, leasing, cooperation, compensation, or equity contracts.

A foreign company, wishing to explore joint-venture possibilities should find a "Chinese participant" through CITIC or one of the government ministries, agencies, or trade corporations. CITIC can negotiate the establishment of compensation trade agreements, serve as China's principal channel for investment funds from overseas Chinese and foreigners and act as agent for China in the purchase of advanced foreign technology and equipment. The
time taken to reach an agreement will normally be long, unless the foreign company happens to possess technology vital to China’s industry.

Joint ventures have been an effective Chinese strategy for attracting foreign capital, modernizing industry, developing new products, and tapping natural resources while at the same time dictating the terms of investment and retaining ownership and profits. By 1985, according to Beijing, the policy had brought $8 billion in foreign capital from more than 2,300 separate deals. The first joint venture with an American firm was the $75 million, 1,000 room Sheraton Great Wall Hotel (or Chang Cheng) in Beijing, built by the E-S Pacific Company. Coca-Cola has a bottling plant and Chrysler now builds Jeep Cherokees in Beijing. China has accepted foreign investment for beer brewing, food products, photocopiers, telecommunications, photocopiers, high-tech machinery and electronics products and its first nuclear power plant.

Chinese planners have targeted energy production for aggressive joint-venture development to fuel its industrial modernization program. Along with its nuclear energy potential, China plans to further develop its offshore oil reserves. Although it pumps millions of gallons daily, both for domestic consumption and export, it hopes to secure its energy future by developing its untapped wealth. Today oil companies from nine nations are engaged in exploratory drilling off the Chinese coast, and its coal reserves are also being aggressively developed with outside assistance. However, the explorations have not yielded the immense discoveries hoped for.

The Chinese have obtained financial commitments from foreign governments, banks, and lending institutions. Between 1977 and 1981, Beijing was granted over $40 billion in loans and credits. At first not wanting to accumulate a heavy foreign debt, the government spent only a small fraction of the available funds. More recently they have expended more to purchase new technology from abroad, necessitating large repayments and a growing balance of payments deficit. This has further weakened an economy made fragile because of the double digit inflation China experienced in 1989.

China’s population of over one billion represents a vast market and many Western businesses are anxiously making concessions to gain a toehold. The Beijing government has offered lucrative profit opportunities to those products and services that it regards as necessary for the nation’s economic progress. But the Chinese have not forgotten centuries of humiliation and oppression that it suffered at the hands of foreigners and they therefore want progress on their terms to insure "equality and mutual benefit" in all business dealings. Their policy vacillation has made it difficult to know what the future holds.

Companies selling goods to China should offer to extend credit. China has set up enormous lines of buyers' credit agencies, deposits made in foreign banks of the Bank of China, and through loans and direct foreign investment arranged by provincial Chinese agencies or corporations. Many foreign companies have established offices in China. Foreign firms are advertising on Chinese TV, in newspapers, and in magazines.
Pragmatism has been the watchword of Deng Xiaoping’s rejection of China’s longstanding isolation and the opening of its doors to the outside world. In October 1984, Deng said that China’s isolation had kept it "impoverished, backward, and ignorant" for centuries. China has established diplomatic and trade contracts, joint venture development projects, scientific and cultural exchanges and a growing tourist industry, at least until the summer of 1989.

But raising the “bamboo curtain” has permitted in a host of new commodities, the desperately needed technology and foreign currency. Along with them have come a heavy dose of Western culture. In 1984 Premier Zhao Ziyang said "China has opened its door and will never close it again." However, since then, China has followed a course of action that has wavered. At times they condemned "spiritual pollution" or "bourgeoisie liberalization" and revived the "Lei Feng Campaign" to enhance the image of the simple PLA soldier’s spirit of selflessness. These were in response to internal problems such as inflation, rising foreign trade deficits and student protests in 1976, 1978, 1986 and 1989.
FOXBORO-SHANGHAI

Foxboro Company was founded in 1908 in Foxboro, Massachusetts by the Bristol family. In 1990, the firm was sold to the British holding company SEIBI of Windsor, England. It manufactures gauges, valves and computerized systems to control entire factories which need to measure the level, rate of flow, and temperature of a product. Currently its automated measurement devices are used in industries such as pulp and paper, oil refining, food preparation, and electric generation. Increased concerns about preventing pollution by industries and the need for greater industrial efficiency have increased markets for their products.

In 1978 Foxboro was invited by the Chinese government to investigate the formation of a joint venture. China believed that Foxboro’s products would be important for its industrial expansion, and through its Singapore sales office, products were sold into China. However, since there was a scarcity of FEC to pay for these products, sales were slow. The Joint Venture was formed in 1982 and in 1983 the Foxboro-Shanghai operation started to import some of its automated process instruments into the People’s Republic of China.

At first the available Chinese made components did not meet FOXCO Quality standards, but now the products are 50% localized. Small parts are fabricated in their machine shops, utilizing high quality Chinese labor but they buy the casings for their instruments locally. But Foxboro’s growth is limited by how much FEC it can obtain by bidding on Chinese projects. The profits made are used to buy components locally in RMB (Renmin Bin). In 1989 they did 60 Million RMB (approx. $ 4.7 Million) in sales and they exported dividends to the US in dollars.

Because of the state control of the economy, it is difficult to know what to produce. Only by creating a state owned FOXCO Sales and Service company could they be informed about what projects were to be inaugurated by the government. However, the two companies will be merged soon, due to recent relaxations of government economic policies.

Edward Haderer is Deputy Director and Deputy General Manager of Foxboro Company-Shanghai where there are two FOXMASS employees and 450 Chinese employees. When asked about problems unique to doing business in China, he responded, “if the temperature is forecast to go to 36 C (96 F), employees get an extra 1/2 hour of lunch time, and when its predicted to go to 37C (99 F), like it is today, the factory closes one hour early. Even if it doesn’t reach these temperatures, we must still adjust our schedule if the Weatherman forecasts it!”

Outstanding yield comes from good workers, and there are quarterly bonuses distributed. But Haderer emphasis that the US tends to divide workers into 5 categories, each containing about 20% of the work force, but the Chinese management staff prefers to group the workers in the middle three groups. The US management style feels that all those workers rewarded should be better than average.

One of the major differences between US and Chinese workers is in the level of initiative and independence. Chinese workers are
seen as "doing their job and little else" and "not so problem solving oriented". The Foxboro General Manager does not see the Chinese as having an "interest in getting to the top, because those who "step out are not recognized by their system." Foxboro pays tuition for additional study for employees and over 30% of the workers are involved in part-time courses such as computer programming and English. "But the workers place little focus on what the reward will be if they improve."

Factories operate 6 days a week, the usual hours being 9AM-5:30 PM. All Foxboro workers have Sundays off, as do all workers for the Chinese government, but in other companies the different trades stagger their one day off so that the factory does not have a shut down day. Foxboro workers get the seven State holidays and 10 vacation days per year. For each additional year worked, one additional vacation day is earned. There is less concern about "tea breaks", but since there are a number of women doing assembly work, Foxboro has arranged with other nearby factories to provide day care for children up to 4 years old.

Haderer says pay for workers is set by the skill and number of skills workers have obtained. The average factory worker takes home 560 RMB per month, while the "Danwei" provides free medical care and subsidies for housing, food. "The danwei also protects workers so that it is much more difficult to fire workers here than in the US. It is also more difficult to hire capable workers, because the danwei must first give its approval before a worker can switch jobs, because they have paid a great deal for training."

Haderer said there are four difficulties in doing business in China. These include US trade policy, communication, the availability of resources and energy, and foreign exchange consequences.

The first he says is "US rules and regulations which do not let US firms operate as those from other nations do. After Tien An Mien Square, the US had to start from scratch, due to government policies. The Japanese, on the other hand, had no US competition and during the last year were able to lay the ground work to have project specifications written to include their products."

Haderer responded that a second problem is doing business in a nation where 3% of the population governs is the problem of communication. Government regulations change rapidly.

Until recently, he said, some Joint Ventures have had difficulty in obtaining sufficient supplies of raw materials and energy to operate regularly. Some businesses found that they were only allocated electric power four days per week. Some found that they could not obtain substantial quantities of materials, because priority was given to state industries or problems of transportation. Since Foxboro produces instruments to make energy, they have always had full access to power.

The other major difficulty is the process of foreign exchange. "Our material costs are high here, but they are offset by the low wage scale. We could hire more workers and still not be over budget, but currently, China doesn't have the capital to expand rapidly enough. However, China currently wastes a great
deal of her resources, resulting in low efficiency. The best way to develop efficiency is through process control."
A TAIWANESE JOINT VENTURE

Thomas is the Managing Director of the Zien Sung Industry Co., Ltd. and KHK Leather Product HK. Co. which produces leather products such as gloves and hats. Two years ago, when Taiwan first permitted investment in the PRC, the companies opened a Joint Venture in the city of Dalian, China because of the "reduced cost of labor" and the "expanded consumer market available on the Mainland". He travels there every other month to oversee operations.

Although he has a very good on site manager in Dalian, Thomas says that there is so much politics in doing business in China, that there is a lot of time wasted. "The Communist management system has so many levels, that there is no one willing to take responsibility and make a decision. It's difficult for us to implement any modifications in product because of the bureaucratic system. They spend more time fighting with each other and with my two managers than in producing the product. They spend plenty of time trying to indoctrinate workers but sometimes little work gets done."

It's even difficult to obtain raw materials in the Special Economic Zones where the Joint Ventures abound. "We must compete with so many others for the materials, that we can't always be assured of a supply." Unless there is a reliable inventory, there are major impediments his doing business.

The prospects of the 1992 Chinese takeover of Hong Kong have frightened many "overseas Chinese businessmen" like Mr. Ko. "The violence in Beijing last June has made us all fearful of the future. What will happen to business in Hong Kong is not clear and that makes the Taiwanese even more concerned."

Even with these problems, the Dalian factory has been able to produce large quantities of products and to produce profits. But says Thomas, "We don't reinvest our profits there. My friends tell me to grab my profits and take them out of the country as fast as I can. You can never tell when they are going to make another policy change. Just look at their history!" The Chinese government's shifting business policies have made this Taiwanese businessman run scared!
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Anhui develops its open zone

Decision-makers in East China's Anhui Province are embarking on a move to turn their province into the Shanghai-Pudong development zone. The province is said to be the next biggest cut in the country's economic development strategy.

The area covers four of the province's major cities and three of its prefectures and has a population of about 10 million living on 87,000 square kilometers.

Anhui, the province's capital, has a population of 10 million living on 87,000 square kilometers. The area is rich in natural resources and is home to the country's major steel and coal industries.

The province has made great efforts to attract foreign investment, especially in the past decade. The province has become a major destination for foreign direct investment, with the number of foreign firms increasing rapidly.

Anhui is one of the most important provinces in China's economy, with a GDP of over $100 billion. It is also one of the largest exporters of manufactured goods in China.

The province has been named as one of the top ten economic zones in China, and its development has been recognized as a model for other provinces in the country.

A Chinese cargo ship bound for Japan loads up at the newly-opened Xiangjiao Harbour in Wuhu, Anhui Province. Construction work started four years ago on the foreign trade harbour which has three berths for 6,000 tonnage ships and a handling capacity of 900,000 tons a year. It has opened a regular container route to Japan.

Xihua photo by Zhang Wenhui

The Markets

adjusted indices fell 134.17 points, or 0.87 per cent, to 15,463.11. The index ended 168.55 points at 15,463.11 for a loss of 0.87 per cent.
BEIJING OPENS THE DOOR TO BUBBLE GUM AND BAND- AIDS

U.S. companies finally get a crack at the huge consumer market.

Ever since Deng Xiaoping launched China’s “Open Door” policy in 1978, U.S. companies have tried to crack the huge Chinese consumer market. But Chinese officials had a different idea: They wanted foreigners to invest in export industries or high-technology projects. Companies that wanted to sell to China’s 1 billion people faced a host of obstacles. Coca-Cola Co. and Kentucky Fried Chicken Corp., for instance, were limited to licensing, and only a handful of pioneers profited from joint ventures. Now, reflecting a little-noticed shift in Beijing, companies that are household names in America are concluding new production deals with Chinese partners. In July, Procter & Gamble Co. said it would start making laundry and personal-care products in a $10 million venture in Canton. Other newcomers include Bausch & Lomb, Johnson & Johnson, McCormick, RJR Nabisco, S. C. Johnson, and Seagram. Thus Chinese shoppers will soon be reaching for Band-Aids, Tylenol, Bausch & Lomb contact lenses, Gatorade, shampoo, and Raid bug killer.

China’s changed stance has evolved gradually. At the 12th Communist Party Congress last October, China’s leaders quietly decided to muffles political arguments against foreign investment. That helped break a logjam of deals. As negotiated for more than four years before announcing its $5 million deal last December to produce Band-Aids in Shanghai. It took two years for Seagram Co. to cut a $6 million deal to make whisky, sparkling wines, and wine coolers. In June, RJR Nabisco ended six years of talks by announcing a $9 million venture to make Ritz crackers.

Better Climate. More specific changes have improved China’s economic climate, which only two years ago was so sour that foreign investment growth slumped nearly 50%. The Chinese no longer insist on majority ownership or even a 50-50 split. “These days you can get any percentage you want, as long as your Chinese partner agrees,” says Jason Cheung, managing director of Johnson & Johnson (Hong Kong) Ltd.

China also recognized that it needs midlevel technologies as well as fancy computers. Nobody would argue that bubble gum is a must for socialism. But Xin Ming Food Products Factory in Wuxi, near Shanghai, can’t wait for Leaf Inc., the Bannockburn (Ill.) company that makes Good & Plenty, to start turning out five brands of gum in a joint venture. “We’re bringing them a chemical coating process that took 90 years to perfect in the West,” says Virginia Faxon, president of Transcap International Inc., Leaf’s China adviser. S. C. Johnson will provide sensorial technology, and P&G will develop new detergents.

But the single most persuasive voice for opening up the domestic market is the Chinese worker, who has more money to spend but the same old array of low-grade consumer goods to buy. To maintain credibility, the Communist Party must continue to allow increases in living standards. Only a few years ago foreign-made goods were out of reach. But with the decontrolled prices of China’s own goods rising rapidly, the gap between foreign and local goods today is not as daunting. The price of natai, China’s sorghum-based whisky, increased sixfold in July, to about $32. That’s a month’s salary for a worker, but good news for Seagram: More workers will plump for a foreign label.

FRANCE

A NEW START FOR SOME OLD MONEY

The Rockefellers buy 17% of the Wendel family’s company

In Paris, it’s dubbed “Dynasty meets Dynasty.” Late in July the New York-based Rockefellers joined France’s powerful Wendels in an $80 million deal for 17% of a Wendel-controlled conglomerate. By uniting with one of Europe’s running industrial rebounds, America’s once-richest family shows it still knows how to make a buck. Not that it ever forgot. But this time...
Building service venture

by our staff reporter

Shanghai

As internationalization continues apace in China, a number of business ventures that have been in the pipeline for some time are taking shape. One such venture is a joint Chinese-Japanese service arrangement that was announced last week.

The venture, which is being organized by Shanghai China Service Co., Ltd. and a branch of the Japanese companydisciplined to a service arrangement that will involve the joint operation of a travel agency and a fast-food restaurant in Shanghai.

The joint venture is expected to begin operations in early 1981, with the travel agency handling both domestic and international travel arrangements, while the fast-food restaurant will offer a range of Western-style meals to cater to the needs of the international community.

China hoping for trade talks' success

by our staff reporter

Beijing

China has expressed optimism about the prospects for trade talks with Japan, following a meeting between Chinese and Japanese trade officials last week.

The talks, which were held in Beijing, focused on a number of issues, including the mutual elimination of trade barriers and the expansion of bilateral commerce.

Chinese officials have stated that they are confident that a mutually beneficial trade arrangement can be reached, provided that both sides are willing to make concessions and to work towards the common goal of strengthening their economic relationship.

China Daily Friday July 27, 1980
Business without borders

In the global scramble for market share, teaming up with one or more partners may be the best way for firms to share the risks and costs.

In business, as in biology, only the fittest survive. But expanding world markets, diminishing trade barriers and global communications have given Darwinian dogma a new twist. These days, corporate success often depends more on cooperation than conflict.

Drawn together by common goal or shared foe, companies worldwide have been pairing up in unprecedented numbers—radically reshaping the international business landscape in the process. Computer innovator Hewlett-Packard and Canada's Northern Telecom will pool their know-how to tap the enormous new market for corporate information systems. Tata, an Indian conglomerate with a leather-processing subsidiary, is teaming up with France-based TFR to take on the Italians in marketing upscale leather goods. Himont, a combined effort of Milan-based Montedison and the U.S. firm Hercules, aims to dominate world sales of polypropylene, a basic plastic, while Caterpillar and Mitsubishi are teaming up to make giant earthmovers.

Gone are the heydays of the traditional multinational, whose globe-spanning enterprises touched off cries of foreign encroachment. Instead, firms find that forging an alliance raises fewer hackles at less cost. No shotgun weddings, these are matches calculated to benefit both partners through shared research and marketing costs, or access to foreign customers and capital. Notes Pauline Alker, the China-born founder and CEO of Counterpoint Computer, a San Jose, Calif., firm: “You should go into them as an act of deliberation, not desperation.”

Though the rush to the altar is widespread, head counts—main elusive. One recent study (see chart) by San Diego State University Prof. Michael Herget and Deigan Morris of INSEAD, a graduate business school in Fontainebleau, France, found that news reports of corporate alliances have increased 47 percent annually in the past decade. A survey of affiliations by U.S.-based companies reported some 12,000 in which the American parent owned a 10-50 percent equity position in a foreign firm.

To be sure, not all companies cleave to the cooperative model. Sweden's Electrolux corporation, for instance, did not become the world's largest producer of home appliances with $10 billion in annual sales by joining rivals but by gobbling them up. “I am not patient enough to listen to a partner's opinion,” explains Anders Scharp, Electrolux's no-nonsense chief executive. Many American firms prefer the old branch-office route, too; wholly owned subsidiaries still account for two thirds of all direct U.S. investment overseas. Nor are marriages of convenience always happy ones; the long-term
...success ratio of most joint ventures is far from clear.

Still, the capital available on world financial markets—$384 billion in 1987, or more than double the 1981 total—gives even small concerns a crack at overseas ventures. And the imperatives of the Information Age are driving established multinationals such as Philips and Du Pont into each other’s arms. The result: A brave new world of borderless trade and hybrid products lacking clear nationality. Ford’s new compact Probe, for instance, was designed in Detroit and engineered in Hiroshima by equity partner Mazda and is assembled in Michigan. Is this car an import and thus subject to quotas or protectionist legislation? More to the point, such “stateless” endeavors beg the question “who are you protecting from whom?” notes University of California political scientist Peter Cowhey.

Businesses worry less about such policy questions than about improving their bottom lines. Observes Borg-Warner Chairman James F. Bere: “Climbing costs for research, production and marketing, as well as protectionist, environmental, and labor requirements make going it alone in worldwide markets much harder for individual companies.” Or, to paraphrase John Donne, no firm can afford to be an island.

Access to markets
World markets have never looked more promising. Whole areas once highly regulated or state owned, such as Britain’s telecommunications industry or Japanese tobacco, are being thrown open to competition. New fields such as bioengineering are emerging. And barriers between Communist and capitalist nations are falling—creating opportunities for companies to supply pent-up demand.

At the same time, product-development and marketing costs have skyrocketed. To retain their status as global players, firms must jockey for market share in each of the industrial centers of Europe, Japan, and North America. But taking products across borders and coping with certification laws or “buy national” preferences is taking more time and money. In addition, trying to crack enticing markets in countries that have controlled economies, China or the Soviet Union, for example, proves even more demanding.

For many companies, the best—sometimes the only—solution has been to combine forces with another company. Take Alsthom of France, maker of the bullet-nosed high-speed train that zips from Paris to Marseille at speeds in excess of 180 mph. After a $3 billion deal to install the TGV (train à grande vitesse) in Florida collapsed, Alsthom turned to Bombardier of Montreal, which has facilities in the U.S. and last year sold 825 subway cars to New York City.

Serving new markets also demands a combination of skills. As with kids swapping baseball cards, “you trade what you have for what you don’t until you have a full set,” explains Fred Ziebar, executive vice president of DataQuest, a Silicon Valley market-research firm. To meet the burgeoning demand for high-tech factories, General Electric and Fanuc, a subsidiary of Japan’s Fudan, launched a $200 million robotics venture. The project twins Fanuc’s expertise in manufacturing machine-tool controls with the American firm’s knowledge of robotics technology.

Unlike many product-development joint ventures, however, the GE-Fanuc deal encompasses manufacturing and marketing as well as research. Company sales in 1987 were around $250 million.

In some industries, firms are creating alliances in the hopes of achieving global dominance. For example, the Dutch electronics conglomerate Philips has created a potent network of alliances to capitalize on the optical-disc market. Predicted to reach $4 billion by 1990, this vast market encompasses audio compact discs as well as video and data discs used in the computer and data-processing industries. The core venture with Du Pont develops, produces and sells optical-storage media.

In centrally controlled economies, hitching up with a local partner is usually required legally and is practically a must for doing business in an alien system. Even then, cracking China’s vast markets has proved a task of Sisyphean proportions. The frustrating, time-consuming art of the deal—aggravated by Beijing’s rigid bureaucracy, the difficulty and expense of recruiting Chinese workers and policy shifts—has sent many a company packing. Otis Elevator’s joint venture with Tianjin Lifts has succeeded because of superior planning. One secret, says Otis manager William Mallett, was limiting Otis participation to 30 percent to avoid red tape; bigger stakes trigger lengthy reviews by the state. With 1987 sales above $40 million, the firm leads China’s 182 elevator firms in revenues.

Access to resources
The quest for natural resources has long propelled American energy companies and other businesses overseas. But host countries usually insist on a tie-up with a local partner. In Chile, Henley Group is building the world’s second-largest methanol plant in collaboration with the national oil company, Empresa Nacional del Petróleo. Cape Horn Methanol plans to extract methanol from Chile’s
abundant natural-gas reserves, then market it to overseas chemical companies.

Often, marrying know-how and resources produces an industry not otherwise feasible. Kim Young Do, president of South Korea’s Jindo Corporation, has built a $265 million-a-year fur business in part by pairing his architects and stitchers with Siberian sable ranches. Now, Kim has persuaded the Soviet government to let him help them process the pelts. “Russia is famous for caviar and vodka—why not furs?” he says. Thus Jindo finds itself sewing high-fashion coats and selling them in 44 salons in six countries.

In other joint ventures, the Soviets are supplying technology in exchange for resources. Seattle-based Marine Resources, formed in 1976 by Bellingham Cold Storage, contracts with Siberian sable ranches.

U.S. fishermen to supply bottom-feeding fish such as hake and flounder. The fish are cleaned and canned aboard Soviet ships in mid-ocean, then sold in the Soviet Union and Pacific-rim countries.

Sharing the risks

“Everyone wants to pretend he invented the wheel,” says Siemens executive Jochen Mackemrodt, “but it is stupid in difficult high-tech areas for everyone to make the same effort.” Not only stupid, but enormously expensive and time consuming. With the life cycles of products such as personal computers and consumer audio equipment getting shorter, and the cost of each successive generation of technology more expensive, even companies the size of IBM, West Germany’s Siemens or Philips have less time in which to recoup the increasing cost of their investments. And while the giants are sometimes willing to risk multibillion-dollar gambles by themselves, their competitors surely cannot. Siemens opted to build a global portfolio of joint ventures. In April, the firm agreed to join with Westinghouse in factory automation and industrial controls—parring the GE-Fanuc thrust.

One of its most ambitious ventures is a high-stakes, high-tech venture

The Shinto priest waves sacred perch branches and intones ancient incantations. The subjects of his ear-

nests, if rambling, devotions: 16-bit microprocessors ... 1-megabit dynamic random-access memory chips ... semiconductors ...

Welcome to the dedication ceremonies of Tohoku Semiconductor Corporation, an extraordinary alliance between electronics heavyweights Toshiba and Motorola. The venture will make 3 million of these crucial computer parts a year by 1989. But it will also test how well leaders in the same industry can cooperate for mutual advantage. Toshiba claims an edge in memory chips, in short supply worldwide. Motorola boasts 60 percent of the global market in 32-bit microprocessors, the central chip in all computers. The rub: The technology these two giants exchange could turn them into direct competitors.

The joint venture should give each firm something it badly needs. For Motorola, it means a chance to reenter the U.S. memory-chip business, which it abandoned in the early 1980s under pressure from fierce price cut-

tings from Japanese manufacturers. Toshiba has also pledged to help it penetrate Japan’s ultracompetitive markets—a sore spot with U.S. semiconductor makers. In return, Toshiba gains access to Motorola’s leading-edge microprocessor designs—ultimately, perhaps, to its own chip, the 32-bit microprocessor.

“No other choice,” Toshiba President Joichi Aoi hails the venture as “the first step toward international cooperation.” But some critics worry that the pact is a Trojan horse, involving a potential rival to exploit vital technology. And Toshiba must still reconcile the alliance with membership in a Japanese consortium researching semiconductor technology.

But failing to penetrate Japan’s markets further could force Motorola from the race, while Toshiba can’t re-create the American firm’s technology itself. Sums up Michael Bottus, deputy director of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy: “You have to be extraordinarily careful, but there’s probably no other choice.”

Ultimately, the success of this alliance boils down to trust. Motorola and Toshiba go way back together. Motorola has been selling in Japan for two decades, and Toshiba was its first Japanese customer. The two firms exchange engineers. Personal friendships have been forged; Motorola Vice President James Norling and Toshiba Senior Vice President Tuyoshi Kawanishi did the haggling on behalf of their two companies in the basement of a Maui hotel. “After I finally shook hands with Mr. Norling,” recalls Kawanishi, “I wrote him a letter saying we should respect and trust each other—and be patient.”

by Mika Mary in Sendai, Japan.

and Peter Dworkin in San Francisco
research collaboration with Philips to develop a new generation of superchips. The venture, code-named “Megaproject,” was launched in 1984 with a $780 million budget—one third government funded. It allows the firms to share submicron technology but pursue research separately. Independently, Siemens is developing a 4-megabit chip to meet the growing memory appetite in the latest electronic devices, such as fax machines and laser printers.

Sometimes the risk lies in losing an opportunity to enter or stay in a promising market. When executives at Corning Glass Works saw the scientific explosion in genetic engineering, they realized their subsidiary, Corning Medical, “didn’t have the scientific horsepower to maintain leadership” in the field of medical diagnostics, recalls group President Martin Gibson. The solution: Yet another joint venture for the New York firm, which has put together 36 such collaborations in the past 60 years, all but four of them successful. In this instance, Corning turned to Switzerland’s Ciba-Geigy, a leader in biological research.

The partners believe that scientific advances in diagnostics will enable them to compete in the parallel market of therapeutic drugs, too. The 50-50 venture has 2,000 employees and had revenues last year of $150 million.

Risk sharing has become practically de rigueur in some industries because of the vast costs of capital investment, market uncertainties and governmental barriers. The highly volatile aircraft-engine business, for example, has spawned several collaborative efforts. International

Aero Engines, based in East Hartford, Conn., brings together two of the world’s biggest engine makers, Pratt & Whitney and Rolls-Royce, MTU of West Germany, Fiat of Italy and a consortium of Japanese companies. Their product, the fuel-efficient V2500 turbofan engine, is being put on Airbus A320 aircraft (another joint venture) and is aimed directly at the market once solely held by CFM International. A General Electric collaboration with France’s SNECMA. Each partner contributes its own expertise in designing and manufacturing part of the engine, an arrangement that also eases the problem of transferring sensitive technology.

Greater efficiency

Combining forces can also produce efficiencies. A bigger enterprise can make each widget for less cost. General Motors buys transmissions from two of its partners, Isuzu and Suzuki, for shipment to assembly plants in Australia, South Africa, Canada and Europe.

In “mature” industries with excess plant capacity, joining forces usually makes each partner more competitive. Current demand for new power stations in the U.S., for instance, is nil—not a single new order was placed last year. But executives at Asea-Brown-Boveri, the mammoth $18 billion Swedish-Swiss electrical-engineering conglomerate, and their new partner, Pittsburgh-based Westinghouse, are betting on an upturn before 1995. By that time, about 200 gigawatts of power-generation equipment will have reached retirement age.

When wheels were first put under carts—a surprisingly long time after
their invention—the event probably marked the first instance of its use—has implications for the future of manufacturing technologies. Today, the process is quicker. Computers and telephones have driven Hewlett-Packard and Northern Telecom into a strategic alliance dubbed Corporate Networks Operation. Announced May 12, the venture is expected to generate $1 billion in sales by the mid-1990s, helping firms design and implant integrated information networks that will tie together large and small computers, data bases and telephones. Networking would permit a manufacturer to process an order, call for more supplies, bill the customer's account and give top executives an updated status account—all virtually simultaneously.

**A Faustian bargain?**

For all their benefits, alliances also prove once more that there is no free lunch. Collaborations with Japanese firms have attracted particular criticism. Such partnerships, argues Harvard political economist Robert Reich, are seductive because they provide a low-cost way of entering markets or retaining market share. But they have a hidden cost: It is the Japanese who do the heart of the manufacturing process—the "high value-added" steps such as the engineering and fabrication of complex parts—because, as Reich puts it, the first goal of the Japanese is to build up the experience base of their workers. That leaves Americans or others to do the basic research at one end of the process and the relatively simple assembly tasks at the other. The result: Americans are no further down the experience curve, falling further behind in the accelerating global race as engineering and production skills dry up. "The question ultimately," concludes Reich, "is who's in charge of our long-term economic development?"

The same problem troubles Philips Vice President Gerrit Jelof, who charges Japanese venture partners with setting up European "screwwrapping plants," by which he means electronics plants that do only end-stage assembly. The problem with such factories, argues Jelof, is that they involve few workers, avoid local suppliers and transfer no technological know-how. Therefore, they amount to a "backdoor flow of products" and an evasion of trade agreements. If Japan wants to truly participate in the global economy, he says, "companies will have to become true multinational and not simply extensions of the export system based in Japan."

Japanese executives counter that concern for quality is what keeps much of the engineering and manufacturing in Japan. They also point to what has been until recently a failure of the manufacturing sector to attract the best and brightest of American managers. In more-recent alliances, they claim, foreign partners of Japanese firms are being trained in advanced production skills. A case in point is NUMMI, the GM-Toyota joint venture in California that has been producing the Chevrolet Nova. In the face of anemic sales that have led to four production cuts, Toyota has transferred some 250 assembly-line workers to "trainer" tasks such as tool-and-die making. Factory hands also now plan much of the materials flow and production sequencing for a new model scheduled for this fall—a role that had been reserved for process engineers. The excellent job done by the unskilled workers has impressed GM engineers mightily.

**Future shock**

While hundreds of corporations understand the strategic value of forming alliances today, the acid test lies further down the road. Some experts believe that joint ventures are a bit like an unstable chemical compound—eventually, they will turn into something else. "It's not that companies are all of a sudden feeling the need to embrace," says Wharton School economist Harbir Singh. "In many cases, a joint venture is an intermediate step forged to ride over medium-term problems. Eventually, the importance in a third country and sold it to the East Germans? Which country's laws control?"

Governments have done little to address such problems. Meanwhile, corporations continue to seek an edge in a world forever growing smaller and more competitive. For now, survival-of-the-fittest strategies dictate coordination; as famed biologist Lewis Thomas once noted, survivors are not necessarily the most powerful but those who cooperate best.

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China’s Space Technology Enters World Market

THE SUCCESSFUL launching of AsiaSat-1, the satellite manufactured by the U.S. Hughes Aircraft Company for the Asia Satellite Telecommunications Corporation, marked the beginning of China’s entry into international satellite launching market. The 1.24-ton satellite, equipped with 24 C-wave transponders, was launched on April 7 by a Long March-3 carrier rocket. With a life expectancy of ten years, the satellite was insured by China People’s Insurance Company for US $120 million. It will serve 2.5 billion people in 30 Asian countries, by using 80 percent of its capacity for television program transmission and the balance for communications.

The Asia Satellite Telecommunications Corp. Ltd. is a joint venture formed by China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC), the British Cable and Wireless PLC and the Hongkong Hutchison Whampoa Limited. China Great Wall Industrial Company (a foreign trade enterprise of the Ministry of Aerospace) was responsible for the launching operation. Mr. Xue Dong, chief executive of the company, said that the cooperation between China and its partners ensured a smooth, trouble-free launch, one that was cheaply and simply executed.

TO CONTROL the satellite, Xi’an Satellite Control Center, the hub of China’s space network, adapted its most up-to-date computer for cooperation with other control stations in southern China. AsiaSat-1 was the twenty-seventh satellite launched by China. The first, named Dongfanghong-1 (The East Is Red) was launched in April 1970. Its first transmission was the...
song “Dongfanghong.” From November 1975 to August 1988 China successfully launched and recovered 11 satellites, including three on a single carrier rocket in 1981. China was then placed in third position after the United States and the Soviet Union in mastering the space technology in these areas. The payload weighed 1.4 tons. The information collected has been applied to oil surveying, meteorology, earthquake reporting and many other fields.

In April 1984 the first experimental geostationary communications satellite was placed in orbit, and in September of 1988 China launched its first synchronous meteorological satellite on a Long March-4 rocket. The previous five placements had used the LM-3 rocket with its proven multifunctional, three-stage launching system.

China has successfully established its research, manufacturing, communications tracking system and LM-1 to -4 series rockets. The LM-2 rocket has a payload of 2.4 tons. Besides the Xichang Satellite Launching Center in Sichuan province, China has another two centers at Jiuquan in Gansu province and Taiyuan in Shanxi province.

ALTHOUGH China announced in 1985 that its LM series rockets were available for the international market, the administration received no firm orders for some time. Only after China was able to demonstrate technological competence and ensure the safety of payloads did the international market begin to take China’s product more seriously. In December 1988 China and the United States signed a memorandum of agreement to launch three satellites. A year later, the U.S. government issued a license for shipment to China. The shipping of AsiaSat-1 was supervised completely by the American owners.

China’s launch fee and conditions are more attractive than those offered on the international market because of the rockets’ reliability, the lower cost of domestic materials and components and lower labor costs. A Chinese official said that China’s main intention is not to monopolize the market or drive out competitors with a cheaper service. China’s satellite launching industry will mainly serve domestic needs and in any case its ability to serve foreign customers will be limited to four or five launches a year.

At the same time, the industry is working to improve its legal and contractual framework by joining three international space and other space agreements. The country will continue to ensure its technological position and safety record and to provide insurance coverage to foreign customers. The Arab Organization of Satellite Communications announced in January this year that China will launch its third satellite, part of a communications system valued at US $400 million. Australia has also contracted China to launch its Aussat satellites.
DENGEN'S REFORMS WILL PREVAIL—BUT AT A PRICE

His supporters are gaining power, but old-liners will still be able to slow the pace of change

Earlier this year it seemed that Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's vision had become unstock. Student riots prompted the sacking of Communist Party Chairman Hu Yaobang, and conservative stalwarts who chafed under Deng's headlong push to modernize China's economic and political structure seemed to be gaining power. Now, however, on the eve of the most important party meeting in nine years, master strategist Deng appears to have engineered another of the pragmatic compromises for which he is famous.

The result is that China's economic reforms will continue. Old communist hardliners such as Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, and Peng Zhen are likely to step down from their high-ranking jobs to be succeeded by a generation of reform-minded leaders. And the recent campaign against "bourgeois liberalization," or Western influence, has been dropped.

To be sure, the 83-year-old Deng has paid a price for his comeback, which will become official at the 13th Communist Party Congress convening in Beijing on Oct. 25. His economic reforms are likely to proceed more slowly, improving the efficiency of the communist system but not bringing about the radical overhaul that was envisioned a year ago. And Deng's pet project—reforming the political system to separate party officials from managing the economy—now seems even less feasible. What's more, old orthodox leaders, though technically retired, will probably succeed in promoting their protégés and wielding power behind the scenes.

Thus reform may merely inch ahead. In recent weeks, China's newspapers have overflowed with pro-reform articles, indicating that supporters of Deng's anointed successor, Premier Zhao Ziyang, have gained the upper hand and may prevail at the party-congress. But even if the congress issues strong statements supporting reform, the conservatives will remain influential enough to slow the pace of change.

ALL-IMPORTANT TASK. Fundamental questions of reconciling economic growth and party control have been put off to be thrashed out later. These include the all-important matter of removing party bosses from the factory floor, thereby easing political control over many economic decisions. The heart of Deng's dilemma—how to achieve prosperity through capitalist-style reforms without negating the party's power—will probably face his successor, too.

One of Deng's key goals at the party congress is to persuade party elders Li, 78, and Chen, 82, to leave the five-member Standing Committee of the Politburo, the most powerful body in the land.

JOCKEYING FOR POSITION IN CHINA:

PENG ZHEN
Chairman of the National People's Congress, Peng, 85, is expected to step down. He has voiced fears about decadent Western influences.

LI XIANNIAN
Li, 78, has said he's ready to resign from the Politburo's Standing Committee and he may step down as the country's President, too.

LI PENG
Soviet-trained Vice-Premier Li, 59, is the leading candidate for Premier. He is believed to favor central planning over free markets.
To achieve this, Deng says he himself will resign from some of his key posts, including his seat on the Standing Committee. He’ll retain behind-the-scenes power, but he must solidify support for Zhao, who is almost certain to be formally named party secretary general, a position he has held since Hu was ousted.

Because the disgraced Hu is also certain to leave the Standing Committee, four seats out of five will suddenly be vacant, giving Deng a historic opportunity to “pack” the party’s top body. Those choices will go a long way toward charting China’s direction after Deng dies. The four appointments may give China’s leadership a much younger, reformist look, particularly if a few key vice-premiers are promoted to the Standing Committee.

One leader who may come out ahead is Vice-Premier Li Peng, 59, who is expected to succeed Zhao as premier and take one of the vacant seats on the Standing Committee. Foreign executives find Li competent and businesslike, but they worry that his Soviet training makes him adhere rigidly to central planning. Some Chinese officials also worry that he is too close to the conservatives and doesn’t get along with Zhao. But such reformists as Vice-Premiers Wan Li, 71, and Tian Jiyun, 58, as well as party secretary member Hu Qili, 58, may also be promoted. That would strengthen Zhao’s hand and help ensure support for him in the post-Deng era.

“What will come out of the congress will be a compromise, but one in which the reformist leaders will still be a major force,” says A. Doak Barnett, a China expert at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

As long as the reformers and the orthodox communists debate the pace of change, China’s economic reforms will continue to be implemented erratically, frustrating investors and entrepreneurs. Both factions support the open-door policy, which encourages foreign trade and investment. But foreign investors will continue to feel whipsawed. “We are in between: We are not part of the planned economy, but we have to follow the rules of the planned economy,” says Maurice Kerkhofs, general manager of Shanghai Bell Telephone Equipment Mfg., a Chinese joint venture with Belgium’s Bell Telephone Mfg.

Amid the ongoing debate, foreign executives and Chinese managers alike will continue to be dogged by party interference. Already under fire for “ossified thinking,” officials at all levels are being asked to step aside and let professional managers run factories, mines, and even government bureaus. But they are unlikely to do so. No other Communist Party has ever shared so much power with private enterprise.

Other reforms are likely to resume once Zhao’s preeminence is confirmed. Experimental financial reforms, which started last year and include creation of capital markets and competition among banks, are spreading from 13 to 27 cities. Fearful of inflation, the government will try to keep consumer prices stable, but 72 cities are starting to deregulate prices of such goods as steel, coal, and cement. Markets are developing for real estate and technological licenses and products, both once considered state property.

Abuses. The reforms are not as uniformly popular as they once were, however. Impossibly high expectations have left many disillusioned. Ordinary Chinese, now used to fresh vegetables and colorful clothes, complain about rising prices. Party officials, with no legal way to enrich themselves, accept bribes. Profiteers hoard gasoline and train tickets, which are in demand by traveling salesmen. Factories board steel bought at low, state-fixed prices, hoping to resell it at a profit on the free market. And many entrepreneurs try to evade taxes. These abuses of reform have caused so much resentment that Beijing has launched a new campaign against them.

Successful entrepreneurs, even once-celebrated “millionaires,” face gongying from envious local officials. Zhang Changshan, 37, who made his million yuan (about $270,000) raising fish and selling building materials in Zhengzhou,

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**CAN THE REFORMERS HOLD ON TO THEIR EDGE?**

**ZHANG XIANG**

Currently Premier and Deng’s chosen successor, the 67-year-old Zhao will probably be named Party General Secretary.

**WAN LI**

Vice-Premier Wan, 71, is being considered for the Presidency or for the chairmanship of the National People’s Congress.

**HU QILI**

Prominent in the younger “third echelon” of leaders, Hu, 58, is a member of the Party Secretariat and may join the Standing Committee.
SETTING UP SHOP IN CHINA: THREE PATHS TO SUCCESS

Among China investors, horror stories abound and successes are few. But in the face of bureaucratic nightmares, production delays, quality headaches, and cash crunches, a handful of Western companies are satisfied with their progress in China. It's still too early to call them total successes, but these tailor-made strategies seem to be working.

PPG: Good planning and teamwork. Two companies have invested in Chinese flat-glass factories, but only one, Pittsburgh-based PPG Industries Inc., started on time and almost within budget. Britain's Pilkington Brothers PLC was plagued by construction problems that added costs and building time.

One key difference was the choice of location. Pilkington's site in Shanghai is on such soft ground that construction has taken three years. PPG picked stable land in a special manufacturing zone only one hour by boat from Hong Kong. Spare parts needed during construction could be obtained in hours, not days.

And PPG's timing was lucky. An Asia-wide construction boom is creating huge demand for glass, so the plant will easily export half its output. Chinese buyers have eagerly snapped up the other half. PPG must now keep its customers happy and earn profits. The biggest struggle will be earning enough foreign exchange to repay a $62 million construction loan.

Reebok: The joy of being second. By the time U.S. sports-shoe maker Reebok International Ltd. was ready for China, archival Nike Inc. had already spent five arduous years helping train a crew of Chinese managers. So in 1985, when Reebok picked a factory in Fuzhou that previously had worked with Nike, its managers understood the need for cleanliness and quality.

Since last August, Reebok has made 50,000 pairs of shoes in China. Anticipating poor quality, the company initially rated them Grade B. But they looked so good that Reebok is now classifying them regular grade—and is gearing up to produce three million pairs next year. After only two years of production, Reebok will be turning out as many shoes as Nike is after six.

Foxboro: Buying local parts. Many foreign manufacturers thought they could gain access to the huge Chinese market by agreeing to produce in China. For high-tech companies, that meant selling parts for assembly in Chinese factories. But that strategy backfired as soon as China started clamping down on foreign exchange spending in 1985. Suddenly, there wasn't enough hard currency to import parts.

Foxboro Co., which has made electronic control systems in Shanghai since 1983, felt the crunch as badly as anyone. But in addition to asking the Chinese government for infusions of foreign exchange, the Foxboro (Mass.) company set out to create a local supply network. Now, four years later, Foxboro buys more than 60% of the value of its low-end product in China, including aluminum castings, simple meters, transistors, and even printed circuit boards. The quality is so good that the venture will probably be able to export more than $400,000 in components this year.

What's more, volume is now high enough to permit lower prices. Orders are pouring in, production has grown from $540,000 in 1983 to an expected $10.8 million this year, and the venture is profitable.

By Dori Jones Yang in Shanghai, with Leslie Holm in Boston
China’s Special Economic Zones

Since 1980 the Chinese Government has developed special economic zones (SEZs) in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen in order to open to the outside world and to expand, through these particular channels, economic and technological cooperation with other countries.

Geographical Positions and Areas of the Four Special Economic Zones

Situated in the south of Guangdong Province, Shenzhen Special Economic Zone is separated from Baoan County to the north by Mt. Wutong and Mt. Yangtai and extended to Hongkong’s New Territories in the south, to Dapeng Bay in the east, and to Yuhou Bay in the west. It is 15.16 square kilometres.

Zhuhai Special Economic Zone, located in the south of Guangdong Province and west of the mouth of the Zhujiang (Pearl River), is bordered by Macao to the south. It is 15.16 square kilometres in size.

The Shantou Special Economic Zone, an area of 52.6 square kilometres, lies in Longhu Village on the eastern outskirts of Shantou in Guangdong Province, three kilometres from the city proper.

The Xiamen Special Economic Zone, situated on Xiamen Island in Xiamen, Fujian Province, was originally confined within the limits of the northwestern Huli Village, covering only 2.5 square kilometres. In May, 1984, the Chinese Government decided to extend it to include the whole Xiamen Island, totalling 131 square kilometres.

Economic Features of the Special Economic Zones and the Purposes of Their Development

The four special economic zones are completely under the administration of the Chinese Government, and special managerial systems and policies are practised. The main features are as follows:

(1) The special economic zones are aimed at absorbing and utilizing foreign funds. SEZs produce mainly exports. The mixed SEZ economy is dominated by Chinese-foreign joint ventures, Chinese-foreign co-operative enterprises and exclusively foreign-funded enterprises, very different from the state-planned economy in the rest of China.

(2) China practises a planned economy. Shenzhen’s economy is basically regulated by markets.

(3) Investors in the SEZs receive more preferential treatment and convenience than those in the rest of China.

(4) The SEZs are vested with higher-level economic decision-making power than provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities in the rest of China, such as power over examination and approval of import items and construction projects.

There are many advantages to setting up SEZs. Through their preferential policies, these zones can develop economic and technological co-operation with foreign countries, make the best use of their geographical positions, use large amounts of foreign investment in a better way, import advanced technology, develop industrial and agricultural production, expand exports and trade, increase foreign exchange income and the accumulation of funds, and acquire scientific techniques and management skills. Dealing regularly with foreign capital, China can further observe and study the development of the world economy, keep abreast of changes on the international market and train professionals.

Preferential Treatment to Investors in the Special Economic Zones

The Chinese Government welcomes and encourages foreign citizens, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan and their companies to set up factories and joint ventures with China, and any other business forms desired for both parties and permitted by Chinese law. Those providing advanced technology and equipment and creating technology-intensive projects in the SEZs are especially welcome. Investors in the SEZ receive the following preferential provisions:

(1) Enterprise Income Tax: The enterprise income rate for Chinese-foreign joint ventures, operative enterprises and exclusive foreign-funded enterprises is set at 15 percent and no local additional tax is levied.

Enterprises with an investment of more than US$5,000,000 or those using high technology and having relatively long-term capital sury may apply for a reduction or exemption from the income tax.

Investors who reinvest their profits in the SEZs for five years more may apply for a reduction or exemption from income tax on the amount reinvested.

The profit that an investor receives after payment of the enterprise
come tax may be remitted abroad with tax exemption on the amount remitted.

(2) Individual Income Tax:
For income from wages and salaries, a monthly deduction of 800 yuan shall be allowed for expenses; that part in excess of 800 yuan shall be taxed. Income from wages and salaries in excess of 800 yuan shall be taxed at progressive rates, ranging from 5 percent to 30 percent.

The following categories of income shall be exempted from individual income tax: Awards for scientific, technological and cultural achievements; interest on savings deposits in the state banks and credit cooperatives of the People's Republic of China; dividends; welfare benefits, pensions for the disabled and for survivors and relief payments; insurance proceeds, severance pay and retirement pay for cadres, staff members and workers; income exempted from tax as stipulated in the international conventions to which the Chinese Government is a party and in agreements it has signed; and income obtained from Hong Kong, Macao and some other foreign countries.

(3) Tariffs on Imports and Exports:
Machinery and equipment, spare parts, raw and semi-processed materials, means of transportation and other capital goods required for production and imported by enterprises in the SEZs are exempted from customs duties. So are exports made by enterprises in the SEZs, (excluding those restricted by China). Apart from cigarettes and liquor, consumer imports for use within the SEZs are exempted from customs duties or are taxed at a reduced rate.

(4) Industrial and Commercial Consolidated Tax:
Machinery and equipment imported by investors for investment or for further investment shall be exempted from industrial and commercial consolidated tax. So are raw materials, spare parts, devices, and packing materials required in production in the special zones. SEZ exports are also exempted from the tax on the links in the chain of their production.

(5) Land Use Fees:
Land use fees are computed and collected based on the differences in line of business and the terms of use. Those who establish educational, cultural, scientific and technological, medical and health or public welfare institutions in the SEZs shall receive preferential treatment in this respect. Projects involving exceptionally advanced technology and non-profit projects may be exempted from payment of the land use fee.

(6) Sales of Products:
Special economic zones produce mainly exports or merchandise sold within the confines of the SEZs. A portion of any goods which China needs badly or, which involve advanced equipment and technology imported by investors or raw materials and spare parts made in China, may be sold in domestic markets as stipulated in the Chinese law. But taxes will be levied on products made with duty free imported material, according to the country's tax laws, when such products are sold domestically.

(7) Entry and exit procedures are simplified and conveniences given for Chinese nationals abroad. Clearance is given to compatriots from Hongkong and Macao after inspection of their home visit certificates at the ports.

Clearance is given to overseas Chinese after inspection of their home visit certificates, tourist certificates or passports issued by China.

Foreign nationals wishing to enter the special economic zones via Hongkong or Macao must have visas issued by Chinese visa-granting offices, and clearance of visas need to be sequentially at entry-exit than one year to evade in to the ports such matter.

Foreign residents for the special economic zones of Macao must have China's Em in the consul of the country has China, the identificationthe Chinese that country given after certificates.

Investors' lawful right tested in ac consistent law. En in the SEZs decrees and sions of the China and ment and su Government.
DOING BUSINESS IN CHINA NOW

As hard-liners and less-hard-liners struggle for political control, the economy seems headed for trouble. But Western investors are still betting on the long term.

by Ford S. Worthy

Talk about lousy timing. The day after Chinese soldiers turned their guns on unarmed students near Tiananmen Square last June, an ad appeared in Time magazine for a new American-backed hotel, office, and apartment complex being built in Shanghai. The contrast between the chirpy ad and the bloody photos a few pages away was bad enough. What caught the eye—and resonated with unintended irony—was the new venture's slogan: "Now, everything is possible." That still sums up how foreign investors feel about China. For better or for worse, nothing can be ruled out.

China's Communist leaders insist that their door will remain open to foreign capital and technology. It probably will—over the long run. But until the split between what one Western consultant characterizes as "hard-liners and less-hard-liners" is resolved, both foreign and local business folk must operate under a cloud of uncertainty.

Nor does this cloud carry a silver lining. After the massacre some foreigners figured that they might hold an unaccustomed negotiating edge over Chinese counterparts desperate to prove that business was going...
on as usual. Says an American businessman: "It was like how you'd feel in the locker room before a big game. Boy, did we think we'd be able to score points by reopening our contracts and using our new leverage to cut favorable deals. But when we got out on the field, we realized that we weren't going anywhere." Bureaucrats and factory managers now worry that any concessions they might later be criticized by party leaders.

Similar fears may make it more difficult for foreign joint ventures to identify and promote promising employees. No longer does the official Chinese press declare, as it did last year. "To get rich is glorious." Entrepreneurs have been castigated and, according to some reports, may even be barred from joining the Communist Party. The general manager of a foreign joint venture in northern China tells of trying to talk a talented young worker into pursuing an obvious bent toward management. The worker refused, worried that other Chinese ty boss Jiang Zemin, punish Zhao Ziyang, the deposed party general secretary who campaigned for many of the past decade's most important economic reforms? When will Japan and the World Bank, China's key suppliers of credit, restart their money-lending machines—and on what terms?

While they await those answers, most Western companies already in China are simply staying put. Within the crucial Overseas Chinese community, rattled Hong Kong businessmen are looking a little harder for other sites in Southeast Asia to hedge their bets. But, paradoxically, investors from Taiwan may actually be adding to their China stakes.

That's a gutsy move. Since China's economy, in bad shape even before the June debacle, may be plunging toward recession. Growth in industrial output is slowing sharply from last year's 21% rate. In September production in several provinces actually declined. Battered by a dearth of tourists and a rising trade deficit. China's reserves of foreign exchange have shriveled to just $14 billion, barely enough to cover three months of imports. The inflation rate, though it has recently shown signs of slowing somewhat, hangs stubbornly above 20% in most cities. The problems in the countryside, where 870 million of China's 1.1 billion citizens live, are potentially more serious. Because state purchasers continue to pay less than the world market price for grain. Farmers keep shifting to higher-yielding crops or converting fields into sites for hotels and small factories. This loss of grain-growing acreage, which could eventually lead to serious food shortages, is already forcing China to spend increasing amounts of precious hard currency reserves on imported grain. Rural unemployment is also rising, thanks to Beijing's new policy of channeling credit and raw materials to large state enterprises at the expense of small, rural factories and other businesses that operate outside the central plan.

Over time, unrest in the countryside could become the present leadership's most explosive problem. A year ago there were violent clashes between peasants and local officials in some areas when the government paid for the summer harvest with promissory notes. To avoid a repeat this year, Beijing committed more than $5 billion of emergency cash to crop purchases.

Few of the difficulties foreign managers face today are new. Money, raw materials, and electric power are in short supply, as they have been since the central government began trying to rein in the economy more than a year ago. Many factories have enough energy and raw materials to operate only a couple of days a week.

Shortages are worsening. Renminbi, China's domestic currency, is now so scarce that many companies are living with unusually high receivables, since buyers are unable to pay bills on time. One exporter in Guangzhou, who says he is flush with foreign currency, now perpetually lacks renminbi to buy materials and pay workers. In the past he could purchase it from importers, who needed the foreign currency he had to buy foreign goods. But tough import restrictions mean importers now need far less foreign exchange. Nor can the exporter borrow local currency: Banks have clamped down on new loans. The cycle is potentially perilous. If he were unable to pay his workers, the exporter would soon have to shut down—even though overseas demand for his product remained strong. continued
and social attitudes have clearly not died. One Westerner, who was in southern China during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, says he is heartened by how unexpectedly open people seem to be in Beijing today. Events at Tiananmen Square, he says, come up not only in one-on-one conversations with bureaucrats. This same businessman recalls a Chinese official saying, "I could arrange a business meeting on short notice. Why? The official implied that it would give her an excuse to attend a political training session that she, like many Chinese, has been obliged to attend since June.

What probably ought to change is the way many foreigners do business in China. Mr. James Stepanek, a top representative of a large U.S.-based high-tech company, wrote recently in the Asian Wall Street Journal: "I still cannot comprehend the ease with which the Chinese extract huge discounts from foreign suppliers. A merchant banker active in arranging financing for foreign companies will be more accommodating than his counterparts in other countries. A merchant banker active in arranging financing for foreign companies will be more accommodating than his counterparts in other countries.

Already, he says, one Chinese company, agreement to a loan at 1.25% above Libor, the same company's borrowing cost before the crisis, has "the high interest rates charged by foreign lenders. It's not a secret that China suffers from a dearth of hard currency. Also foreign companies have to compete with China's own state-owned enterprises that use China's hard currency.

Despite the official lip service to a "new policy of relaxation, the barrier is still there. The state-based economic policies of yesterday continue to constrain today's less constrained economic policies.

But the "true tab from Tiananmen Square has yet to be tallied. It will be paid in the brains, energy, and capital of those who will leave Hong Kong, who otherwise might have stayed. Last year 45,000 people left Hong Kong to live in a foreign country.

The Bank of China has invested $1.5 billion in building its new headquarters. It has engaged Hoare Govett, a top investment bank, to put together a plan to sell the building for $2 billion. The Hong Kong government has promised to help the Bank of China with the sale of the building, which is expected to be completed by 1990.

Though Hong Kong companies have pulled up stakes, many are still operating in the financial hub. Many foreign companies have established offices in Singapore (see box). Optimists argue that no Communist leader would knowingly let his largest investor and trading partner go to the wall.
The new controls on imports and credit are part of a broad effort by the central government to reclaim much of the decision-making authority it relinquished in recent years. How far this retreat from earlier, market-oriented reforms will go depends not just on the policies that central planners adopt but also on how vigorously provinces and cities, which have ignored similar edicts in the past, enforce them. One foreign company that sells equipment to the domestic transportation industry had been able to overcome the usual foreign exchange shortage by sending salesmen to scour the country for buyers with money. But after the troubles at Tiananmen, the company was informed that henceforth it could sell only to a single state purchasing agent.

For the next few years, foreign newcomers mainly interested in tapping the domestic market will find it more difficult to get approval. Says a Western diplomat: "The government is saying, ‘Yes, our door is open, but not for everyone.’" Even if you are allowed in, you'll find that Chinese consumers have much less money to spend. Janet Shanberge of Kamsky Associates, a consulting firm that works with Western companies in China, believes those that do best will be the ones that sell things China can't do without—such as grain or equipment that earns hard currency. Also favored will be companies that use China as a now highway between its Sang simian:lc. This bridge acme Ob ilbsorklam awe will cam

Despite the official lip service it lost, hotel occupancy rates have slowly edged up, and real estate speculators have reemerged. Indeed, a group of 146 unfinished luxury houses sold out three weeks after going on the market in September. Their average price: $1 million. In October the government announced a much debated plan to invest $16 billion in a new airport, shipping terminals, roads, tunnels, and other large projects designed to cope with future growth. Across the border in Guangdong province, where Hong Kong manufacturers employ several million workers, business has hummed along with few disturbances.

But the true tab from Tiananmen Square has yet to be tallied. It will be paid in the brains, energy, and capital of those emigrating from Hong Kong who otherwise might have stayed. Last year 45,000 people left, up from 30,000 the year before. Says William Purves, chairman of Hongkong & Shanghai Bank: "What has happened will lead to a further brain drain in 1990 and 1991." Agrees Simon Murray, managing director of Hutchison Whampoa, a conglomerate with interests throughout Hong Kong: "The confidence built up over years was destroyed in a day. Middle managers, those around 33 with a few children, say, ‘Can I risk staying? ’ To most, a lifeboat means the right to live in a foreign country. Though no Hong Kong companies have pulled up stakes, many are now looking into establishing at least a portion of their operations abroad. One likely winner: the island republic of Singapore.

Optimists argue that no Communist leader would knowingly strangle China's largest investor and trading partner. Gordon Wu, managing director of Hopewell
Economy improves but hurdles remain

by our staff reporter

Show tour helps fight corruption

Keep your umbrellas at hand

by our staff reporter

5 Chinese pilgrims dead and 4 missing in Mecca

by our staff reporter
Holdings, a giant Hong Kong company, points out that China has long had the power to wreck the territory but has never chosen to use it. The mainland furnishes more than 65% of Hong Kong's water supply, meat, and vegetables. If China opened its borders, as it did briefly in October, a flood of refugees would soon engulf Hong Kong.

A Princeton-educated engineer who ponders the future from a music-filled audience on the 64th floor of Hopewell Centre, Wu had his confidence sorely tested after June 4. The stock market's collapse killed a Hopewell rights offering, and work stopped on a superhighway the company is building between Hong Kong, Macao, and Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province. But in September construction resumed. And while Wu doesn't dismiss the chance of further trouble across the border, he expects the first leg of the highway to open late next year. Says he: "What guarantees Hong Kong's existence is our ability to lift up the Chinese economy."

Even the Chinese in Taiwan are showing surprising faith in the mainland's economic prospects, though that faith is born partly of necessity. Wages in Taiwan are more than eight times what they are across the straits in China's Fujian province. Manufacturers of such labor-intensive products as shoes, garments, and electronic components swarmed across from Taiwan beginning in 1987, when the government in Taipei relaxed travel restrictions. In many cases, whole factories were dismantled and shipped to China through Hong Kong.

Since June 4, Taiwan's investment in China has continued to grow, though at a far slower pace, according to knowledgeable business executives in the region. In a politically important move, a large group of Chinese investors from Taiwan is making a publicly announced trip to southern Guangdong province in December to discuss investment possibilities. Previously Taiwanese doing business on the mainland kept a scrupulously low profile.

BUSINESSMEN from other countries are also warily raising their heads. Motorola is still considering a $100 million investment in Tianjin. The Wrigley chewing gum company is currently negotiating a $20 million deal in Guangzhou. In separate deals, Chase Manhattan and Bankers Trust recently agreed to syndicate loans to two large Chinese companies. Japanese bankers, sensitive to the charge that they are overeager to resume business as usual, welcome the Americans' return. "We certainly cannot neglect what happened in June," says Hisao Kobayashi, director of Dai-Ichi Kangyo's international planning division. "But China is forever, and we have to take the long-term view. We should never pull out." Though U.S. executives in China are more reluctant to be quoted, they generally feel the same way.

Nonetheless, it is sobering that many China watchers these days don't rule out a decade or more of political instability. The furious power struggle among the country's leaders, evident in May and June but overshadowed for a time by the upheaval in the streets, has yet to play itself out. Much depends on the order in which China's ruling octogenarians finally pass from the scene. Ironically, most Western observers are rooting for Deng to outlive the rest of his generation. In the inscrutable world of Chinese politics, the man who ordered the appalling killings in June is still viewed as a moderating, stabilizing force.
Faster industrial growth demanded

Despite having seen industrial output pick up by 8.9 per cent in June, the State Statistics Bureau (SSB) remains sober about the economic outcome and urges a growth rate of 8 per cent in the latter half of 1990, said an article carried on Economic Daily (July 10).

Otherwise, the article by Tian Ruzhen warned, the planned growth rate of 8 per cent for the whole year will be difficult to achieve.

The SSB thus urges that, first of all, the planned investment in fixed assets must be carried out.

Second, the government should encourage consumers to spend more by cutting the prices of stockpiled goods and preventing poor-quality goods from entering the market.

Third, more attention should be paid to technological upgrading of enterprises, and tax on new products be cut so as to spur innovation.

Fourth, enterprises should cut expenses.

UN report: Act now on population

UNITED NATIONS (Xinhua) - A new UN population study published in a recent issue of the world's least developed countries is facing a critical over-population problem and their social and economic development has been stunted as a result.

The study, "World population monitoring, 1989," conducted by the UN Population Division, says that as of 1988, the total population of the least developed countries was approximately 370 million, about 8 per cent of the world's total, and the rate of their population growth has offset their economic growth.

It says the population of those 41 countries, classified by the United Nations based on a per capita income of less than $220, increased by an average 2.4 per cent per year over this period.

The rate of the increase is expected to rise this decade to 2.9 per cent per year, and by the year 2025, a population of those nations will count for 12 per cent of the world's total.

Call to

The responsibility contract system proved effective in the nation's industrial development over the past five years. With the first round of contracts ending, People's Daily (July 2) urged enterprises to seize the opportunity to improve the system as the second round begins.

As most of them were signed early 1986, 90 per cent of the firms are due to conclude this year.

The majority of industries say their staff have shown a high appreciation of the contract system. They sincerely hope that the system is adhered to. However, some managers have recently shown less confidence in the system and become reluctant in the face of current difficulties. This will inevitably pose new problems.

Fortunately, the State Council has issued a timely circular calling for further reforms and better management. In industries which are carrying out the current austerity measures, the circular once again

Soya' beans healthy substitute for meat

The two specialists suggested wider use of soybeans in food industries.

For instance, soybean powder can be mixed with wheat flour in making more nutritious food for children. Soybeans powder can be mixed into sausages or with milk to reduce their content of cholesterol and fat so that they are suitable for old people.

The two specialists complained, however, that soybean products can be successfully processed only by the enterprises that have been in the food business for a long time.
Foreign investment up in last two months

by our staff reporter
Qu Yinggu

Foreign investment in China rebounded in May and June after four months of continuous decline, according to a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (Mofert).

Yu Xiaosong, director general of Mofert's Foreign Investment Administration, told China Daily yesterday the May-June growth rate could continue throughout the year if local government organizations continue to work together on improving the investment environment.

According to Mofert's preliminary statistics, China approved 644 overseas-funded enterprises last month, 25 per cent more than in June last year. The committed overseas capital for the projects totalled $576 million, up by 24 per cent.

In May, 380 such projects were approved with a total promised overseas capital of $440 million, 47 per cent more than in May last year.

Yu said the figures for May-June period last year were already high. "The impact of last year's turmoil on foreign investment did not show until July and August," he said, "because it takes about a couple of months to finalize investment contracts."

The turmoil did not block foreign investment contracts already signed but affected negotiations on future contracts, Yu explained.

However, slow business during the first four months of this year, each of which drew in about $300 million in foreign capital, dragged down foreign investment for the entire January-June period below that of the first half of last year.

The Mofert figures show that between January and June, China altogether approved 2,784 new overseas-funded projects, 8.3 per cent fewer than during the same period last year.

Total contracted overseas capital for the 2,784 projects was $2.35 billion, down by 22.3 per cent, while actual overseas investment during the period totalled $1.23 billion, down by 2.3 per cent.

Yu said most of the overseas-funded projects approved this year are export-oriented industrial ones. They are mainly in the fields of textiles, petrochemical industries, machinery and electronics.

Of the 2,784 projects, the number of those with sole-ownership by overseas investors went up to 645 which is 52 per cent more than during the same time last year. Total committed foreign investment for these projects hit $966 million.

Yu said Taiwan investment on the mainland saw the biggest increase during the January-June period while total foreign investment slowed down. Yet he said details about Taiwan investment were not available yet.

Yu called on local officials and departments to inspect foreign-funded enterprises already in operation and help them solve whatever difficulties they meet with as "one of the solid steps we are to take to improve the investment climate."

In the meantime, the Bank of China, the nation's foreign exchange bank, has pledged more financial backing for overseas-funded businesses at a time when the country continues with its tight credit programmes.

It said that loans to foreign and Taiwan-funded enterprises "would increase by a bigger margin this year than 1986."

Workers' contracts encouraged

by our staff reporter
Wang Rong

Chinese entrepreneurs are being encouraged to sign contracts with trade unions representing their employees — often as a condition of being able to renew their management-responsibility contracts with the government.

Upon this year's expiration of the initial responsibility contracts signed in early 1986, 77 per cent of the contractors of State-owned businesses are signing renewals.

Many of the 28 provincial governments involved have made signing of the director-staff contract one of the requirements for Paris to face P

PARIS (Agencies via Xin) Six-power talks on Germany began in Paris yesterday by the Soviet Union's key condition to accept a unified Germany within NATO, the Western alliance.

But another problem on the table is Polish border fears. But another problem on the table is Polish border fears, still facing international forum.

The one-day "two plus two" talks brings together foreign ministers of West and Eastern Europe and the four World War victors.

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Joint ventures, a new force

by Cao Yong
CD staff reporter

Foreign-funded joint ventures have become the most important contributor to the development of the economy and are expected to export more than the total of last year.

A more important trend noted by the Shanghai's Municipal Bureau, held in a preliminary opening on 20th of July.

By the end of June, 256 new joint ventures were discovered, representing an increase of 102 per cent over the previous period last year, according to the Municipal Statistical Bureau.

The twelve largest joint ventures in the city have become a new source in the development of exports.

This year accounts for about 4.7 per cent of the total industrial output in the city. Though it is still a relatively small part, some foreign-funded enterprises have taken action to establish joint ventures in the city have become a "new force" in the development of exports.

During the period, export volume for the operation of enterprises reached $7.32 million, marking a 30.76 per cent increase over the previous year.

During the first five months of the year, joint ventures enterprises have contributed 5.9 per cent of all the exports in the city, said the Shanghai Municipal Bureau's Department of Foreign Investment Enterprise Association.

By the end of June, the number of joint ventures in the city has reached 7,000, bringing to over $14.8 billion of foreign investment, according to the Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Foreign Investment Working Committee.

Information from several national and local newspapers on joint ventures' operations shows that of the 1,300 joint ventures are engaged in the production of export products. Their export volume accounted for $124 million.

Statistics show that 56 joint ventures, accounting for 47.5 per cent of all export enterprises in the city, accounted for 89 per cent of their products last year. And 50 foreign-funded joint ventures sold nearly all the products in international markets.

Also in 1990, 20 joint ventures in the city became large-scale enterprises, among them, 10 are currently surpassing 45 million.
Local protectionism defies Beijing

By Nicholas D. Kristof
N.Y. Times News Service

BEIJING—One of the Chinese Communist Party's proudest accomplishments is that it reunited a nation torn apart by warlords and recreated a central government that could rule the country.

That achievement stands, but in these days of economic slowdown, it is somewhat undermined by provinces that are quietly carving up the vast national market into protectionist fiefs.

A new wave of local protectionism reflects the desperation of provincial officials to keep factories operating during the most sluggish economic conditions in a dozen years.

The new restrictions are often pop-up inefficient factories and deny economies of scale to the efficient ones. They also underscore the strength of the centrifugal forces that some Chinese fear could lead eventually to the fragmentation of their motherland.

In one of the most flagrant recent violations of national policy, the Xinjiang region in the far west of China is reported to have quietly banned the "import" from other provinces of 48 kinds of products ranging from color televisions to soap and bicycles.

Some department stores in Hunan, Jilin and Liaoning provinces have been told they will be fined if they buy beer, liquor, detergent, bicycles or color televisions made outside the province, according to an account in the official newspaper China Daily.

More typically, provincial authorities quietly order retailers in their domain to sell only local goods. They back their demand not with any law but with the knowledge that they can make life extremely difficult for anyone who disobeys.

Such signs that the provinces are going their own way arouse a traditional Chinese apprehension of "chao," or chaos.

A considerable number of Chinese already are saying they fear that the country risks sliding apart in the coming decades, fragmenting into competing fiefs as has happened periodically in China for thousands of years.

Zou Jiabing, the chief of the State Planning Commission, has called for "emergency measures" to reverse the protectionism. He criticized the barriers for "protecting the backward" and subverting national economic policy.

Yet some experts believe the problem reflects deeper flaws in the economic system and is a byproduct of the decentralization strategy that has been a centerpiece of China's reform efforts. Exempt provinces, they say, will be difficult to bring back to heel.

"That's the problem with decentralization," said a Chinese government economist who asked not to be named. "You give powers from the central government to the local government, but it's still the government. And sometimes the lower levels are the most anti-market of all."

The economist said that for the most part, provinces did not dare exclude the products of big companies that have been awarded "national honors," a distinction that the central government presents to particularly outstanding enterprises.

Such companies have close and even complaints to the central leaders. Imports from abroad also are relatively unaffected, both because there are relatively few and because they do not often directly compete with local products. But the great majority of China's manufacturers have no recourse if they are shut out.

Rivalries among provinces have been growing steadily over the last decade, but until last year they generally concerned the competition for scarce raw materials. Some provinces even stationed guards at their borders to prevent silk cocoons, hops, cotton or other materials from going to other regions.

These days, the economic slump has eased the demand for raw materials, and the battle for scarce supplies has slackened. The inter-provincial conflict is now focused instead on the efforts to protect local markets and exclude competitors.

"I think it's a very big problem, in the sense that each region tends to replicate the same kind of industrial structure and produce the same kind of goods," said Barry Naughton, a specialist in the Chinese economy at the University of California at San Diego.

The problem is compounded, Naughton said, because the bars are often instituted only informally, in conversations with industrial concerns and retailers alike. "That very, very difficult to control, almost impossible to control," he said.
Materials supplies up for joint ventures

by our staff reporter
Li Hong

The State Council, China's highest governing body, has decided to improve the supply of raw materials and production tools to the country's 21,000 overseas-funded enterprises, it was announced in Beijing yesterday.

The step, according to Vice-Minister of Materials and Equipment Cai Ninglin, is being taken to create a better economic climate and attract more foreign investors.

"It shows once more that China will not deviate from its set policy of opening to the outside world," Cai said.

A package of seven measures to upgrade the current materials supply to foreign-funded enterprises, drafted by the Ministry of Materials and Equipment and endorsed by the State Council this month, will be adopted nationwide.

State-owned materials distribution enterprises will be asked to provide Sino-foreign joint ventures, contracted enterprises and solely foreign-funded enterprises with all kinds of materials.

And those foreign-funded firms engaged in the production of energy, communications or goods for export or for meeting any domestic shortage, will enjoy priority in supply of materials.

This marks a major departure from the previous arrangement under which foreign firms in China had to find their raw materials and equipment from the market. With regard to the import of necessary materials needed by foreign firms, Cai said that provincial and municipal special materials supply companies, serving foreign-funded enterprises, will be granted import permits.

Moreover, these suppliers will be allowed to open foreign currency bank accounts for this purpose. The planning, financial and materials departments and banks at all levels have been asked to cooperate with them where necessary.

According to the Vice-Minister, the companies which arrange materials for foreign-funded firms are encouraged to fix their prices a little lower than the market prices or those on the international market.

According to the Vice-Minister, the companies which arrange materials for foreign-funded firms are encouraged to fix their prices a little lower than the market prices or those on the international market.

According to Cai, many Japanese figures have expressed their intention of promoting an early resumption of the third round of Japanese loans to China.

Li said that it is very important for China and Japan to maintain and develop friendly relations and co-operation in the current rapidly changing world situation. "China and Japan should take a unified and long-term view on the question," he said.

The Premier noted that the economic co-operation between the two countries covers many fields and is based on mutual benefit. The two sides should make joint efforts to promote this co-operation, he said.

Lee: China ties in 3 months

SINGAPORE (Xinhua) - Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew has said that Singapore will probably set up diplomatic relations with China within two to three months, the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) reported last night.

In an interview on Monday with the Japanese newspaper Nikkei, Lee said relations will improve once the two countries have overcome "technical difficulties."
Economics and Business

98 items on priority list

by our staff reporter
Ren Kan

China's machinery and electronics industry is engaged in readjusting its product mix for a steady development during the Eighth Five-Year Plan period (1986-90).

The Ministry of Machinery and Electronics Industry has announced that it will make development of 98 items a priority, and limit or ban the production of other 106 products.

As one of the steps to further the industry readjustment, the new product mix is aimed at securing the limited funds, energy and raw materials for development of products the country urgently needs.

The 98 products on the priority list include combines harvesters, farm tractors with imported technology, wind power generators, petrochemical equipment and food processing machinery.

Optical fire communication equipment and broadcasting transmitters are also on the list, according to the ministry.

China this year is planning to increase the output value of machinery and electronics by 15 to 30 per cent over last year.

The ministry also promised to guarantee the production of equipment for the country's key projects, medical and military industries, airports and ports.

The ministry is to concentrate on the production of 600,000-kilowatt and 200,000-kilowatt thermal power generators for large power stations, as ordered by the ministry.

Computers, software, instruments for industrial automation and electronic air control systems are also on the ministry's priority list.

To speed up the development of the software industry, the ministry will set up several development and production bases during the coming years.

Meanwhile, the ministry will also guarantee market supplies of products in high demand including color TV sets and video cassette recorders.

Preferential treatment will be given to enterprises producing these products in terms of capital construction, technical innovation, low interest rate and import quota, according to the ministry.

To ensure the smooth development of products on the priority list, the ministry has determined to push down or ban the production of products which are of low level or cost more energy and raw materials, according to the ministry.

These products include items with less than 200 cubic metres' capacity, ordinary machine tools, level boring and milling machines.

Capital construction and technical innovation funds and the purchasing of equipment will not be permitted for these products.

Exhibition set to show enterprises' technical progress

by our staff reporter
Wang Xiaowei

China plans to stage an unprecedented display of the technological achievements of the country's industrial enterprises in March next year.

The show is aimed at pushing the technological progress of the industrial enterprises even further and to convert them into efficient, technologically-advanced, and energy-saving enterprises.

The show, which will run from March 21 to 27, is expected to draw a selected group of about 100 Chinese enterprises and joint ventures, which are credited with advanced technologies, high-level management, high-quality products, and well-trained exporting capabilities.

Already, technical advances are in the works to boost economic development.

According to the State Planning Commission, China has spent more than 807 billion yuan to import more than 17,000 advanced foreign technical projects, which play a "decisive" role in the country's efforts to update industrial plants and upgrade techniques and machinery.

Meanwhile, Chinese scientists have developed over 68,000 important technical achievements in the past decade.

Of these, 3,698 achievements which have received government citations are in use in industrial and agricultural production, which have generated 40 billion yuan (600.5 billion) in added value.

The State also pumped in 468.3 billion yuan (6.406 billion dollars) to invest in renovate 415,000

Kuwait, UAE to face cost oil price

These plush pandas, produced by the Beijing Jin the emblem product of the forthcoming 11th Asian quality, they are expected to be available in stores
ONE COMPANY'S CHINA DEBACLE

The opportunity seemed breathtaking: Build jeeps with cheap labor and sell them to the world's largest undeveloped market and the rest of the Far East. Things didn't work out quite that way.

It was like the gold rush. After the U.S. restored diplomatic relations with China in 1979, Western businessmen dashed to the mainland to invest and set up shop. Disenchantment followed quickly; last June's massacre in Tiananmen Square merely accelerated it. Jim Mann recounts the short, unhappy honeymoon of U.S. companies in China in his new book, Beijing Jeep (Simon & Schuster, $19.95). Would-be global managers can learn from the experience of American Motors, which teamed with Beijing Automotive Works in a celebrated venture to produce—and sell—jeeps in China.

The officials from American Motors Corp. were greeted with red carpets and exotic, sweet, flowery scents as they filed into the Great Hall of the People in May 1983. After four years of on-again off-again negotiations, AMC and the Chinese government had agreed to jointly produce jeeps in Beijing. As the celebrants sipped champagne, Wu Zhongliang, a bureaucrat who had been tapped to become chairman of the new joint venture, turned to his American partner, AMC Chairman W. Paul Tippett. "I've never been a chairman before," confessed Wu. "Can you tell me what a chairman does?" That was just one sign of trouble for AMC.

The deal was a landmark, the largest manufacturing agreement up to then between a foreign corporation and China. American Motors and Beijing Automotive Works would form a new joint venture called the Beijing Jeep Co. AMC would own a 31% stake by contributing $8 million in cash and another $8 million in technology. The Chinese agreed to put up $31 million in assets for 69% of the new company. According to the announcement, the venture would first modernize the old Chinese jeep, the BJ212, and soon develop a "new, second-generation vehicle" for sale domestically and overseas. Through such ventures China hoped to attract foreign investment and obtain the technology it needs.
to catch up with the West. For their part, foreign companies anticipated nothing less than enormous sales.

Wall Street and the American media joined the hoopla. AMC's stock jumped 40% in two weeks. The press emphasized that China was not only a large market for vehicles, it also offered low labor costs and a strategic location for exporting to the rest of Asia and competing with the Japanese. The Detroit Free Press hailed AMC's move, saying it "could turn out to be one of the shrewdest industrial strokes of the decade."

But the Americans didn't fully realize that the vague language of the agreement contained the seeds of future conflict. The contract did not spell out what kind of new jeep the two sides would develop, did not give AMC the right to convert its Chinese earnings into dollars, and did not guarantee that the venture would get enough hard currency to buy parts from Detroit.

AMC officials would soon discover that the signing of a contract often marked not the end of a business negotiation but the beginning. Once the ink was dry, the Chinese partner surprised them by seeking new concessions. In each case the controversy was resolved when the Americans gave way. The Chinese, for example, argued that their top managers should be paid roughly as much as the American expatriate staff, around $40,000 each. The Americans at Beijing Jeep knew that the highest take-home pay in China was no more than $100 a month. They objected, but their bosses in Detroit overrode them. So hundreds of thousands of dollars each year went to phony salaries; the Americans had no idea how this money would be used.

After the venture started up in January 1984, the two sides clashed over the nature of the new jeep and the method by which it would be made. The Americans wanted it to look as much like other AMC jeeps as possible so that parts would be interchangeable. BJC's Chinese officials were set on a military jeep for the People's Liberation Army, historically Beijing Automotive Works' most important customer. The army wanted a four-door vehicle with a soft convertible top so that soldiers could open fire from inside the car and quickly hop in and out. Such a vehicle couldn't be made from any of AMC's existing jeeps, but the two sides had glossed over this point in negotiating the contract. Moreover, developing the vehicle would cost $1 billion. That was out of the question: Neither China nor AMC had the money.

Several AMC vice presidents visited Beijing later in 1984. Their mission: convince the Chinese to accept the idea of assembling AMC's newest product, the Cherokee Jeep, from parts kits imported from the U.S. After a month the Chinese agreed. This marked a fundamental change in plans. But the Chinese still believed that they were going along with a short-term expedient and hadn't abandoned the idea of eventually producing a new Chinese-made jeep.

Another ominous sign: During a trial run in the summer of 1985, the first Chinese Cherokee had to be pushed, not driven, off the line. Workers had forgotten to tighten the clutch. But by September, Beijing Jeep was ready to launch the Cherokee, and at a press conference that month AMC executive vice president Joseph Cappy, bullishly said he hoped Beijing Jeep would produce 40,000 Cherokees a year by 1990. Sniffed P. Jeffrey Trimmer, head of AMC's operations in the Far East: "Selling that [number of cars] in this country is a piece of cake."

By the fall China found itself short of reserves and began imposing severe foreign exchange restrictions. BJC needed hard currency in order to import Cherokee parts kits. I couldn't exchange its local earnings in renminbi for dollars because the domestic currency was not convertible. Don St. Pierre, president of Beijing Jeep and AMC's top man in China, discussed the situation with his Chinese colleagues, but the sessions would break up in disarray.

The Chinese would simply say: "Foreign exchange is little short here right now." Chen Xulin, a BJC board member, later acknowledged in an interview that China had intended to import only "a very small volume" of kits—just enough to get a peek at the technology, because that was what they were really after.

The problem became more acute. As winter approached, AMC had hundreds of Cherokee parts kits waiting to be shipped to China, but the Chinese government balked at granting import licenses for them. Without selling their Chinese colleagues, St. Pierre and Trimmer privately appealed to Beijing city officials but got nowhere.

Things went from bad to much worse. Beijing Jeep first 200 Cherokees had been sold to the State Material Bureau, a government agency, for resale inside China. But the Bureau refused to pay the approximately $2 million it owed Beijing Jeep for them. Another 1,008 kits for new Cherokee Jeeps were sitting in the U.S., but the venture had no hard currency to buy them.

St. Pierre discovered that his venture wasn't even being paid in Chinese currency for the old BJ212 jeeps made. Beijing Automotive Works was supposed to collect the money and turn it over to the joint venture, but that didn't happen. When St. Pierre asked Beijing Automotive officials about the more than $9 million owed, they refused to answer his letters or return his phone calls. He not only didn't have the foreign exchange he needed, he didn't have much renminbi, either.

By the winter Beijing Jeep Co. was broke. St. Pier even had to stop production of the Chinese jeeps for day. The finance director for the joint venture, Li Boli, came to the rescue by loaning BJC $1.8 million from t
employees' health and welfare fund. Fund? The American officials at BJC had never heard of it. Only then did they learn that the difference between the $40,000 salaries charged for the top Chinese managers and their less-than-$100-a-month take-home pay went into a kind of emergency reserve. This was obviously an emergency.

St. Pierre urged Detroit to withdraw immediately from the venture. As of March 1986, BJC had delivered 450 Cherokees to the Chinese government but had not been paid the foreign exchange it was owed for 200 of them, and at least 200 more were sitting unsold at the plant. The venture had no prospects of exporting any significant volume of vehicles or components in the next few years. The company faced $3.1 million in debts for capital projects. Moreover, housing costs for AMC's expatriate staff had ballooned 38%. Without telling Detroit, St. Pierre tried to force the issue by soliciting wide press coverage of AMC's difficulties in 1986: If China was going to make life difficult for a Western corporate partner, the world was going to know. He also appealed to top Chinese officials in writing, and one of his missives was delivered to Premier Zhao Ziyang.

By May, whether AMC would stay in China was an open question. Zhao instructed Zhu Rongji, vice minister of the State Economic Commission, to resolve the situation. Zhu and two senior officials met with Tod Clare, AMC's vice president of international operations, and Timothy Adams, AMC's director of forward plans and programs.

AMC Faced The Same Cultural and Bureaucratic Obstacles That Stymied Christian Missionaries a Century Ago.

The Chinese made a major concession: They would guarantee AMC enough foreign currency to import American parts for at least a few Cherokees. But how many Cherokees? The Americans had originally hoped for 5,200 in 1986 and 40,000 annually by 1990. The Chinese, however, were offering enough foreign exchange for only 2,000 Cherokee parts kits in the first year and another 2,500 the following year. China had never given up the idea of getting a newly designed Chinese jeep. Throughout the week the Chinese wouldn't budge. On the final day, a dejected Clare was about to leave for the airport empty handed when the two sides suddenly struck a compromise. Beijing Jeep would import 12,500 Cherokee kits over four years, and China would guarantee $120 million in foreign exchange to pay for them.

AMC succeeded because its venture attracted enough attention to turn the future of Beijing Jeep into a test of China's open-door policy. The long-contemplated "new, second generation vehicle" was redefined as a Cherokee, and the Chinese finally abandoned their hopes of making a new military jeep. More important, the Chinese promised that whenever sales inside China didn't generate enough foreign currency, Beijing Jeep could keep on importing the Cherokee kits by converting its remittances into dollars. AMC would make money both by selling the American kits to BJC and by selling the assembled Cherokees inside China. China also agreed to finance major new capital projects at Beijing Jeep: BJC was back in business.

It was the ultimate irony: An American company that originally expected to reap huge profits by selling modern technology to China and by selling its Jeep products to the Chinese found itself surviving, in fact, thriving, by selling the Chinese established Jeep products. Of the 24,500 Jeeps the venture produce in 1986, only 2,000 were Cherokees. The rest were two Chinese jeeps, the BJ212, and the overwhelming majority of them were distributed through the central government's set up in the 1950s.

Nevertheless, things overall seemed going well at Beijing Jeep. The Chinese contributed $70 million to modernize the plant since the venture was formed, while American side had put in virtually no new capital in the original investment. The factory produced Cherokees in 1987 and sold them all. Chrysler and AMC that year but announced that it had no intention of altering operations. St. Pierre handed the president of Beijing Jeep over to his handpicked successor, vice president Chen Xulin. In 1988, Chrysler offered St. Pierre a job in business development, but he turned it down and left the company.

Then more trouble. Chrysler found that Beijing Jeep's motive Works was again hoarding proceeds from sales of the BJ212s. It owed Beijing Jeep $8 million as of May 1989. That same month BJC nearly shut down its Cherokee production line because the customs bureau in Beijing suddenly announced a hefty increase in duties on parts kits. After a series of negotiations the customs officials backed down.

On the night of June 3, a Saturday, Chinese troops drove into Beijing to recapture Tiananmen Square for the first time in nearly five years. The students fired on crowds, killing, by most estimates, a few thousand people. The Chinese regime of Deng Xiaoping succeeded in repressing the pro-democracy movement that had swept the country during the spring, at extraordinary costs to China's political stability and international standing.

On Sunday afternoon Chrysler urged its representatives to leave China, even though some executives worried the company could lose its whole investment. Monday, June 5, for the first time in more than five years there wasn't a single AMC or Chrysler executive in Beijing. BJC resumed operations in mid-June, with the Chinese running the Cherokee assembly line on their own.

An immediate rekindling of romance between Western and Chinese businesses is improbable. The recent experiences of private businesses inside the People's Republic are just the latest chapter in the long history of Western frustration in the Middle Kingdom. Companies that AMC faced the same cultural and bureaucratic obstacles that stymied Christian missionaries who tried unsuccessfully to convert Chinese souls a century ago. From outside China has always seemed maltable. From inside it seems deceptive, intractable, and endlessly capable of thwarting change.
Shenyang: Revitalizing an Industrial City

THE PEOPLE of Shenyang city, Liaoning province in the far Northeast have many reasons to be proud. Even before the founding of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1644, Manchurian rulers had set up their capital (called Mukden in the Manchu language) at Shenyang—though it was relegated to second place after the Qing capital was moved to Beijing.

In the 1950s six of the central government's 150 key state projects were located in the city. The area is rich in coal, oil, ferrous metals and non-metallic mineral resources, making it an ideal heavy industrial base. During the 1950s the city was the center of the province's industrialization and much progress was made. Shenyang produced China's first tractor and precision machine tools. It soon established a reputation for technical expertise which was called on by other budding industrial centers around the country. It became known for making the best pressure cookers in China. The local people were proud of their city.

But for about 20 years, beginning in 1900, Shenyang began to get a different kind of reputation. Rigid central planning began to stifle the innovation and motivation that characterized the development of the previous decade.

A story told by Director Xu Youpan of the Shenyang Electric Cable Factory illustrates some of the problems. His factory, a key state enterprise under the Ministry of Machine Building, needs quantities of copper. A neighboring enterprise, the Shenyang Non-Ferrous Metal Smelter under the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, is one of China's leading copper producers.

These two important plants enjoyed many advantages as part of the state's development program. A special railway was even built to serve both their needs. However, under the central plan the programs...
A Brief Look at Shenyang

Shenyang, the capital of Liaoning province in China's northeast, is home to nearly 4.5 million people. The large Shenyang municipality, with an area of 8,515 square km, takes in nine districts and two counties and has a population of some 5.6 million. The city is located on a plain between two rivers, the Hun and the Liao. It was originally built in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) and in the 17th century it became the capital of the Qing dynasty, China's last imperial house.

In 1625 the Manchu ruler Nurhachi made Shenyang his headquarters, and in 1637 his successor Huangniachi gave the city the name Shengjing — "glorious capital." (In 1644, China's former dynasty, the Ming, was overthrown and the Manchus came to power, later making Beijing their capital.) Today Shenyang's old imperial palace and the tombs of the two first emperors are still very popular with visitors.

The former imperial palace is in the heart of the old town and is second only to Beijing's Palace Museum in size, splendor and preservation. It is typically Manchu in style, consisting of 70 buildings with 300 rooms spread out over an area of 60,000 square meters. Dongling, the splendid tomb of Emperor Nurhachi, is situated in hill-country about 17 kilometers from the center of Shenyang. Beiling, the burial place of Huangniachi, occupies 4.5 million square meters and is the largest tomb in the northeast.

The Shenyang area has abundant natural resources, and the city's reserves of oil, coal, ferrous metals and various non-metal mineral resources have been a boon to its industrial development. The transportation system includes 20 air routes, six rail lines and five first-class highways. Still under construction is an expressway connecting Shenyang with the coastal city of Dalian. The city now has some 5,500 industrial enterprises, with machinery-manufacturing as the leading industry. Two of the fastest-growing areas, however, are light industry and textiles, with 36 trades turning out 3,500 products.

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buy much-needed consumer goods such as pork, fish, clothes, shoes and daily necessities. In Beijing, the story goes, these northerners even bought up the very unpopular salted fish!

SHENYANG people came to be known as the “Northeastern Tigers,” at first a nickname, but later a derogatory reference to those people who came south to buy the goods they could not easily find in Shenyang — the great industrial capital of the Northeast. This insult and the fact that their city was becoming one of the most polluted in China (nobody wore white in sooty Shenyang), were much on the mind of the people and local officials at the time when economic reform was being introduced by the country’s planners in the early 1980s.

“Face poverty or undertake reform,” was the only choice. In 1984 Shenyang was designated as one of those cities to carry out economic reforms on an experimental basis. The city government was given the same economic management authority as a province. Since then Shenyang’s industry has been revitalized.

The city has become an important communication and transportation center for the whole of the Northeast. Numerous railways, highways and power lines connect it to the “steel city” of Anshan, the “coal city” of Fushun, the “coal and steel city” of Benxi, the “chemical fiber city” of Liaoyang and the “coal and electricity cities” of Fuxin and Tieling. All of these cities lay within a 100-km radius of Shenyang, forming China’s “Ruhr of the East.” To further develop the region, the city was included in the Liaodong Peninsula Economic Development Zone in 1988. Now it enjoys the same benefits as coastal cities in managing its economy and attracting foreign investment, even though it is about 150 km from the nearest port.

Commenting on the great changes that have taken place, Shenyang Mayor Wu Disheng has stated: “Shenyang’s industrial output value was 23.7 billion yuan in 1988 compared with 8.82 billion yuan in 1979. Over that decade workers’ average annual salary increased from 900 yuan to 1,800 yuan. We have also become more than self-sufficient in the production of chicken and pork and, on average, each person consumes 600 grams of vegetables each day. Besides, we no longer have to travel to Beijing to buy pork!”

TWO MAJOR strategies have boosted the economy: the decision to enter international markets and the plan to introduce the contract responsibility system to enterprises. More autonomy in production has been given to enterprises, which are also allowed to retain part of the profits earned for re-investment and to improve the living standards of workers.

The Shenyang Airplane Company used to be military oriented, but today it also produces over 300 products for civil use, including plane tail structures under a joint production agreement with the Boeing Corp. of the U.S. It has also established links with five other aviation companies in Britain, Canada, Sweden and West Germany.

The Shenyang Electrical Cable Factory has introduced advanced world technology to upgrade its products. Director Xu Youpan explained that many of the products match those of Western Europe. In terms of quality and price they are very competitive on the world market, with buyers in Africa, Eastern Europe, India and South Korea. Establishing a branch plan is under consideration.

The Shenyang Machine Tool Plant, built in
1937, is now a key state enterprise. After technological renovation, the company set about producing higher quality machinery for both domestic and export markets. One of its successful products—the multi-spindle lathe—was exhibited in the U.S. in 1985. Based on its popularity there, a branch office was opened and other successful products such as the SK360 model standard lathe have been channeled into the American market. Now 20 designs in 30 specifications are sold to over 60 countries.

Vice-Mayor Zhang Rongmao, who is in charge of the city's foreign economic relations and trade, says that Shenyang's strong industrial base and the use of foreign technology has overcome many of the problems that face non-coastal cities. Its international cooperation has also been developed by the establishment of more than 100 economic and trade agencies and joint ventures all over the world. To strengthen this foundation, an export-orientated processing base of 34.48 sq. km is now being built.

T HIS industrial success and improvement of living conditions, however, still leaves the city with a number of problems. In January 1988, Shenyang's air pollution level was discovered to be far beyond the limits set by the state. The problem could not be immediately resolved, but 16 monitoring stations have been set up to gauge smoke emissions and a penalty system has been put into practice. In the first quarter of 1989, 003 work units had been fined and deadlines set for their pollution problems to be resolved.

Shenyang is tackling its pollution problems. People are now more willing to wear white clothing and joggers do not have to wear gauze masks. Also, the city government has cleaned up the city's severely polluted canal and is establishing parkland along its 14.5-km length. People from all over Shenyang voluntarily helped out in the construction work, including the mayor. Historical sites such as the old Manchu Imperial Palace are being renovated. Shenyang citizens can take pride in their past achievements in building industries and raising their living standards, but they don't want to dwell on what they have done. Rather, they are concentrating on making their city a better, more beautiful place to live in or visit.
Sino-Turkish talks seek to boost business exchange

by our staff reporter Ge Yiqiao

Turkish State Minister Meshet Kececi left Beijing yesterday to continue his five-day China visit in Guanaguan and Shenzhen after trade talks with Chinese leaders.

During the talks, Kececi pressed buying one to two million tons of crude oil from China each five years starting from August. China Daily was told yesterday. If this is agreed, it would represent a big jump from the half a million tons a year China has been in force for the last five years.

Kececi also told Chinese foreign trade officials that Turkey planned to import a large quantity of coal from China.

Other suggestions he made during the negotiations included the establishment of bilateral co-operation in oil exploration and mining.

Details of the talks are not available to the Chinese government and importing countries except for China Daily.

Last year, Sino-Turkish trade reached $319.2 million, with China exporting goods worth $304 million and importing $70.3 million.

Sino-Arabic main exports to China are chemical fertilizers, chemicals, wheat, steel and polythene. China exports textiles, light industrial products, food and hardware.

Third World economy

Natural gas deal

SINGAPORE - Officials from Singapore and Indonesia have made good progress in their negotiations on an agreement for Singapore to buy natural gas from Indonesia. Indonesian Mines and Energy Minister Chandra Kamath has said.

The gas to be supplied to Singapore is likely to come from one of several fields operated by the US-Chevron Co. Chandra said at a press conference in Jakarta last week, according to a report in the local press.

The fields, located some 60 kilometers north of Indonesia's atom island, had proven reserves

About 80 per cent of Nepal's population engage in farming and agricultural production accounts for about 61 per cent of its gross domestic production.

Of the grains, paddy is estimated at 3.39 million tons, maize 1.2 million and the rest are wheat, millet and barley.

In each country, just production is expected to decline by 11 per cent while imports are expected to rise by 49 per cent.

Sugar export to fall

BANGKOK - Thailand's sugar exports are expected to fall by 7 per cent this year, from 1.5 million metric tons.

Foreign investment

MANILA — Withdrawal of foreign investors from the Philippines rose sharply in the first six months of the year, reflecting in foreign investors over the political situation from the Central Bank showed last week.

Foreign investors withdrew $50 million in January.
Sino-U.S. Trade: Hopeful and Unhopeful Signs

YUAN ZHOU

SINO-U.S. TRADE relations, after rapid development over the past several years, are now traveling a bumpy road that may well continue in the new decade. Despite the events of last June in Beijing, two-way trade between the two countries in 1989 hit a record high of US $312.25 billion, according to the latest customs figures.

American investment in China has also showed rapid growth. According to incomplete statistics, U.S. firms have funded more than a thousand projects in China, with a pledged investment exceeding US $4.2 billion. China now has a total of 21,732 foreign-funded firms with

agreed foreign investment totalling US $33.7 billion.

FOREIGN TRADE officials in Beijing, however, are cautious about predicting the trends in Sino-U.S. trade in the 1990s. "The results of the American economic sanctions against China will take effect this year, and this will certainly affect any further trade development between the two countries," said a senior official with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (MOFERT) who declined to be identified.

Last year, total Chinese imports dropped by 3.9 percent to US $38.27 billion. Foreign trade officials attributed the drop, the first in several years, mainly to Western economic sanctions which have suspended governmental loans and applied tougher restrictions on technology transfers to China. MOFERT statistics show that the number of technology import contracts decreased by 25 percent to 328 in 1989, while the value of the contracts dropped 18 percent to US $2.92 billion.

The MOFERT official offered no exact figures on the extent to which American economic sanctions have affected Sino-U.S. trade and U.S. investment in China, but on February 2, the Chinese government strongly protested the American legislation imposing such sanctions on China. Another irritant has been the recent vote by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, in disregard of strong opposition by readopting attempts through a Vice President quorum. The American evidently expressed selective trade and economic chaps to textiles, pharmaceutical, and anti-non-ferrous materials. Macao, a U.S. colony, would be the U.S. selective's largest trading partner.

YUAN ZHOU is a reporter for the economic news department of 'China Daily.'
N THE COURSE of maintaining Sino-U.S. trade, the MOFERT spokesman said. China would like to increase its exports to the U.S., and also wishes to import selectively from American buyers items needed for the country's own economic development. Chinese exports to the U.S. include mainly textiles, apparel and light industrial goods such as travel items, handbags, footwear, toys, games and sporting equipment, crude oil and petroleum products, foodstuffs, arts and antiques, and manufactured and non-ferrous metals.

Machinery and transport equipment are major U.S. exports to China. Other important items are fertilizers, synthetic rubber, resins and plastics, commercial aircraft and aircraft parts, farm produce, scientific control instruments, computers and power generators. Last year Chinese exports rose by 29.09 percent to US $4.39 billion, and imports grew 17.93 percent to $7.80 billion. The U.S. is China's fourth largest trading partner, after Hong Kong, Japan and European Community countries.

The MOFERT official said that the Chinese government welcomes recent U.S. moves to relax curbs on Sino-American trade: "This is helpful to the normalization of the bilateral economic ties." China hoped to have stable, long-term economic and trade relations with the U.S., he continued, adding that there is "huge potential" for further trade expansion if "obstacles set in place by the United States are removed."

The United States, he said, would do well to lift first the economic sanctions which it imposed on China in the wake of the events of last June, and other "obstacles" it had erected such as its strict controls on high-tech exports and tough limitations on imports from China. He called on American business executives to think more thoroughly about the advantages of doing business in China, especially as the Chinese government is making efforts to improve the domestic investment environment. He cited in particular the recent government moves to devalue the Renminbi and the proposed amendments to China's joint-venture law.

"The United States could certainly invest far more than it does now in China," he commented, "and we welcome more American business people to come to China and explore the possibilities here."
SRBF and Gillette plan to set up joint venture

by Chen Weizuo
CD staff reporter

China's largest razor blade producer is talking with American Gillette about setting up a joint venture, probably in the Fuzhou area, according to the director of Shangh"ai Razor Blade Factory (SRBF).

"The Chinese producer hopes that cooperation with the American giant will further strengthen its status in the country and on the world market," Gillette has launched an aggressive advertising campaign on China's television stations for a long time. It dominated a certain part of the Chinese market, mostly in the southern part of the country, although Gillette products are made mainly in the US and Italy.

With an annual output of 600 million razor blades, SRBF now dominates a quarter of the market in China. "Market potential is great in China as a large proportion of Chineses do not shave each day," said Tu Hungqin, the director.

SRBF is now also producing some of the world's latest generations of razor and razor blades by constantly introducing foreign technology and equipment. It also hopes to further upgrade and expand its production by borrowing 80 million yuan. The previous introduction of foreign technology and equipment cost more than 80 million yuan in bank loans, Tu said.

With its new products such as high-grade stainless steel blades and the twin-blade razor, SRBF's products are now far more advanced compared with products from other producers in the country. Although foreign trade companies have shown great interest in exporting SRBF's razor blades, the lower price of export sales compared with domestic sales is still hurting the outgrowth of the factory. No exports are now handled under a purchasing system.

Last year, the factory exported some $2.2 million worth of products, about 500 million razor blades. And the exports for the first half of this year reached $2.35 million, most to Southeast Asia and Africa.

Some of its products are produced with supplied famous brands from foreign businesses. Besides, the factory is also making some production equipment that will be exported to South Korea.

But we still have a lot to do in improving quality although our raw materials are imported and equipment and technology are as advanced as those of the world's giants, Tu said.

Although production in the city's many enterprises has slowed down, the razor blades factory is as busy as ever. Production has been continuing even during the past week when the temperature soared as high as 45 degrees centigrade.

Industrial output increased by 29 per cent during the first half of this year and profits rose more than two per cent.

SRBF has been able to expand its razor blade output from 600 million reams to 800 million reams, some replacement-blade razors, other industrial blades, shaving soap and styling equipment.

Local-made computer programme widely used

by Lu Yinian

An advanced computer programme designed by local experts has been widely used in Chinese industry to analyze production data.

The "computer recognition optimising technology" is a result of 10 years of research on "computer recognition optimising technology" and "computer recognition optimising technology".

City government tries to help township firms

by Chen Qiao
CD staff reporter

The municipal government has been successfully working out ways to help its rural industry walk out of the deep valley of poverty.

In the first half of this year, the output value in the township-run enterprise reached 3.66 billion yuan, showed that the city had 18,448 rural enterprises with 1.23 million employees, accounting for 46.8 per cent of the total rural laborers.

However, the rural enterprises, which once had a fast production tempo and an income increase of 20.1 per cent last year, is still confronted with a grim situation resulting from sluggish sales and huge stockpiles, said "The municipality.

The municipality of Zhuji has been approved as a national economic and technological development zone.

The government has been trying to help its rural enterprises.

The rural enterprises have been closed and 2300 swallowed up.
Steel joint venture starts netting profits

by our staff reporter
Xu Yuanshao

CitiSteel, incorporated by the Citic Development Inc. (CDI) in Delaware in the United States, has discovered what it called "the most difficult times" and began to make a profit.

The steel company started to net profits of $78,000 in April of this year. And in May and June, the sales of steel products averaged $6 million monthly, said Qin Xue, president of CitiSteel Development Inc., a subsidiary of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation (Citic).

Qin said CitiSteel has resumed its production capacity of 200,000 tons with the financial aid from Citic, but the steel company still needs to invest $5 million each year to upgrade equipment and replace obsolete facilties.

Qin said CitiSteel became involved in the purchase of the bankrupt steel plant in June, 1988. It bought the plant, formerly called the plant that the Steel Corporation, from the local bankruptcy court.

To formulate the management team and resume production, CDI employed only 300 workers, less than half of the 800 workers at the Phoenix Steel plant, which previously had a production capacity of 100,000 tons.

Of its management staff, only six persons were sent from Citic including the chief executive officer.

"We have invested a total of nearly $100 million including bank loans, corporate bonds, syndicate loans, and about $10 million in working capital," Qin said.

He noted CitiSteel has resumed its production capacity of 200,000 tons with the financial aid from Citic, but the steel company still needs to invest $5 million each year to upgrade equipment and replace obsolete facilties.

He said Citic and CitiSteel management personnel are full of confidence about the prospects of the steel works. In addition, Arthur D. Little, a consulting company in the US, has evaluated its business plan and reached a conclusion which was "encouraging."

Compared with 30 steel plants in the US, Arthur D. Little says in its final report that "CitiSteel can be very cost competitive with the other plate producers in the US for the market in the eastern half of the country.

"It says, "CitiSteel is gaining a reasonable base of business in the areas where it has been selling aggressively."

"The company can achieve financial success and become a factor in the US steel plate business," the report says.

Glass production line near completion

by our staff reporter
Liu Xi

The installation of a tempered glass production line in near completion and will soon start trial operation at the Hangzhou Safety Glass Company (HSO) in Zhejiang Province.

The glass production line, with an annual capacity of 130,000 cubic metres, was produced from the United States, said Liping Lee, HSO deputy manager.

She said this was part of China's efforts to localize parts for joint venture automobiles such as Santana cars produced in Shanghai, Cherokee jeeps in Beijing, Audi cars in Changshu and Chana cars in Tianjin.

Lee told China Daily the production line will produce annually tempered glass for 130,000 motor vehicles.

HSO is a joint venture established in 1984 by the Hangzhou General Glass Works, the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, the Zhejiang International Trust and Investment Corporation and the Best Safety Glass Manufacturing (Pte) Ltd of Singapore.

Lee said the introduction of the production line has increased the company's investment to $15.3 million from the original $11.22 million. The registered capital has been increased by $2.5 million to $7 million.

Its first production line for the 50-year-long joint venture was put into operation two years ago to venture automobiles such as Santana cars produced in Shanghai, Cherokee jeeps in Beijing, Audi cars in Changshu and Chana cars in Tianjin.

The Markets

NEW YORK - A late wave of buying in blue chips helped the stock market recover from a broad early decline to finish mixed on Thursday.

Bullish traders evidently were not yet ready to give up on chances for the Dow Jones Industrial average to break through the 3,000 level, which it has been challenging for the past few sessions.

The Dow Jones average of 30 industrials, down about 20 points at its midsession low, closed with a 12.13 gain at 2,985.31.

Declining issues outnumbered advances by about 4 to 3 on the New York Stock Exchange, with 113 up, 85 down and 56 unchanged.

NYSE volume totaled 161.90 million shares, against 168.76 million in the previous session.

The NYSE's composite index rose 0.8 to 199.38.

LONDON - Share prices closed at session lows on London's
ONE OF THE most popular TV commercials of the past few years, called "Liang Pian" (two tablets), was so successful that countless people remember the funny doctor in the ad. Relatively few of them, however, can recall the name of the sponsor — the Tianjin Smith Kline French Labs. Ltd.

The company, which went into operation in October 1987, is a joint venture between a U.S. firm (Smith Kline Beecham Labs. Inc.), the Tianjin Medical Company and Tianjin's Hebei Laboratories. The initial investment for the first phase of the project was US $8.5 million. Located in the eastern outskirts of Tianjin, the company has, in Chinese eyes, the look of a hospital or research institute rather than a factory. The three-story plant has white walls and a well-scrubbed, hygienic air.

ACCORDING TO THE agreement among the three partners, the company would produce 14 patented medicines from the U.S., which would fill certain gaps in China's own pharmaceuticals production. The main items would include gastrointestinal and cardiovascular preparations, broad-spectrum anthelmintics (useful against internal parasites) and a medicine for rheumatoid arthritis. First to go into production was Zentel, an anthelmintic which is highly effective and easy to take. Just two tablets (hence the name of the TV commercial) are usually sufficient. Another popular product is Tagamet, which significantly relieves gastric and duodenal ulcers without requiring surgery. The designed production capacity is a billion tablets and 200 million capsules a year.

In terms of productivity and quality control, the plant represents advanced world levels. Most of the equipment was imported from the U.S., Britain, Italy, Japan and West Germany. Its workshops and manufacturing facilities were built to conform to American GMP (Good Manufacturing Practice) standards. With highly automated equipment, only one-third of the 171-person workforce are needed to run production, while over 20 people are engaged in marketing operations.

"The average annual output value per employee is as high as 305,000 yuan." Deputy General Manager Zhao Shunning explains. "That's in comparison with the 25,000 yuan per employee in most state-owned enterprises in Tianjin, China's third-largest industrial city. The average profit value per employee is 70,000 yuan, while the figure in above-average Tianjin enterprises reaches only 10,000 yuan."

Quality control is very strict. The workshops are all sealed, with the air in them filtered a number of times. Quality checkers go over everything from raw materials to finished products, with the help of an internationally ranked quality control lab. According to company officials, products must meet U.S. Smith Kline standards, which are higher even than the standards set by the Chinese or American governments.

In terms of knowledge of modern science, technology and management methods, Chinese workers are not as qualified as their American counterparts, so the company puts a lot of emphasis on employee training. There are classes in technology, the GMP method, computer use and English. The managers also realize that worker enthusiasm is as important as technical skills. They organize activities to help create a "group spirit," such as meetings in which workers and top management exchange ideas, holiday parties and group tours. Managers eat lunch in the same cafeteria as the workers. Both kinds of efforts seem to have helped morale and production efficiency. Products pass quality tests at a rate approaching 100 percent.

DEPUTY GENERAL Manager Zhao, who graduated from college in the early 1960s and has many years of experience in pharmaceuticals production, now feels comfortable with his American co-workers — though at first he was wary. "According to our contract," he says, "Americans hold the posts of general manager and heads of quality control, finance and..."
technology, while Chinese personnel serve as president of the board of directors, deputy general manager and managers of the remaining departments.

"At first I didn't have much confidence about the prospects for cooperation with the Americans. I thought, well, we are from a socialist Asian country and they are from a capitalist Western country, so there are bound to be many contradictions.

"Later, I found there were large areas of common interest in that both sides want to run the enterprise well and make it successful. Truly, we do still sometimes have arguments, but we always solve the problems through rational discussion. For example, in China enterprises have to take responsibility for their employees' housing, because of the low salary levels. Our company has the same problem. At first, the Americans couldn't understand why we had to get involved in this. Their attitude was, 'We pay people a salary, they should solve their problems on their own.'

"But the Americans rather quickly learned about Chinese conditions and customs. Eventually we made the decision together that we would tackle the housing problem in several stages over several years' time. In 1990, we will build 50 rooms of employee housing as a first step."

American Theodore E. Byers, the company's quality control manager, spoke over lunch in the employee cafeteria: 'I am very pleased to work in this successful enterprise, with its good young people and our Chinese partners. This is my first time in China, but I find that Chinese people are all very friendly.'

From October to the end of 1987, the first year of the company's operation, the output value reached 4 million yuan (about US $1.1 million). However, because the products were completely new to Chinese customers, the company was 440,000 in the red during that period. This slow start up was expected. In 1988, the plant turned out more than 44 million tablets and over a million capsules, while 2 million yuan was spent on marketing and promotion. The ad with the "funny doctor" was just part of this effort. The company sponsored symposiums around the country, set up sales offices in major cities, visited hospitals and attended conferences (including a major national pharmaceuticals convention in Beijing).

By the end of the year, the number of customers had increased dramatically, though the company still suffered losses of 1.25 million yuan. The big turnaround came in 1989, when the firm logged a profit of 10.33 million yuan. Encouraged by their progress so far, managers are full of confidence about the future. By mutual agreement of the partners, the profits of the last several years are being invested in building a new raw materials plant. After it goes into operation, the company will not have to spend so much of its scarce foreign exchange on importing certain materials from the U.S.

In 1990, company leaders project a profit of 12 million yuan, and a good start has been made. The January sales figures equaled the sales figures for an entire quarter in the previous year. Plans for the next few years include expansion of the company's international market: some sales are now being made in Southeast Asia and Latin America. Another area of emphasis will be research and the development of new products. The company's research laboratories are full of the most advanced equipment, and five new items have already been developed, tested and put into production.
To promote economic exchanges and cooperation with foreign countries plus Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan, a decade ago China began to establish Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Now there are five of them: Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou in Guangdong province, Xiamen and Amoy in Fujian province and the island province of Hainan. All are along the country’s south and southeast coast. In these zones, special, more flexible preferential policies on outside investment were put into effect in order to attract capital from abroad.

The introduction of outside capital and advanced technology has not only advanced the local economies of the SEZs but also benefited other places around the country by opening them to the world market. This was a bold experiment for a socialist society and has roused a great deal of discussion. But ten years have now passed, and one can draw some conclusions about how well the experiment has succeeded.

Yu Guoyao

Yu Guoyao is a researcher with the State Council Economic Research Office.

Nanshan Industrial District of the Zhuhai SEZ.
Until the present, the five SEZs have approved a total of 5,700 outside-invested projects involving funds of some US $4.1 billion - a fourth of the figure for the whole country. Their export earnings were US $3.85 billion, nearly a tenth of China's total exports for that period. The total yearly gross industrial output value of the first four SEZs (excluding Hainan) has risen 12-fold over the 1979 figure.

Shenzhen, the first SEZ, was founded in 1980. Before that it was only a small, industrially backward town across from Hong Kong. Ten years of hard work have turned it into a modern city with established industries - electronics, textiles and other light industries, chemical, machinery, building materials and food processing. In terms of technology, a number of Shenzhen's enterprises have reached or surpassed the advanced domestic level.

Zhuhai, next door to Macao, was an area of scattered rural villages before it became an SEZ. Commercially, it had only a few small shops serving agriculture and fishery. Now four main industries dominate the economy: textiles, electronics, building materials and food processing. Of particular note is the zone's capacity to produce such high-tech items as computer discs, stacking circuit boards, air compressors, color TV sets and so on.

What is now the Shantou SEZ was, ten years ago, an area of rolling dunes and low-lying land overgrown with weeds. Construction of highways, docks, electrical substations, water-supply projects, a program-controlled telephone system and other basic facilities has transformed Shantou. It is now seen as an ideal place for investment by many overseas Chinese and entrepreneurs from various countries, and large-scale garment, ceramics, electronic components and food-processing enterprises are thriving.

During the past decade Xiamen has become an international hub for foreign trade. Xiamen has four 10,000-ton deep-water berths at Dongdu Harbor, Xiamen International Airport, and an international direct-dial telephone network. The investment environment has thus gradually been perfected. The zone has attracted both Taiwanese and foreign investors, and a third of all Taiwanese capital invested in the mainland has gone into Xiamen projects.

Over the last ten years the SEZs have been markedly successful in a variety of ways, which may be summed up as follows:

1. The SEZs have been at the forefront of economic exchange and cooperation between China and places abroad. Since China was wholly or partially closed to normal interchanges with the outside world for many years, the SEZs have filled a much-needed role as gateways between the outside world and other parts of the mainland. Having first absorbed foreign funds, advanced techniques and managerial experience, the SEZs then transferred many of these things to inland enterprises via domestic joint ventures, cooperative production, seminars and other meetings, training classes, exhibitions and trade fairs. At the same time, primary products were shipped from other parts of
The godson of Obotosh to the SEZs for further processing, thus enhancing the export value and earning additional foreign currency.

Infrastructure development in the SEZs (involving water supplies, electricity, communications, lots, docks and rail lines) was necessary providing the necessary means to attract investors. As many joint ventures accounting for 30 to 60 percent industrial output have become the Vina's opening.

The national NI out and through of the Yangtze River and Pusa Triangle one after the other in 1985, and finally the SEZ of all Haman province, in 1988. All of these developments have transformed the coastal areas, which in the past decade have absorbed 80 percent of all the outside investment in China and 60 percent of imported technical projects.
China to the SEZs for further processing, thus enhancing the export value and earning additional foreign currency.

(2) Infrastructure development in the SEZs (involving water supplies, electricity, communications, airports, docks and rail lines) was very rapid, providing the necessary environment to attract investors. As a result, a great many joint ventures were set up, accounting for 30 to 60 percent of the total industrial output value in the zones.

(3) The SEZs have become the coastal vanguard in China's opening to the outside world. The national open policy was worked out and gradually perfected in part through the ongoing experiences of the zones. Since 1980, when the central government decided on the experiment of setting up four SEZs, China has opened to outside investment 14 coastal cities (in April 1984), the deltas of the Zhujiang (Pearl River) and Changjiang (Yangtze River) and Fujian's Minnan Triangle one after another in 1985, and finally the largest SEZ of all, Hainan province, in 1988. All of these developments have transformed the coastal areas, which in the past decade have absorbed 80 percent of all the outside investment in China and 60 percent of imported technical projects, be-
sides accounting for 60 percent of the country's exports.

(4) In the first four SEZs an economic strategy has taken shape, involving the absorption of foreign funds and an emphasis on industrial exports. Of the 2,300 foreign-invested enterprises already in operation, some 60 percent are productive ones. The proportion of products exported has gradually risen, and in the Shenzhen and Shantou zones it is more than 50 percent.

The processing and export of agricultural sideline products have also become important in the economies of the SEZs. In Shantou, where conditions favor the growth of large quantities of fruits and aquatic products, production lines have been imported to process roast eels, canned fruit, quick-frozen lobsters and vegetables. Other processing operations involve fresh-preserved fruit, meat, breads and snack foods, and the refining of oyster sauce. Using imported fine breeds and advanced technology, the zones have set up various orchards and pig, duck, fish and pigeon farms to enlarge agricultural exports and speed up the modernization of agriculture.

Chinese leaders have reaffirmed a number of times their commitment to a stable, unchanging open policy, especially in the SEZs. In these places the improved economic environment and readjusted economic order have energized the national effort to attract foreign investment and absorb advanced technology. Outside-funded enterprises of a high-tech, export nature are in fact granted particularly favorable preferential terms because of the additional benefits derived from such companies.

All in all, investment conditions in the zones have improved steadily, laying the groundwork for increased economic exchanges and international cooperation. Considerable progress has already been made in attracting outside investment and enlarging exports. In ever greater demand on the world market are Chinese electronic products, textiles, light industrial goods and processed food products, and the number of wholly or partially outside-funded enterprises is constantly increasing.

Another sign of progress is that many outside investors are now requesting large plots of land for their
projects, indicating that they have long-term considerations in mind rather than short-term "test the waters" projects. In the Zhuhai SEZ an overall plan has been developed for construction of large-scale deep-water berths, civil airports and highways, which should attract even more investors. Also in Zhuhai, a production structure has taken shape emphasizing technology-intensive, capital-intensive industries.

Xiamen has become increasingly attractive to outside investors. Though late in arriving, Taiwan entrepreneurs have now outstripped old-time investors from Hongkong, overseas Chinese and foreign business people in sums invested. Never opened areas also offer good investment opportunities. In Hainan, the latest SEZ, basic facilities and infrastructure are quickly being developed. Its new thermal power station has an installed capacity of 400,000 kw, and over 150 program-controlled telephone lines have been installed. Last year outside entrepreneurs invested US $200 million, and 300 joint ventures or solely foreign-funded companies have sprung up.

In the coming decade China has ambitious overall modernization goals that will affect every part of the country. To achieve these goals, trade and other forms of economic exchange with the outside world must proceed at an even more rapid pace, and China's SEZs will play an extremely important role in this process.

Shenzhen, a city some 25 kilometers to the north of Hongkong and the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) to be set up in China, has been going through a process of extremely rapid development during the past decade. According to Shenzhen Mayor Li Hao, the city's total industrial output value over the 10-year period was 10 billion yuan; 60 percent of that was export goods. The total export earnings of US $1.83 billion make it second only to Shanghai among the coastal cities.

The present city is a far cry from what it was a decade ago, according to Mayor Li. In those days it was a sleepy town of 30,000, with an area of no more than 3 square kilometers and an "industrial base" of 20 small factories. Today, the city occupies at least 61 square kilometers of land. By the end of this century, the mayor predicts, Shenzhen will be securely established as an industrially based SEZ with an all-round economy founded on trade, science and technology, finance, tourism, agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing.

Since 1980, when Shenzhen was designated as an SEZ, the central government has given the city a great deal of support by providing it with loans and by permitting it to offer special preferential terms to outside investors. In this way, the zone has been able to build up a solid infrastructure for business and to create a good investment environment.

In 1982, when the present writers were there for the first time, the city seemed like a giant construction site littered with building materials. Local people and outsiders alike were astonished when a number of towering skyscrapers were put up in just two or three months, and visitors were impressed by the deluxe hotels, holiday villages, amusement parks and great array of imported commodities.
BEING NEW and experimental, however, the SEZ has had to work its way through a certain number of problems, especially in the early stages of development. There were failures and misunderstandings, and occasionally the city even came in for some criticism from the rest of the country.

Because of the central government's preferential policies in the zone, it attracted a flood of talented and hard-working young people. Nevertheless, others came not to build, but to profiteer and speculate, and for a while it looked as if smuggling, economic crimes and disagreements with the interior were about to bring development to a halt. On our second visit in 1984, we could sense the depression in the area. That same year, however, Deng Xiaoping reiterated the necessity for development of the zone and encouraged it to carry on, solving its problems along the way.

Li Hao became mayor of Shenzhen in 1986, just as the zone was undergoing a wave of economic adjustment. He realized that people living and working in the city were on the whole pioneering, creative and dedicated, and he felt duty-bound to create a better environment for them. But merely concentrating on local improvements was not enough. Greater priority had to be given to foreign exchanges and exports, in accordance with the basic aims of the SEZ (see article in this issue, "Ten Years of the Special Economic Zones").

To encourage direct international trade, the city set up a number of export-oriented enterprises, and a comprehensive system took shape in which raw materials were brought into the city, processed into manufactured goods and then exported overseas. The result was that by 1989, export earnings had increased by an impressive 285.4 percent over 1985.

THE EXPERIENCES of three of the leading companies and their chief executives serve well to illustrate the ups and downs of running a business in Shenzhen.

The Shenzhen Nanbao Electronics Co. Ltd., for example, was established in 1985. In the fall of 1986 the White Swan, a luxury hotel in Guangzhou, decided to furnish the suite being prepared for the visit of Britain's Queen Elizabeth with four high-quality telephones. It exami-
A great part of Nanbao's success can be attributed to its general manager. Huang Min'an, who started out in 1962 as a teacher, but later on switched to business. In 1969 he was asked to set up Shenzhen's first radio factory, a shoestring operation employing a couple of dozen people. Government funds for the project came to only 800 yuan; the rest was borrowed from other sources. Only a few years later, the factory was making an annual profit of 5 million yuan. Huang later helped establish several other plants, all of which went on to do well, thanks to his skillful management. He was elected a deputy to the Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress.

He joined Nanbao in 1984, the year before it went into operation. He worked day and night developing as many new products as possible. One of the company's first successes was the sale of a large quantity of special telephones to a U.S. firm. The phones were for hospital use and were manufactured especially for patients with infectious diseases. Their use saved the labor costs involved in disinfecting each individual instrument.

From the very beginning, Huang has laid great stress on quality control and any items of poor quality that do escape his vigilance are replaced immediately. He also offers good after-sale services. One Beijing hotel, for example, found that a couple of the Bony-BS telephones they had installed were not functioning properly. Hotel management was surprised and pleased to see technicians from the company arriving the very next day to fix the problem. In 1988 the company sold a total of one million telephones.

Asking why he works so hard, Huang explained that he is the kind of person who always has to do his best, or he wouldn't be able to face himself. "I can't stand the thought of leading a mediocre life," he says.

DING SHIPING is general manager of the Languang Electronics Co. Ltd. He was sent to Shenzhen in 1983 to set up the company on behalf of some 20 electronics enterprises in Gansu province. Ignoring the fact that half of the industries in Shenzhen were already dealing in electronics, Ding and his colleagues rented buildings from local villagers in an outlying area of the city and started up workshops to produce parts for washing machines and so on. Despite the fierce competition, the company made a profit in its first year of operation by concentrating on exports.

Ding was supposed to stay in Shenzhen for only one year, but at the end of his contract he did not go back — his company could not do without him and he could not do without it. His wife, who visited him several times, fell in love with Shenzhen as well and in 1988 settled down in the city as manager of a local post office.

What attracts Ding to this city is its good working environment. He feels that people here do not blindly follow dictates from above, as they did in the past, but can be more flexible in the way they do their work. The strong spirit of competition in the area also gives people a sense of motivation and stimulates their creativity and sensitivity. Ding himself is a graduate of the Chinese Language and Literature Department of Lanzhou University in Gansu province. He took a business management course before coming to Shenzhen, and he is very happy that the SEZ has given him a chance...
to put his abilities to use.

Nevertheless, when he first arrived in the zone, his own feelings of insecurity made things hard for him. Because people from northwest China have a reputation for being simple and honest, his biggest fear was of "being taken." In negotiations with foreign business people, for example, he was always anxious about not having understood everything that was being said. Or if a conference happened to take place over dinner, he would be too nervous to eat. It never occurred to him that it was his simplicity and honesty that won customers' trust in the first place.

The China Bicycles Co. Ltd. started operations in 1985 as a joint venture between Big Circle Bicycles Co. Ltd. of Hongkong and the Shenzhen Municipal Light Industry Bureau. Jerome Sze, general manager of the Hongkong company, gave China Bicycles access to almost all of his firm's technology, production methods and international clients. Although Sze is not entirely satisfied with the investment environment in the zone, he is happy to have found large facilities and cheap labor, both of which are unavailable in Hongkong. He regards his investment in the company as an "adventure," but so far considers that it has turned out very well.

From the start, the company has been importing advanced foreign technology and doing research on the demands of the international market. Knowing that people in developed countries have taken up bike riding as a form of recreation, the company concentrates on novelty and variety for their product. In two years of operation, it has won several large clients, notably Sears Roebuck and the Schwinn companies in the U.S. and the M.L. company in Britain.

China Bicycles is doing so well that it has had to look for cooperation and help from 21 bike companies in other provinces. The output by manufacturers in developed countries is decreasing because of high costs of labor and raw materials, and while China Bicycles puts out at least 10 types of bicycle, it still cannot meet the demand in Britain, France, Japan and the United States.

There are other success stories in Shenzhen today, and Mayor Li Hao, despite some of the troubles experienced in the past, is right to feel confident about the city's future.
Trade sure to rise with Singapore

by our staff reporter
Qz Yinggu

Singapore has jumped to China's sixth biggest trading partner and a Chinese foreign trade official predicted that bilateral trade this year will surpass last year's $3.19 billion.

According to the latest customs figures, Sino-Singapore trade during the first half of the year reached $1.18 billion.

This makes Singapore China's sixth trading partner after Hong Kong, Japan, the United States, West Germany and the Soviet Union, surpassing Britain, France and Italy.

A local economist told China Development Bank that Sino-Singapore trade will be further stimulated by the expected establishment of Sino-Singapore diplomatic relations.

Singapore has declared recently it will set up diplomatic relations with China before the end of this year, following the normalization of Sino-Indonesian relations next month.

The economist also forecast an upturn of China's declining imports since last year as the seven industrialized nations are expected to gradually lift economic sanctions.

According to the customs statistics, compared with the same period last year, China's imports dropped by 24.86 per cent during the first six months to $1.66 billion.

Of the value, China's imports from Singapore went down 40.32 per cent to $298 million, and export, up 11.13 per cent to $293 million.

An official with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade said China's economic exchanges with Singapore have great potential.

The official said Singapore, which has adopted a development strategy based on high-tech industries, needs China's talented experts and rich labour and natural resources, while China's modernization efforts need advanced foreign technology and equipment.

China mainly trades its crude oil, refined oil, cereals and oil products, foodstuff, light industrial products and textiles in exchange for Singapore's machinery and electric products, rubber, palm oil and chemical products.

China agreed in 1986 to supply Singapore with no less than 3 million tons of crude oil each year. Presently, crude oil accounts for 41.7 per cent of China's total exports to Singapore.

The official said Sino-Singapore economic relations have been developing rapidly since 1980 when the two countries set up commercial representatives offices in each other's capital.

Since then, the two nations have signed bilateral pacts to protect investment, avoid double taxation, and promote tourism, aviation and exhibitions.

Activated by the pacts, bilateral trade volume in 1988 has totalled $1.12 billion. Last year's figure hit a record high of $3.19 billion, 37.6 per cent more than in 1988.

Singapore has also become the fourth biggest investor in China after Hong Kong, Japan and the United States and more investment is expected after the two countries build diplomatic relations.

By the end of last year, Singapore investors had set up 281 projects in China. Total direct investment from Singapore reached $640 million.

These projects include hotels, warehouses, chicken farms, computer parts plants, refrigerator manufacturing firms and logistic services for oil mining.

$2.12m for farm project in Beijing

by our staff reporter
Wu Yuhue

Beijing is to allocate 10 million yuan ($2.12 million) for the establishment of a high-yield farmland development project this year.

The project, involving the development of more than 8,647 hectares of farmland, is expected to be carried out within three years, said an agricultural official with the Beijing Agricultural Bureau.

The goal of the project is to increase per unit area yield of grain, the official said.

The per hectare of grain output establishment of the project, the official said.

The experiment was conducted in nine counties, showing that 21.33 hectares of the test farmland saw its per hectare grain output reaching 15 tons a year, the official said.

Oil ministers agree on production cut

Governor Li Guofan of the People's Bank of China said that China increased loans 41.5 per cent in the first half of this year, People's Daily reported.

There was also a rise in personal savings by urban and rural residents, said the chief of China's central bank at a conference.

As industrial production gradually recovered from January to June, market sales had also taken a turn for the better, Li said. He added that the trend should continue because people will eventually spend more after the summer harvests and funds for capital construction are received.

Despite the general healthy picture, Li said there are also some difficulties. The main one is that the sources for savings are not stable, which increases the risk for issuing loans.

Though many loans are issued, there is still an outcry for more, said Li who urged the financial system to tighten control of credit.

In clearing "triangle debt" where firms cannot pay or collect debts among themselves, Li said debt-clearing work had played a great role in reviving the economy.

The major problem, he said, is that the debts have not been totally cleared and some firms deliberately worsen the defaulting.

The defaulting doesn't take place overnight and will only be solved gradually as the overall economic environment improves, he said.

He urged all economic departments, banks and firms to cooperate in solving the debt problems.

(CDN News)
Turning Point in China's Tourism

After a steady rise of a decade, China's tourism industry suffered a sharp decline following the events in Beijing last June. However, just as experts abroad were predicting it would take the industry five years to recover, it quietly picked up and began to show real strength once again. In 1989, in spite of a difficult period of seven to eight months, China's tourism was relatively successful. Tourist agencies received 3.24 million tourists from abroad; a total of 24.5 million people entered the country, generating an income of US $1.8 billion — a decline of about 20 percent compared with 1988, the peak year for China's tourism.

Targets for 1990 are quite realistic. Hosted tourist arrivals should reach 3.5 million people, an 8 percent increase over 1989, and foreign currency income should rise to US $2 billion, also an 8 percent increase. Barring any untoward circumstances, the targets should be surpassed without difficulty.

The 1989 setback, meanwhile, gave the tourism industry time to review and resolve problems of the past few years, when it experienced vast development, especially the problems of confusion in market administration and decline of service quality. It also gained a clearer understanding of some other problems, such as the necessity for tourism to develop in coordination with the development of the national economy. Such knowledge is very important if tourism is to achieve a sustained, stable and coordinated development.

The main tourism source markets have been Japan, North America and Western Europe; tourists to China were well heeled, well educated and usually well along in years. They were more concerned with personal safety. The Beijing incident gave the industry time to review and resolve problems of the past few years, when it experienced vast development, especially the problems of confusion in market administration and decline of service quality. It also gained a clearer understanding of some other problems, such as the necessity for tourism to develop in coordination with the development of the national economy. Such knowledge is very important if tourism is to achieve a sustained, stable and coordinated development.

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the past few years vast vast the problems met administratively, service quality, or understanding problems, such as those to develop the development economy. Such important if tourism-stabilized, development.

In source markets, North American tourists to a well-educated, along in years concerned with Beijing inci-

dents would have a negative psychological effect on their choosing China for a holiday destination in 1990. There are optimistic prospects about these markets in 1991, however, for along with the lifting of martial law in parts of Beijing, Western governments rescinded their advisories urging citizens not to go to China.

Late last year, 121 journalists from nine countries plus Hong Kong and Macao were invited to visit China. They visited 19 provinces and cities. Their reports on China's stable political situation and peaceful social life will help dispel people's doubts about China's situation. Moreover, as is generally acknowledged among Western tourism circles, the charm of China, with her impressive natural scenery, long cultural history and colorful ethnic features, will never diminish.

Last year China adjusted the exchange rate between the Renminbi and foreign currencies. The US dollar appreciated by about 27 percent in relation to the Renminbi, whereas the 1990 package price for foreign tour groups remains the same as last year. In actual sales, from April to July, a 10 percent discount was offered, and from December to next March, there will be a 35 percent discount. All these advantages are of course attractive to Western tourists.

HINA'S TOURISM market in Asia, mainly in Taiwan and Southeast Asia, was little affected by the political events of last year. This new source has changed the distribution of China's tourism market. At the end of 1987, Taiwan authorities lifted the ban on visits to the mainland. The following year, 430,000 people came and last year the number increased to 541,000. Taiwan has surpassed Japan to become the biggest single source market. According to an estimate made by some Taiwan newspapers, visitors from Taiwan to the mainland may break the 1 million mark this year.

There are nearly 20 million overseas Chinese in the five Southeast Asian countries of Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. In increasing numbers, they come to China to trace their ancestors and visit relatives and friends. Last year 186,200 came. Though China is not pinning her hopes solely on the Asian Games in Beijing this September to revive tourism, despite what some foreigners may think, the sports carnival will certainly offer a great opportunity to develop China's tourism, especially among Asian tourists. The 20,000 tickets designated for tourists for the opening ceremony have already been booked. It is estimated that 200,000 athletes and visitors will come to Beijing.

Air transport has always been a major bottleneck in China's tourism. In such a large country transportation between cities relies mainly on airlines. From 1981 to 1986, air-transport capacity developed simultaneously with the increase in tourists, at an annual rate of between 20 and 30 percent. But later, limited by a shortage of funds to buy more giant airliners and reconstruct airports and the length of time needed to train new air crews, the rate of development of air transport dropped to between 10 and 15 percent. Hence the problems of tickets being always in great demand and tour agencies having to apologize and offer compensation for changing trip plans because of flight delays.

Since last year this tight situation has been relieved. In 1990 CAAC flight volume will increase by 21 percent, and in three years seats are expected to outnumber passengers, making it possible for CAAC to reserve 30 percent of its transport capacity to handle emergencies. Also, all flight tickets, 10 to 20 percent will be reserved for individual passengers. As of July 1, CAAC commenced a round-trip ticket reservation system through computer terminals in 21 cities for both domestic and international flights.

This year CAAC will add 19 new airliners to its fleet, including three each of Boeing 747-400s, 747-100s, and 737s and eight MD-82s. Two international routes are to be opened: Beijing-Vienna and Beijing-Rome. Also opening are
42 domestic routes, including Hai- kou (on Hainan Island) to Xian, Wuhan and Shenyang and Beijing to the Huangshan Scenic Area. Now, besides Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, 20 other tourist cities have airports for charter flights. With the exception of remote provinces and autonomous regions such as Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia and Gansu, most Chinese provinces can be reached by chartered plane directly from Hong- kong.

The majority of past complaints from tourists concerned delays in or cancelation of CAAC flights, particularly the lack of information and poor service. Complaints are now being taken seriously. Airports that cancel flights indiscriminately and people responsible for the impolite behavior of ground service will be penalized. Every airport has a complaint office, and all criticisms are welcome and regarded helpful toward improving CAAC service.

In past years foreign tour agents have complained about the confused state of China's tourism market and found it very difficult to do business with their Chinese counter-
parts. The Chinese government reg- ulated tour prices long ago, but around 1986, international tour agencies emerged in China, increasing in great numbers. Administrative measures did not cope with the situation satisfactorily.

This led to serious disorder in the tourism market. Some tour agencies, particularly category B ones that did not have the right to organize tours from abroad, colluded illegally with irregular overseas agents and took over a large portion of the tourists at unreasonably low prices. They prof- ited largely by speculating in foreign currencies and were not able to provide good service as they had promised. This brought on tourist complaints and problems of ethics and honesty. The image of China tourism was impaired. Since late last year the government has begun examining agencies dealing with inter- national tourists. Some that were involved in illegal acts had their licenses revoked.

This year China announced unified prices for foreign tourists, including the cost of food, accommoda- tions, and guide service and agen- cy commissions. Standard prices are in the interests of tourists and essential for quality service. In future, tour agencies will offer prices for some optional programs, which will be more attractive for independent travelers (whose numbers are increasing). In Beijing and Guangzhou such visitors make up 50 and 60 percent of the total respectively.

China now has 1,700 tourist hot- els with more than 220,000 rooms. In 1988 the National Tourism Ad- ministration (NTA) began using the international star rating system for hotels. As of March this year, three hotels (the White Swan and China hotels in Guangzhou and the Shang- hai Hilton) have been classified as five-star hotels: 16 hotels earned four stars; 72, three stars, and 156, one or two stars. These hotels meet unified standards in administration and service, and the number of stars can change accordingly. The system will ensure that tourists receive good value for their money, and guests' opinions will play an important role in future evaluations.

China is a no-tipping country, but in recent years some tourists started tipping drivers and guides in order to get good service, until gradually tips became popular. Some guides and drivers de- manded tips and if they weren't forthcoming, created difficulties. Angry tourists often complained about their behavior. Since last July the NTA has conducted education on pro- fessional ethics among the guides and drivers. Those found guilty of serious un- professional behavior will be fired from tourism employe- ment forever.

Praise of warm and co-considerate service on the part of Chinese interpre- ter-guides now constitutes
the bulk of tourist comments, NTA has also set up good examples for people to follow and taken the initials of China International Travel Service (CITS) to stand for a motto, meaning Caring, Incorruption, Tourist First, and Seeking Perfection in the Profession.

SINCE LAST year some tour agencies have written out their itineraries to include transport means, hotels and food in detail and sent them in advance to every tour member. Jiangsu province offers a "Visiting Jiangsu Series" to the Japanese. The itineraries even include what service to expect from guides, menus for optional meals and special treats, such as the duck feast in Nanjing, "Dishes of the Red Mansions" (from dishes in the famous classic novel A Dream of Red Mansions) in Yangzhou, the health diet in Changzhou, the boat feast on Wuxi's Lake Tai, and the snacks in Suzhou once enjoyed by Emperor Qian Long of the Qing dynasty. Growing in this tour series have grown in number of tourists from 25 at the beginning to 80 recently, as a result of superior services. 

offered Japanese visitors attractions such as the Nantong Kite Festival, Wuxi Japanese Cherry Blossom Festival and Yixing Pottery Art Festival. It invited overseas Chinese to visit southeast China in the footsteps of Emperor Qian Long, the famous Qing emperor traveler.

Last year Guangdong province, Hongkong and Macao joined hands in setting up a special tourist zone. Guandong province mapped out a Guangdong-Hongkong-Macao tour for the 12 million tourists to that area. One spot on this tour — Splendid China, the largest miniature scenic spot in the world, in Shenzhen — attracted one million in three months. In northern Guangdong, shooting the rapids in a boat cruise at Lechang is most exciting to Westerners, who pick up the tour when passing through Hongkong. The scenery resembles the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River. Glimpse of the life of the Yao nationality people on the way to the river add color to the tour, which is thrilling but without danger.

Fujian province, on one side of the Taiwan Strait, is land of Mazu, which attracted 50,000 people from Taiwan last year. Mazu, a goddess traditionally honored in the coastal areas, is believed to bless those who sail the seas.

The year 1990 marks 2,000 years of the Old Silk Road. From May to October the five northwest provinces and autonomous regions will conduct special tours. In October Xi'an will hold an International Fireworks Festival, in August Gansu will have a Melon Patch Festival and an International Gliding Festival at the Jiayu Pass, which is the western end of the Great Wall. Also in August the Ningxia Hui autonomous region will offer a tour to the tomb of the Western Xia kings. Xinjiang will hold a Grape Festival in Turpan this September. Xinjiang is also promoting three special tours for Westerners: one on the middle route of the Silk Road in Xinjiang, through some ancient outposts such as Aksu, along the northern edge of the Taklimakan desert to Pakistan, or following the route of Marco Polo, entering Xinjiang from Pakistan and traveling along the southern edge of the desert to the city of Raoqiit. The third and most adventurous route is
WHO'S MINDING THE STORE IN CHINA?

The economy is bleeding, the government is in disarray—and foreign investors are in the dark.

No less a figure than China's new Communist Party chief, Jiang Zemin, gave the red-carpet treatment to Texas real estate developer Trammell Crow in Beijing on July 29. Crow was there to discuss a possible deal to build a multimillion-dollar trade center in Shanghai. Jiang made much of previous meetings with Crow in Dallas and Beijing. "It's a fine Chinese tradition not to forget old friends," he said under the blaze of Chinese TV cameras.

Crow's arrival might suggest business as usual in the Chinese capital. That's an impression China's hardline leaders fervently wish to project. But, in fact, two months after the massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square, the country's economic problems are worsening as the political situation grows more confusing. Says one Western oil executive in Beijing: "I only see more uncertainty ahead." Crow, who has a long association with China, wasn't available to comment on his project.

Empty Desks. The confusion is making foreign investors nervous. Beijing-based diplomats estimate that 30% of the representatives of U.S. companies have left the country since the June 4 crackdown. Many now operate with skeleton staffs. "It's not enough to say the open-door policy remains," says a Shanghai-based Western diplomat. "Burma and Laos say the same thing, but who invests there?"

Companies that pioneered successful Sino-foreign joint ventures, or those with large investments in factories and hotels, are trying to keep their operations running on an even keel. "It's in our interest to stay at full capacity," says Terry Ginty, general manager of Shanghai Yaohua Pilkington Glass Co., a factory in which Britain's Pilkington Glass Co. holds a 12.5% interest. And with aviation ranking as a high priority for China's central planners, McDonnell Douglas Corp. is pushing ahead with negotiations to expand its role at the Shanghai Aircraft Manufacturing Factory from an assembler of planes to a full-fledged manufacturer.

Some foreign companies are attempting to extract concessions from the Chi-
enes for staying. The group building the $175 million Shanghai Center, a commercial and residential project of Atlanta's Portman Hotels, American International Group, and the Japanese construction company Kajima, is pressing the Chinese for tax breaks and a lease extension. But one American lawyer warns against expecting too much: "The Chinese are promising sweet deals, but they often can't deliver."

Indeed, as Chinese leaders struggle for power in Beijing, the economy is increasingly neglected. Raw material shortages are worsening, prices are rising, and important decisions are on hold. Politics is also moving into the plants. As they did during the Cultural Revolution, China's leaders are requiring workers to leave their jobs to attend reeducation classes. Associating with foreigners is discouraged, and access to Western periodicals for both foreign and Chinese employees is being cut off.

STRAW CULTURE... Bureaucrats in Shanghai, China's main commercial center, confess to being just as puzzled as foreigners about the infighting in Beijing. Currently, party head Jiang and Prime Minister Li Peng are viewed as the front men for a te...ous alliance of elderly bureaucrats. They include paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, General Yang Shang-kun, central planner Chen Yun, and security overlord Peng Zhen. While the official media portray Deng as being in control, it has been unclear since June 4 how much power he retains.

Clearly there has been an internal struggle. Deng and Yang have been allies since the Long March, but both Chen and Peng have openly challenged Deng's authority in recent years. Current efforts to create a Deng cult by broadcasting his tougher statements and releasing a movie about his wartime heroics raise the question of whether Deng is really in charge or is being manipulated by others. Previously, Deng wanted no part of a Mao-like personality cult.

The octogenarians are turning back the political clock while keeping economic decision-making on hold. The aim now is to suppress dissent, tighten the party's ideological control, and crack down on private Chinese businesses and flourishing rural industries, which were reliable suppliers for foreign joint ventures. New regulations say that even foreign chambers of commerce must get party approval of new members.

Little is being done to alleviate China's continuing economic ills. There are widespread reports that farmers are slaughtering live-stock for market earlier than usual in anticipation of more upheaval. If allowed to drift further, China faces deepening food shortages, strikes, and even a crunch on foreign debt of some $42 billion. Losses by state enterprises in the first half of this year totaled $1.85 billion, or more than the whole of last year. Peng's tight-money policy--including payments to farmers and state workers in state bonds or IOUs--reduced official inflation a bit. But up to $27 billion must be issued to cover these debts, probably boosting inflation above 1988's unofficial estimate of 35%. This month, even China's State Statistical Bureau admitted continuing difficulties. "Demand is greater than supply, industrial structure is out of balance, efficiency is low, and agriculture is weak," said spokesman Zhang Zongyi.

Meanwhile, China is hemorrhaging foreign exchange. The country's trade deficit reached $5.7 billion in the first half of this year, four times the total during the same period in 1988. With foreign exchange earnings from tourism expected to decline by $1 billion or more, that figure will mushroom. Economists say China should devalue its currency by around 30% to reverse the trade deficit, but hardliners are unlikely to heed such advice because of political concerns.

The Chinese leaders' apparent indifference to the deteriorating economy frightens foreign investors. The government will now have to offer more than klieg lights and cheesy propagandas to convince them that China is a safe place to do business.

By Denah Leo in Shanghai and Jasper Becker in Beijing

FRANCE

KICKING SAND IN CLUB MED'S FACE

It's threatened by low-cost competitors and a travel-industry shakeout

The poolside culture is as alluring as ever, and the wine flows just as freely. But as "vacationers" savor the delights of Club Méditerranée villages this summer, executives at company headquarters in Paris are edgy. "Our industry faces big disruptions," says Gilbert Trigano, chairman of Club Med.

A shakeout is looming as Europe low...ers the barriers to travel competition in the early 1990s. The outcome will determine who supplies a product that has become one of Europe's inalienable human rights: the vacation trip. A unified market after 1992 will encourage tour operators to sell across borders. More important, their charter airlines will be allowed to pick up passengers anywhere in the 12-country European Community for the first time.

To get ready, the EC's vacation packa...ers are rushing to cut costs and build strategic alliances. In June, the biggest West German package-tour company,
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- EXCELLENT STYLING WITH QUALITY PRODUCT ENGINEERING PROVIDE LASTING VALUE.
- TWO CUBIC METER CARGO CARRYING CONVENIENCE IS A PLUS WITH THE EASY ENTRY LIFTGATE.
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A new type Model BDP828III ultrasonic dry-type stone breaker used outside body will be available soon.
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hoes are expected to turn
them in to the local authorities,
who can then impose fines.In
severe drought, helicopters are
ed to spot rogue hosepipe users.

Water authorities say the supply
is a cause for concern, but not
panic.

And the "hideous" weather is to
continue. August will be a scorcher
with severe drought, says Pierre
Corbyn, a long-range weather
forecaster. "It is expected to be one
of the hottest Augusts this
century, probably breaking many
records," he predicted.

London has had less than 278
millimetres of rain this year com-
pared with nearly 380 millimetres
in the same period last year.

A hosepipe ban begins today for
1 million people north and east of
London, in Hertfordshire and
Essex, and in some northern parts
of the capital. Buses are already in
force for more than 1 million people
in Yorkshire, Sussex, Kent and
large parts of Devon.

The restrictions are announced in
the media, and neighbours who
spot people watering their gardens
or washing their cars with

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Owice Daily
An Ideal Shopping Centre with the Country

The 11th Asian Games Shopping Centre will open at the Beijing Exhibition Hall from September 1 to October 10.

The country's 30 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government will take part in the activities organized by the Shopping Centre.

Tons of thousands of famous products, good quality products, local products and new products from different parts of the country will be on sale in the Shopping Centre.

Fifty restaurants will serve hundreds of snacks and cold dishes with strong local flavours.

The Oriental Song and Dance Ensemble and the Beijing Performing Corporation will put on nine excellent performances for 40 times.

The 11th Asian Games Shopping Centre will be an ideal shopping place of widest scope, with most participants and varieties of commodities, and with the longest period of sales exhibition since 1949.
CHINA

- country of great physical contrasts
- major geographical areas
- covers an area about equal to the U.S. and between roughly the same latitudes
- 8th in forest resources, 3rd in grasslands, 1st in water resources, and 3rd in minerals - but with large population ranks low in per person resources
- despite construction of more housing as pop. increases - there has been a decrease in living space availability - 12 chinese occupy the same area as 1 American "EASY TO FIND A GIRL FRIEND, BUT NOT A HOUSE TO LIVE IN"
- most populous country in the world - high birth rate and low death rate - need living conditions and medical care
- over 1 billion people - 22% of the world's population with only 7% of the world's land
- population concentrated in Yellow and Yangtze River Valleys and in southern China - 110 people per sq. kilometer (34's density of NY city) - without control pop. will double in 30 years
- the Han nationality makes up 94% of the pop. and there are 45 national minorities making up the remaining 6%
- 99% of the Chinese live in the country and minority autonomous regions

BEIJING

-in the north geographically large and thinly populated and intensively cultivated areas - cold winters, common dust-laden (disease) winds, hot and humid summers. Watered by middle and lower Yellow River and its tributaries (the heart of Chinese Civilization) - municipality with a population of 11 million
- settlement for over 3,000 years
- capital of the nation for 2,000 years
- center of power for 150 Chinese dynasties, 2000 years, the origins of the Communists (over 100 years)
- today the political, economic and administrative center of China, headquarters of the Central People's Government
- little remains of past imperial and city wall construction - much survived the sanserre (historical) and cultural revolution (1966-76)
- during the Cultural Revolution the city was engulfed by the北京大学 and other historical sites to prevent them from destruction and disfigurement.
Impressions - Landed at Beijing Airport in a nearly empty 747 - the veneer of modernization is evident in the Airport's moving walkway - in the last 3 years much work has been done to develop the tourist industry (gives China much of its hard currency). The city is "alive" with construction - the old concrete buildings of the past are giving way to a more confident and attractive building style. The private markets/shops are overflowing with food and consumer goods. Watermelons, peaches, Chinese cucumbers are everywhere. Bicycles, trucks, buses, toyota vans and animal drawn carts are everywhere. There are lots of people, but not overwhelming (as it was in Shanghai). The people have a purposeful movement and the flow of traffic is well organized. It is a liveable city despite the heavy air (pollution). Greenbelts of trees, flowers and bushes are enjoyed by the inhabitants. The people look healthy and the children are few and well-fed and happy. There is little evidence of the cultural revolution and political slogans are few. I sense that the city is recovering from last June - weary, patient and very energetic in the pursuit of business. Even the Communist Party wanted to control their every move - controlling 11 million people would be difficult. The business of living seems to occupy their efforts.

People mention that June, but reluctantly. A wait and see attitude seems evident. Frustration at continually changing governmental policies appears to be a common complaint. It is difficult to plan for the future when changes can occur overnight. Beijing, like all of China, is a city of million enclosures and people and gatekeepers controlling access to courtyards. A good analogy for the Chinese is that of the Chinese family opened up to outsiders - it is the wall that separates family into the family.

Tian an Men Square

- center of Beijing - site of squares (originally called Tiennamen) where it was cemented by blood spilled in 1958 to one million people
- derives its name from the tall and tower on the square which gave it name to the imperial city and the old imperial city within
- against the wall of the old buildings have been built the nation's largest tomb to the people and preserves (cultural, political)

- can see the past, present and future as portrayed in the square

- brighter and the square is a remembrance of the cultural revolution

- Chinese history - and the city of the old

- seat of power of the Qing, and of Mao, and of Chou - seat of power of the new authority - seat of power of the youth and future

- home to all butchers

- home to 1976, the year of the Cultural Revolution - although

- it has been reported that few lost their lives in the square, out in the surrounding streets confrontations between troops and
The demonstrations resulted in many deaths - how many is very difficult to determine. Talking to many Chinese, both officially and unofficially, one gets mixed reports. One story is that the demonstrations were originally begun by "elite" Chinese students from Beijing's universities. These "elite" students have access to many economic and political opportunities (through the front and backdoor). The demonstrations were eventually taken over by students from outside of Beijing - students that had little access to the "good" jobs and other opportunities for advancement. They were willing to put their lives on the line to corrupstion (the backdoor parts) and to open up the political process. When the workers started to join the demonstrations, the Party moved against them. The Reform and Hard-Line Leaders in the Party were divided over how to handle the situation. Law and order and control proved to be more important than world opinion. Li Peng with the support of Deng emerged as the "winner" and Zhao Ziyang lost. No one knows the number of lives lost - estimates range from 300 to 5,000. With the world watching the events in Tianamen Square - moral indignation and economic sanctions resulted. The Chinese party's failure to address the legitimate grievances of its students and intellectuals has led to a crisis in confidence in the Party's ability to rule. China's history of opening up to the West and then closing the door continues. The Chinese leadership believe that it is possible to follow Western technology and economic models without being " westernized." Western values and democratic ideals. The U.S. economic reform will translate into political reform. China's economic reform program launched by Deng in the late 1970s - the economic reform - has exposed the need for technical expertise in the Party's leadership. China has attempted to deal with the actions against demonstrators that have broken the incident. "We chose to keep the more "Chinese" despite these human rights violations. Westerners are now encouraged to see China as a new country. The ability to retain its leadership in China in the long term depends on the economic reform movement moving forward. Students and intellectuals have been devoted for now - but an estimated 80,000 students are preparing to leave Canada. China and the U.S. have agreed to increase numbers of students who will study abroad. The Party's declaration is that China on the corruption and that has been "business as usual." The demonstrations were unprecedented.

The demonstration was not just a political one. According to witnesses, the scene at the gate resembled a medieval English town, with five passages leading to the gates. The gates were surrounded by large marble columns.
wooden tower with a double roof of glazed tile.

—two marble lions (more like Pelangese dogs, which the Chinese call lion-dogs) and two Celestial Bulls (legend has it the they were ordered by Emperor Yao one of the 5 legendary emperors — to be erected outside his palace for the citizens to write their opinions of the sovereign or their suggestions) stand in front of the bridges and are symbols of heavenly peace and the emperor’s authority.

—historically the passages were closed and used only on ceremonial occasions — with the emperor alone passing thru the center passage.

—religious and military ceremonies were held here and results of the Mandarin tests announced and death sentences carried out.

—before leaving on a journey the emperor would make a sacrifice before the gates.

—imperial edicts were lowered in a gilded box shaped like a phoenix "the Imperial Orders given by the Gilded Phoenix"

—imperial edicts were then taken to the Ministry of Rites and copies were made for dispatch to the far corners of the empire.

—on October 1st, 1949, Mao proclaimed the est. of the People’s Republic of China.

—on the national coat of arms of the PRC, the Gate of Heavenly Peace is represented as the symbol of the revolutionary new China — to the left "Long live the People’s Republic of China" to the right "Long live the Great Union between the peoples of the world."

—a portrait of Mao Deng Xian over the main entrance.

(Mao’s role in the cultural revolution has resulted in the disappearance of the portraits and statues of him.)

**Monument to the People’s Heroes**

—grande obsidian carving on a two-tiered marble pedestal.

—on north face a gilded inscription in Mao’s calligraphy, "the People’s Heroes are Immortal!"

—Zhou Enlai’s words, "The heroes who have given their lives in the last three years for the people’s right for liberation of the revolution of the people are Immortal. The heroes who have given their lives in the last three years for liberation and the revolution of the people are Immortal. The heroes who, from 1840 have given their lives for the nation, its independence, its freedom and the people, fighting against the enemies for national independence and Immortal."

—the base of the monument is inscribed with obelisk-shaped depictions of the heroes in revolution.

(East Side) —title: "The People’s Heroes are Immortal!" Imperial Commission, 1958. Med. 4,000. The figures are 20,000 light Spartan burned, which is now a national symbol to be kept in their memory from Chinese past, with and perception. Beginning of the Canton Riots in 1891.

(South Side) —title: "Protest against the revolts of Versailles Peace Conference in May 4, 1919 (May 4th Movement)"
(West Side) - Nanjng military uprising on August 1, 1927; official founding date of the Red Army (called the People's Liberation Army since July 1946) and scene from the guerrilla war against the Japanese (1937-1945)
(North Side) - center: The victorious crossing of the Changjiang by the PLA during their fight against the Kuomintang troops in 1949. right: Grain for the front line. Long Live the People's Liberation Army.
- the 10 reliefs contain 170 figures and were created by the best Chinese artists during a 5 year period - consists of 17,000 pieces of granite and marble - begun in 1949 and completed in 1958
-in 1976 during the Qing Ming Festival, when the Chinese honor their dead, people laid thousands of wreaths on and around the monument in memory of Premier Zhou Enlai, who had died in the previous January. The Gov't began to remove the wreaths, a riot began and thousands were arrested. This "Tian An Men Incident" is now known in China as the "April Fifth Movement Against the Gang of Four" Deng Xiaoping emerged as the new leader of China.

GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE
-the National People's Congress, China's Parliament, sits here when it is in session, plus big party meetings and talks with foreign officials/diplomats
-erected in just 10 months - example of how China has been successful in mobilizing large numbers of peoples
-numerous conference rooms, banquet halls and reception areas
-the major conference hall accommodates 10,000 people and the banquet hall can seat 5,000.
-each of these rooms is named after a province or an administrative region and furnished in its particular style

CHAIRMAN MAO ZEDONG MEMORIAL HALL
-completed in 1977 within one year on Sept. 9, 1977 the first anniversary of Mao's death
-for a time it was a red while the party debated Mao's role in history reopened in 1980
-4 persons to a line, no walking, no pictures, large numbers of people go through
-seated figure of Mao sculpted in onyx marble with a smiling face behind suggesting Mao's revolutionary vision
-the select building materials come from the different provinces and autonomous regions of the country
-the body of Mao lies in state, covered with a crystal sarcophagus draped with the red flag of the Chinese Communist Party, which is over by an honor guard

- a maze of palaces, each with its own hall, built in the 15th century.
was the seat of government as well as the residence of the emperor and his family.

Golden roofs with gently up-turned ends are decorated with a procession of ceramic figures. In the 3rd century B.C., a cruel tyrant was captured by his people and punished. He was tied to the end of a roof until he died. For his eternal punishment, he is represented sitting on a roof-end on the back of a hen, his retreat cut off by ferocious looking animals.

The dragon, a motif repeated throughout the Forbidden City, is a symbol of the emperor and the phoenix (peacock) a symbol of the empress.

The dragon is a holy animal—it appears on the ceiling of the main temple—legend has it that one Emperor liked older women and concubines and this was not approved of by Confucian rituals. He was accused but denied the accusation and the dragon above the throne came and got him and all the ministers could retrieve was his boot.

Three Great Halls

- Hall of Supreme Harmony—presides over a vast courtyard where thousands of kneeling official would wait for the arrival of the emperor. Formal throne hall used on emperor's birthday and for major festivals.
- Hall of Complete Harmony—smaller and used by the emperor while preparing for audiences.
- Hall of Preserving Harmony—where the emperor received tribute-bearing envoys from vassal countries and also scholars who had passed the official examinations.

The Inner Court—the residential halls of the king's family.

- The Eastern Palaces—residences and now contain the collections of the Palace Museum.

The Forbidden City is an overwhelming visual wonder of vastness, proportion and richness of detail is overwhelming.

Moving from the public and official space to the order of the Imperial Gardens one can begin to comprehend why the emperor placed themselves at the center of the civilized world.

COAL HILL ("Beauty Hill")

Lies directly north of the Forbidden City and enshrinement magnificent view of the golden roofs, when the pollution.

Five pavilions, one placed with each pond, is a pleasure garden of the imperial family.

Man-made mound home for birds and animals, the main around the central pond, all made of sand and mud.

DESMALL TERRACE

The emperor used to live here over the road, lived in silence, traffic and people, in complete silence, accompanied by a long
procession of over 1000 people
-perfectly square enclosure except for a curved north wall which
was to protect it from evil influence born by the north wind
(symbolizing heaven and earth)
-the emperor used to pray, in the spring, for a good harvest
spending the night fasting and in prayer, and informing heaven of
the details of government
-the ceremony was accompanied by the chanting of priests, burning
of incense, banging of gongs and the performance of ritual music
-one of the most important ceremonies of the year, the Chinese
believed that the very destiny of the whole nation depended
upon this mysterious rite.
- the Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests was built in the 15th
century - burnt down in 1889, rebuilt - tree trunks used to
rebuild the hall came from Oregon in the U.S.
-the Circular Mound Altar, 3-tiered stone terrace, enclosed by 2
walls, the structure of the altar is based on the number 9 (odd
numbers used to be regarded as heavenly) and 9 was the most
powerful of them all, the altar was constructed with nine plus a
multiple of nine stone slabs.

THE SUMMER PALACE

-Garden of Harmony in Old Age
-the Anglo-French troops burned the old Palace in 1860
-The Dowager Empress Cixi began rebuilding it in 1873 with
funds appropriated for the modernization of the army
-the buildings and gardens are representative of the Chinese Late
King style
-Cixi lived here from April 1 to October 10 every year in the lunar
calendar (she spent the winter in the Imperial Palace)
-theater has open stages at three levels - each stage had a
trap-door in its ceiling so that actors impersonating ghosts or
ghosts could appear or disappear, the lower stage contained a well
of water which could be used for special effects during performances
-the Empress Dowager's music used to have choice of 120 dishes (the equivalent of 300 pounds of
peasants)
-the covered promenade served as protection during the summer
and was so long that people from Beijing to Tianjin could hear
the first words of love, or of the wedding of the
the other end (the entrance) was 3 rooms with
drawers, paintings of famous Chinese landscape poems, or
of birds, flowers, and paintings of creatures of
of the pictures in a peasant
-at the western end of the hall was a map of
an ironic symbol of the nation.

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GRAND VIEW GARDENS

-the garden was part of the family residence written about in a Qing novel, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, written in the 18th c. by Cao Xueqin - the Grand View Chamber was the bedroom of the tragic heroine who was a concubine of the emperor - a story of love between two cousins thwarted by their elders, who arrange other matches for them - a protest against the Confucian teachings that one obey his/her elders no matter how harsh or foolish they may be.

-the gardens, pavilions, ponds, rockeries, and courtyards are representative of what life was like for well connected nobles during the Qing dynasty.

THE MING TOMBS

-in accordance with old tradition, the emperors had their burial palaces prepared while they were still alive.
-sites were chosen with great care - local farmers were given no consideration, they were resettled and if they returned to their land they were punished with death.
-this area is one of the most beautiful around Beijing, lovely hills, woods, valleys and many springs.
-13 of the 16 Ming emperors were buried in this valley north of Beijing.
-one tomb has been excavated (Ding Ling, built in 1506) in 1956 - the first imperial tomb that was officially opened in China.
-more than 3000 artifacts made of gold, silver, jade and porcelain have been uncovered.
-including the jacket of the Empress who longed to give birth to a son - the jacket actually showed little boys playing a stringed jacket.
-the approach avenue is flanked by huge stone guardians, animals and mythical beasts and humans, carved during the 15th century.

THE GREAT WALL

-one of the 7 wonders of the world.
-the Wall of China extends over 15,000 miles across the north of China and is the longest man-made structure that can be seen from space.
-originally built in small sections by individual states in the 2nd c. B.C. to hold up and separate the Qin emperor from the rest of the people.
-prisoners, soldiers, and others worked up in the valley.
-legend has it the Wall was not completed until a man had been buried alive at the end of it.
-said that work was never actually needed for it.
-the building materials would be hauled to build a wall 1 mile wide, 100 feet tall, around the world 5 times.
Wall had a pounded earth interior with stone facing walls and stone roadway along the top — built wide enough to allow a brace of five horses to gallop between the battlements and thus used to convey soldiers, arms and food with great speed to various parts of the northern frontier.

During the day, alarm was raised by means of smoke signals (by burning a mixture of wolf dung, sulfur and saltpeter), and at night by fire — the signals could be relayed over 500 km within just hours.

From the 6th to the 14th century fell into disuse, rebuilt by the Ming and when the Manchu armies captured China the wall was again abandoned and fell into ruin (wind and water and destruction by man for building materials).

Famous restored pass 50 miles north of Beijing — Ba Da Ling said that the terrain was so strategically situated and access so difficult that "10,000 people can't pass even when there is only one guard here."

THE LAMA TEMPLE (Palace of Peace and Harmony) or Yonghegon

- Palace of an emperor and turned into a temple in 1745
- Monks from Tibet or Mongolia came here
- One of the biggest and most beautiful Tibetan Buddhist temples outside of Tibet
- Founded in the 17th century it became the residence of a "living Buddha" and at one time had over 1500 monks in residence
- Closed during the Cultural Revolution it was restored
- The huge Statue of a Pavilion of 10,000 Happiness — considered to be one of the finest examples of Chinese carpentry needed to be made from a single sandalwood transported halfway

ASIAN GAME SITE

— everywhere in China you see the signs and banners proclaiming "Unity, Friendship and Progress" that will result from the hosting the Asian games — political message or anti-communist propaganda?

— the Asian Game site has been a showcase for China's architecture and styles of modern buildings. The projects — once the models are used — are used to show the way to style and methods. The ability to complete a project so many huge models. The third over the apartment building will be completed soon.

CHANG AN

Most of the arts and crafts of China have been lost in the three thousand year old culture. A large number of artisans from Shanghai lost in World War II.

Showed in a mansion that now carries the residence of large family.
Kai, the infamous president of the Republic who tried to make himself emperor in 1914.

KUNMING - Yunnan Province, Southwest China
("Brilliance for Generations")

Yunnan Province borders Laos, Burma and Vietnam. Its importance lies in its location - the intersection of trade routes to Burma, Indochina, Sichuan and Guizhou. The capital of Yunnan Province called the "city of eternal spring" enjoys a temperate climate with flowers that bloom most of the year.

Middle of Yunnan plateau, subtropical Kunming is encircled by hills to the north, east and west. Its diverse topography translated into a variety of crops and agricultural practices - rice, wheat, corn and sugar cane are grown and cotton and tobacco are important cash crops. Logging is carried out in forested areas and livestock are raised in grasslands.

With the rebuilding of the palace in Beijing during the Manchu rule, Yunnan timber was in great demand. Deforestation has caused severe erosion problems which were evident on our bus trip to Dali. Rains had caused numerous landslides. A variety of trees have been planted in an impressive reforestation program and there are signs alongside the road educating people about the importance of trees to their well-being. Homes have also been made out of the red earth adding to the erosion problem. Strip mining of coal was also evident.

This province is rich in deposits of copper, tin, nickel and cobalt. This plateau region is dotted with green valleys and its fertile river basin has a variety of flora and fauna. There are still areas in the SW that contain primeval forests filled with animals such as the elephant, rhinoceros, gibbon, peacock (many of these delicacies find their way onto Chinese menus - although forbidden - they can be had for the adventurous and environmentally insensitive gourmet).

One of the last regions of China to come under the central government's control, Yunnan is sometimes referred to as China's 3rd World - largest majority of China's minority nationalities reside here (home to 23 nationalities - out of 55) - including the Yi, the Dai, the Naxi and the Bai. Historically most of these peoples formed their own independent states and were administered by hereditary chieftains.

Yunnan is not an autonomous region because no one of its minority groups has a sufficiently large population to be dominant, but within the province are some twenty autonomous zones and districts created in the 1950s and 1960s during the 8th c. one of these principalities - the Bai kingdom of Nanchao, became the most powerful state in the region and routed several Chinese armies sent to subdue it.
Kunming used to be one of China's most backward and isolated provincial capitals. Tourists still can get a glimpse of what the old city looked like despite new buildings and widened roads -2000 years old - small trading center (salt, silver, gold, silk and lumber) conquered by Mongols in 1274 - visited by Marco Polo - by 1910 French Indo China rail line reached Kunming - stimulated commerce and trade - filled up with influx of refugees fleeing the Japanese invasion. During the war universities and institutes from the coastal provinces were evacuated here along with entire factories and workshops. - today an important communications center, with rail links to Hanoi and Haiphong in Vietnam (recently trade has begun to flow between Vietnam and China - after border wars in the late 1970s) - end route of the old Burma Road (1000 km of dirt road over high mountains and deep precipices, from Lashio in Burma to Kunming (followed part of the old silk route) - Industrial development since Communist takeover - steel mill, manufacturing center - machinery, chemicals and textiles. - Also drug trafficking have added to urban problems

GREEN LAKE  (Across from the Green Lake Hotel).
-NW corner of the city - walkways lined with willow and cassia trees with pavilions, a small island and teahouse along with a small amusement park
- early in the morning the city comes alive as Chinese display a variety of their exercise routines
- Women of the Bai and Yi Nationalities peddle their handicrafts - beautiful embroidered textiles plus tie-dyed clothing

WESTERN HILLS
- 30 minute bus ride from Kunming
- overlooks Lake Dian - 2 to 3 hour walk to the summit and the Taoist temple at its peak. Pass a number of old monasteries and temples and usually the path is crowded with tourists

TEMPLE OF THE FLOWER PAVILION
- hidden in a bamboo grove in Western Hills - once the country retreat of the King of Nanzhou who ruled Yunnan in the 14th C.
- 1st pavilion stands before a pond, the entrance flanked by two large Celestial Guardians.
- 1st hall statues of the 4 Heavenly Kings and the Maitreya Buddha impressive are the figures of the 500 disciples

STONE FOREST
- 75 miles from Kunming - jagged stone columns stand up to 100 ft tall surrounded by trees, pagodas and small lakes and
hundreds of Chinese tourists
-embroidery from the Sani branch of the Yi minority are sold here
-the stone forest was once an ocean floor and about 270 million years ago it was thrust to the surface and its hardrock with 10 ft. thick limestone layers were eroded away.

DALI
-12 hours by bus from Kunming - the narrow winding road passes through small villages and intensively farmed hillsides - rural China at its most beautiful
-Dali sits on deep and beautiful and resource (fish) rich Erhai Lake and is fringed by snow-capped mountains
-A half day boat ride with stops at small temples and a Bai village - with a visit to a farmer's home
-Home of the Bais who rejected Chinese superiority, but would learn from its civilization - Dai, their capital, became an important cultural center. In the 13th c. the Bai state lost its independence to the Mongol invaders and was incorporated into China proper. Many Chinese have moved into the area and make up well over half of the province's population. Minority resentment has not vanished with the Communist takeover and during the Cultural Revolution the government's suppression of folk festivals and demolition of temples. But recently minority cultures have been allowed to bloom once more. Infact - many autonomous regions have been created. Special educational opportunities exist for talented minority students and they are exempted from the 1 child per family policy - they are allowed 2 children. Many Han Chinese resent gov't policy that favor the minority populations.

MINORITY MIDDLE SCHOOL
-visit with graduating seniors awaiting their test results and college placements
-bright young men and women have been given the opportunity at the State's expense to continue their education at this boarding school

LOCAL BAI MUSEUM
-architecture is representative of a Bai residence

BAI THREE COURSE TEA PARTY
-Special performances of Bai folksongs and Opera
-Tea ceremony - the bitter, the sweet and the tea of life, love and friendship
XIAN - Shaanxi Province, Northeast China

Located in the Wei River Valley on the southern bank of the Wei River
-the largest city in northeast China - capital of China for almost a thousand years (11 dynasties) - one of the world's great cities, rivalling and even surpassing its contemporaries: Baghdad, Constantinople, and Rome
-the northern plateau shelters Xian from the north winds in winter and the southern mountains protect the town from the hotter weather of the south
-preferred as the site of the ancient capital because of its location west of the Tong Guan pass
-Wei Valley and middle Yellow River area of Shaanxi have been inhabited since the neolithic era and before - considered to be the cradle of Chinese civilization
-Xian and sites around Xian were established as the capital from the time of the earliest dynasties up until the end of the Tang Dynasty - capital called Chang An
-Chang An, ("Everlasting Peace") as the city was then called, was the most important center of Asia and the meeting point of east and west - covered 30 sq. miles and almost 2 million in population - the Grand Canal connected it with the ports and granaries of South China, and many caravans plied the Silk Road to Persia, Byzantium and the Middle East. Foreigners settled in the capital bringing the fashions and culture of their homelands. -Capital of the Tang Dynasty - "China's Golden Age" 7th to 10th c.
-for thousands of years the Chinese of this area have struggled to tame the waters of the province by digging canals, making dams to irrigation the agricultural areas.
-extensive terracing on hillsides and large-scale planting of trees and shubs have been adopted to prevent erosion and lessen the impact of droughts
-major agricultural crops are wheat, rice, maize
-rich in coal, also mined are iron ore, manganese and copper
-since 1949 emphasis has been on industrialization - machinery, electrical instruments, cement, fertilizer, etc. - today it is the center of Northwest China's textile industry.

BELL TOWER

-Symbol of the city - built during the Tang Dynasty and restored in the 18th century
-base of brick and superstructure of wood - typical of Ming architectural style - no nails were used in the woodwork construction
-the fine iron bell weighs 2 1/2 tons and was made in the 15th c.
-Banners celebrating the Silk Road Expedition are everywhere - the retracing of the 2000 year old route commemorates the Silk Road as a road of friendship and cooperation during the Han and Tang dynasties reviving the memory of the fruitful and friendly exchanges and trade between the Chinese people and the peoples of other countries.
CITY WALL
constructed during the Tang Dynasty in the 14th c. and amongst
the few city walls still in existence in China
surrounded by a moat and built 39 ft. high, 50-60 ft. wide at
the base — from a rectangle with a perimeter of 8 1/2 miles with
watchtowers standing at each corner.

LITTLE GOOSE PAGODA
once formed part of a famous temple built in the 7th c. by an
Empress to honor the Emperor
hundreds of monks lived in the temples, the most famous was a
pilgrim monk who traveled to more than 30 ancient states to study
Buddhism.
damaged during 3 earthquakes in 1487, 1555 and 1557 — top two
stories fell to the ground.

BIG GOOSE PAGODA AND TEMPLE OF GREAT GOOD WILL
built by a Tang Emperor in honor of his mother in 648 A.D.
the name of the Pagoda refers to an old Indian legend telling of
a monastery where the monks were allowed to eat venison, veal and
wild goose — one day, a flock of wild geese flew over the
monastery and admonished the greedy monks to give up eating meat
and bade them to teach and missionize according to the school of
Mahayana Buddhism. As a warning, one of the geese sacrificed
itself by plummeting from the air. The monks then built a pagoda
and buried the goose there.

XIAN PROVINCE MUSEUM
one of the finest collections of archeological treasures in
China
houses the magnificent Forest of Steles

MUSEUM OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY
Mao, Zhou Enlai, Agnes Smedley and other famous individuals
visited this headquarters of the Red Army during it struggle with
the Japanese and Nationalists.

TOMB OF QIN SHI HUANG DI
the first emperor of China
after this 13-yr old boy became king of the Kingdom of Qin in
246 B.C., he spent 25 years in armed struggle conquering all the
other kingdoms in China — left his mark on history as a
courageous soldier, a bold reformer but also a cruel tyrant.
he drafted hundreds of thousands of peasants to complete the Great Wall, standardized weights and measures, unified the system of writing and built a network of road.

cruel to his opponents and anyone who stood in his way - he had all texts on Confucianism burned and the scholars banished or beheaded.

700,000 man work force built his mausoleum - heaps of treasure were piled inside the huge burial chamber whose ceiling reportedly formed a sky with pearls for stars.

preliminary excavations of the site have already begun - China has many potential sites to excavate, but she is taking her time until she develops the technical know-how to do the job correctly and preserve the treasures that will be uncovered.

QIN TERRA COTTA WARRIORS

one mile east of the tomb lies one of the great archeological treasures in the world - the 8th wonder of the world - the first Emperor's vast subterranean funeral vault discovered in 1974.

uncovered to date are over 7,000 life size figures in the vault, grouped in battle order, rank by rank, some mounted on horse-drawn chariots, others in infantry groups armed with spears, swords and crossbows. Each has individually moulded features, hairstyles and clothing with posture and expressions reminiscent of Greek archaic statuary.

his army incorporated many military innovations, including the creation of a strong cavalry as the main body of the army. The real weapons that the clay figures carry indicate the high level of weaponry, for example they had repeater crossbows with sighting mechanisms and long swords made of a metal alloy as hard as average strength carbon steel.

when the Qin Dynasty was overthrown the tomb was partially devastated and most of the weapons of the underground army stolen. The wooden posts and boards in the shelter were destroyed by fire, causing the underground compound to cave in.

HUANGING HOT SPRINGS

20 miles east of Xian - this lush oasis was a favorite spot of the kings who lived at Xian, many residences and palaces have been built here.

site of the famous love story of a Tang Emperor and his beautiful concubine - he was so in love with her he ignored the affairs of state and when her adopted son led an uprising, the Emperor's ministers ordered her put to death - and she hung herself.

another story about a Zhou ruler who loved a pretty concubine - but in spite of all her charms, she never laughed. The king determined to make her smile is said to have lit the signal light - and of course, all the princes hurried to his aid. After seeing that they had been fooled, they returned home angrily, but
the concubine laughed maliciously. The king repeated the joke. When the enemies really did come a short time later and the signal-fire was lit, nobody came to his rescue and the enemies killed him bringing the Zhou Dynasty to an end.

The springs and buildings have been extensively restored. Pavilions, towers, and terraces have been erected in Tang-style architecture. One famous pavilion is where Chiang Kai-shek was captured in the ‘Xian incident’ - 1936 - hearing a gunshot he fled his room leaving his dentures and one shoe - he was captured by the Communists and shortly after that agreed to cooperate with them against the Japanese.

NEOLITHIC SITE AT BAN PO

- discovered in 1953 and excavated in the 1950s - 4 levels of neolithic society were uncovered dating from 6080 to 5600 B.B.
- a building has been erected over the site, which includes foundations of house, a pottery kiln, storage pits, a moat and graveyard.

SHANGHAI

-means "up from the sea" - over looks the bend in the Huangpu River, a wide stretch of brown water
- one of three municipalities (Beijing and Tianjin) directly under the central government’s control
- China’s major port - deep natural harbor
- river’s edge before 1949 called "the Bund" now the River Front
- tree-lined waterfront was probably the best known street in the Orient
- flanking the Bund are old European-stile buildings that were once the international banks and trading companies
- with more than 12 million inhabitants - the most heavily populated urban area in the world
- industrial center - light and heavy industry
- over 80% of its industrial products are sent to other parts of China or are exported.
- grows most of its own food - its highly mechanized and prosperous suburban communes have China’s highest crop yield per acre
- more cosmopolitan than Beijing
- from its begining as a small fishing village grew into a town of such trading significance in the 17th and 18th c. - during the Opium War, it fell to the English fleet in 1842 and following the treaty of Nanjing was opened to foreign trade. The first of the Unequal Treaties forced upon China. The English dominated commerce in the region, but American and European traders were also active. (privileges of extraterritoriality) Foreigners controlled banks, customs, trading houses, shipping and trading - magnificent mansions and poverty and squalor existed in the city.
- signs at the entrance of the central parks forbidding Chinese and dogs from walking on lawns were erected.
- the Chinese Communist Party was founded in Shanghai in 1921 and 6 years later, a wave of strikes and demonstrations it organized were brutally suppressed by Chiang Kai-shek. This was the beginning of the long battle between Nationalists and Communists.
- an important cultural and scientific center - Opera, ballet and circus companies plus 190 research institutes, universities and technical schools.

SITE OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CCP

-in the former French concession
-July 1921, 13 representatives of the 53 Chinese Communists took part in the congress - the meeting was interrupted because of the danger of the French police making a raid - the meeting was moved to a small boat outside the city.

THE LONG HUA TEMPLE

-nearby the only pagoda standing in Shanghai - 7 stories - first erected during the Three Kingdoms period @ 247 A.D. later destroyed by fire and rebuilt in 977.
-the temple buildings date from the Qing Dynasty
-the buildings with their restored saffron walls, red-lacquered pillars and sharply upturned roof-ends are a fine example of Southern architecture of the Song dynasty.

FOXBORO

-these ventures have been given priority - energy and resources General Manager wishes workers would take more individual initiative
- comments on relaxation of safety or environmental safeguards were positive plus no "union" headaches - plus cheap labor makes China an attractive place to do business - Americans need to know how to do business here - politics takes the front seat - Beijing demonstrations/aftermath - U.S. not actively pursuing the deals like the Japanese and Koreans.

SHANGHAI INSTITUTE OF SHAOXING OPERA

-rehearsal for opera performance
SHANGHAI ACADEMY OF TRADITIONAL CHINESE MEDICINE

- Acupuncture treatment
- Qigong Institute
- Traditional Chinese herbal remedies

Culture

Around 550 B.C. - three men born who all had a great influence on Chinese thought: Confucius, Buddha and Lao-tzu.

Confucianism - less a religion than a system of ethics designed to ensure an orderly, smoothly-functioning society - each individual had to fulfill his or her obligations to fellow-humans - women owed their husbands respect and obedience, children owed their parents filial piety - stable families formed a stable nation, the Emperor, like a father, cared for his subjects, in return from which he was respected and obeyed unquestioningly.

- systems of obligations take precedence over individual freedom - order and stability is more important than personal freedom - made the official state philosophy in the 2nd c. B.C. - the Confucian Classics became the basis of all education and later civil service examinations.

Buddhism

- did not originate in China - but 500 years after Buddha’s death, Indian monks travelled to China to preach his doctrines of asceticism, reincarnation and nirvana. Over the years, many famous monasteries were found and some emperors became devout Buddhists.

- the Ch’an sect, founded in the 6th c., was greatly influenced by Taoism, stressing meditation and mental training to achieve enlightenment. (Called Zen in Japan)

- in China new Buddhist deities were created and the worship of bodhisattvas, a rank of supernatural beings in their last incarnation before Nirvana, became very important.

- temples are filled with the images of Maitreya - the future Buddha (portrayed as fat and happy over his coming promotion) of Amitabha, a savior who will reward the faithful with admission to a Christian-like paradise

- and most important Guanyin - a Madonna-like goddess of compassion (perhaps one reason why many Chinese could relate to Catholicism and the Madonna)

Taoism

- China’s great indigenous philosophy stresses personal fulfillment (counter to Confucianism)
follower of the Tao seeks communion with nature and harmony with the Way of the Universe
surrendering one’s mind to the flow of nature has had a great influence on Chinese art - esp. painting
transformed into a popular religion complete with a large pantheon of folk deities and spirits

Chinese folklore is full of superstition - the Kitchen God that one sees on the doors of traditional Chinese homes (more so in the countryside) is given sticky candy and alcoholic drinks so that when he goes to heaven he cannot report bad things about the family. The Rain god is moved into sunny or smokey places in the house or given dirty socks to bring rain to the crops. Children’s quilts or clothing are decorated with tigers who will catch and eat devils. Decorations also include toads, scorpions, lizards and spiders to scare away the evil spirits.

CHALLENGES FACING CHINA

POPULATION

China’s one child per family policy has been more successful in the city than in the countryside - where extra hands are needed to work in the fields and as the peasant farmers becomes more prosperous economic sanctions do not seem to be a threat
The problem of creating a "little emperor" - 6 planets (grandparents and parents) around the "sun" will perhaps create a very self-centered individual
The death of female infants in the countryside remains a problem
In the City and Countryside one sees many posters praising the virtues of one child per family and the importance of females
In the 1950s, advisors to Mao warned him of the grave consequences of China’s rapidly growing population and called for controls but Mao’s answer was "one mouth, two hands"
China Daily - Chinese men should take more responsibility for family planning - a new technique called "Vasoligation" traditionally it has been the sole responsibility of women.
Between 1980-89 over 35 million couples received a one-child certificate. Between 1991-95 (as the baby boom generation of the 1960’s comes of age) 323 million women will be of childbearing age every year, and over 80% of these women live in the countryside and these women are disinclined to take any contraceptive measures -- there remain a big need for birth control! There are now 20 varieties of contraceptives in China - but none 100% reliable. (IUDs and tubal ligation are the chief contraceptive methods in rural China)

Exceptions to the one child per family are if the first child is handicapped or retarded and minority nationalities may also have two children.
China takes the lead in the world in terms of output of some important industrial and agricultural products, but all these products are rather low in average per capital output. Overgrowth of population is exerting heavy pressure on her resources and making the ecological environment deteriorate day by day.

China’s 4th census was being taken in July of 1989 with 7 million government workers — signs were everywhere stressing the importance of being counted.

**ECONOMIC REFORM**

Between 1949 - 1979 the Communist Party followed a policy of land reform and worked on building a planned economy, the landlord and bourgeoisie class was destroyed by 1951 (Mao’s "Revolution is not a tea party") and land/agriculture was collectivized - small units at first and then much larger ones by the 1960s. Industry was nationalized. The state set prices, made decisions about resource usage and what would be produced. The Soviet model was applied and a centrally planned economy pursued rapid industrial and urban development. "The Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" was an economic disaster. —with Deng Xiaoping’s return to power in 1977 under his leadership China instituted economic reform in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were brought into help in the reform policies. The "iron rice bowl" was smashed.

In Agriculture "the responsibility system" was introduced. Farmers were given more independence in deciding what to grow, land was contracted to individuals, and state quotas were kept low and excess agricultural produce could be sold in private markets. The results were impressive. Agricultural output increased dramatically.

"the responsibility system" was introduced into the state run factories also. Economic incentives and worker contracts are being tested. But problems with a "two pricing system" have limited its success. Allocation of resources - energy and raw materials have presented a big problem. In the 1980’s 25% of state businesses were losing money - the government printed money to pay the bills and by 1989 the inflation rate was at 18% hitting the urban populations hard. With the events at Tianamen Square the government reasserted itself and pulled back its reform efforts. Currently state production is down - factories are closed or working at a reduced capacity. To keep the economy moving $ and expertise from the West are needed. "To get rich is glorious" is a difficult value in a society dedicated to socialist goals. The Communists party is having a difficult time reconciling economic freedom and political control. Free enterprise zones have been created and Joint Ventures have been encouraged - but doing business in China is not easy!
political reform

Real decisions are made at the party level - and party policy is then translated into the State Political institutions. To a certain degree "democratic centralism" exists - decisions are discussed but once a decision is made party discipline prevails. Every aspect of Chinese society has been politicized - at the lowest level 5 to 10 people form groups to discuss/study political issues and arrive at "the correct view" - a "multi-party system" theoretically exists in China, but the role of the parties is to advise and supervise each other and most importantly to acknowledge the leadership of the Communist Party and its monopoly on "truth". Mass mobilization of the people is possible through the "danwei" (the unit that meets all social/economic aspects of the people's lives.)

There are many similarities between the Old Imperial System and the Marxist-Leninist Political System

1) The Imperial system was run by an elite scholar class that was above the law - men devoted to ideology, men were more important than the law - (red vs. expert - the ideal is that they be one in the same)

2) Intolerance of "truths" other than the accepted thought

3) Hierarchies - each level had certain rights and privileges (very conscious of rank) - (Very evident the day I was at the Forbidden City and some important party dignitaries were touring the sites - one got a real feeling for rank despite the fact the China is supposedly building an equalitarian state)

4) Absence of tension between the individual and state - the state has the legitimacy to interfere in the individual's life

5) The individual is part of the network - mutual responsibility, supervision and an absence of privacy are necessary.

6) Fear of chaos - the emphasis on maintaining order

7) No strong alternative institutions to the State

China's authoritarian legacy was inherited by the Communist Party. And it was tremendously popular in 1949. Problems - leaders have become removed from the people - corruption/"back door" and privilige were important reasons behind the Tianamen Square demonstrations. Also the inability to build institutions that will last over time - power has been based up personalities not institutionalized processes.

Deng has allowed the loosening of controls by the Communist party over various aspects of Chinese social/economic lives. It has been necessary to relinquish control in order for long term survival.

China will stay on the socialist road - it has too many people and too few resources not to plus the system is not that fragile. "Socialism and China fit together like a hand in a glove - Chinese live a communal life." (Prof. Canning) The Government believes that politics can be insulated from economics. The West believes in "peaceful evolution." Corruption in China is
endemic. What will happen when Deng dies no one knows. The system must come to encourage and promote "talent, trust, and responsibility" as every successful political system must.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

- Environmental education is being introduced into Chinese schools and colleges.
- Greenbelts have been planted in Beijing and other cities - despite the pollution (coal) the locust trees, bushes and flowers seem to be thriving.
- 25% of Beijing has been reforested and greenbelts have been replanted north of the city to protect it from dust storms.
- At Beijing Normal University - the apartments have trash shafts and collection is by a single individual with a cart. Most of the trash appears to be biodegradable. In fact, in the country one saw piles of trash composting. In the Xian farming community that we visited the trash site was next to the outhouses and the sewage was composted into the trash (most of it biodegradable).
- Plastic is just recently becoming a problem - but even plastic appears to be recycled - from plastic bags to plastic bottles.
- Although there are anti-littering signs - people seem to throw everything on the ground and other people clean it up. Women sweepers appear everywhere. In the markets there is little packaging - even in a super market that I visited. People bring their own shopping bags and meat and fresh vegetables are bought unwrapped. I saw no styrofoam!
- Cardboard appears to be recycled - bicycle carts full of cardboard appear frequently in Beijing.
- On our trip from Dali to Kunming - we had canned pop and carefully put out cans in a box - our driver drank his pop and threw that can over the side of the hill along with the rest of the cans we had put in the box - despite this there was no litter along the highway - perhaps because China is so resource poor. Someone is always picking up another's trash to recycle. At one tourist site in Dali, a Bai woman, was collecting aluminum cans.
- On our boat trip on Erhai Lake - a tourist spot of great beauty and a rich fishing resource for the local economy - while standing on the deck a few of the passengers threw plastic litter bottles and cans of pop overboard (hopefully they will be retrieved by the local fishermen).
- Coal appears to be the major source of air pollution - tall smokestacks are everywhere - for example on the Beijing campus - coal is used to heat water. The winter skies must be very polluted - in fact one Professor commented on the unhealthy air during the winter time.
- Factories were seen spewing out all kinds of emissions - although there is growing environmental awareness - pollution seems to be a sign of progress because it denotes industrialization.
- China Daily - a chemical factory in Dalian was fined for water pollution when it dumped chemical waste containing poisonous lead into a shrimp breeding ground in 1987; in China's
Teachers and students were sent to the countryside to work on communes and public projects. Many young men and women now feel that their revolutionary dedication was abused and betrayed by Mao - the Cultural Revolution was a tragic time for China.

Recent government policy is changing from the education of an elite and education for examinations ("selective education") to a new emphasis on education for all students.

- In the past, 50% of all students went to Jr. High, 30% to Senior High, 3-4% to the University.
- 7 years are now compulsory - 6 years elementary/3 years secondary - in the big cities 12 years of compulsory education are required.
- The Central Education Committee issues the general curriculum for the schools, but allows some local flexibility.
- Students enter school at 6-7 years of age and finish elementary at 12 years old and Jr. High at 14.
- Emphasis is placed on moral values and responsibility to the people and the state - with the aftermath of the Beijing demonstrations last spring - the legendary hero Lei Feng's picture ("rustless screw in the revolutionary plan") and model performance and thinking are again on the walls of the various schools that we visited.
- There is a 6 day school week - homework is heavy at the middle school level - pressures are great because the examinations determine what schools and universities will be available to students. The state pays for most aspects of education even at the college level.
- Teachers at the school we visited teach 2 classes a day with 50 students per class.
- Recent problems include cheating on examinations, smoking among secondary school male students, love letters and affections between older male and female students, and with increased economic opportunities in the free markets and in the countryside - students are dropping out to work and make money.
- Plus female students although they start out being very competitive academically with boys - by the time the reach adolescent they start to fall behind (social pressures) - traditionally said "The sky is high for women" - "Women's wings are very heavy" - also discrimination limits their employment opportunities - it's not in the education system but out in "the real world" - Mao said "When women get liberated, the world will get liberated" Faculty members at universities - more than 1/2 are women and there are many women directors.

Daily Life of a student
- 7-8 - self study or foreign language (English)
- 8-12 - 4 classes with 30 minutes of exercise
- 12-2 - most students go home for lunch
- 2-5 - classes resume and after school there are many voluntary activities - music, dance, games
- After dinner - 2 hrs. of homework (recently a new policy has been instigated that the homework burden should be decreased to reduce tension in the lives of students).
TEACHING TIANAMMEM: THE DREAM DEFERRED

"A single spark can start a prairie fire."

Mao Zedong

Submitted by:
Henry Kiernan
Fulbright Summer Seminar 1990
China: Tradition and Transformation
Why did the democracy movement fail in China in the spring of 1989 but succeed in Eastern Europe later that year? A strong argument has been advanced to suggest that the dramatic political demonstrations and subsequent reforms in Eastern Europe were not readily suppressed because of the world-wide repulsion of the Chinese Communist Party's violent solution to end the student protest at Tiananmen Square. However, any further attempt to link causality between the protests at Tiananmen and Eastern Europe lacks cohesiveness, simply because the Chinese Communist Party has never depended on an outside army to maintain its hold on power. The Party has every incentive not to lose its strong control and, after all, it was Mao Zedong who said that all power flows from the barrel of a gun.

There is a cogent rationale for teaching the Tiananmen protest in the social studies curriculum. Indeed, the events preceding and following June 4, 1989 continue to shape East-West relations and to offer a historical and contemporary perspective of the interplay of Chinese political and socio-economic conditions.

Judging from my discussions and interviews with Chinese students and professors during a 1990 Fulbright Summer Seminar in China, there is a pervading perception of chagrin concerning the massacre on June 4, 1989, but also a sense of confusion about the goals of the student protest, the Chinese students' definition of democracy, and world-wide reaction to the democracy movement.

One Chinese student asked me if American students supported the Chinese students at Tiananmen. I answered that they did, even though a groundswell of support and protest similar to the American students' reaction to events at Kent State did not emerge. But the events at Tiananmen reminded many Americans of demonstrations and sit-ins in the US during the 1960's. We recognised ourselves when watching Chinese students wearing headbands with Chinese characters and singing songs reminiscent of "We Shall Overcome." Attempting to make sense of what happened at Tiananmen Square would provide a window of opportunity to understand the long history of student protest in shaping China's history and its interactions with the outside world.

Additionally, Fang Lishi recently wrote in The New York Review of Books (September 26, 1990) that the events of Tiananmen have ended what he calls Chinese amnesia; that is, the Chinese Communist Party's banning from memory of its nefarious record of
human rights violations. Lishi states that the events at Tiananmen represent "... the first time that Chinese Communist brutality was thoroughly recorded and reported, and the first time that virtually the whole world was willing to censure it." Lishi believes that the real history of last year's events cannot be forgotten and that this is an "indispensable step in China's joining the world and moving toward progress."

Given this rationale, the following hypotheses for teaching Tiananmen in the social studies curriculum are presented here:

1. Researching the results of Chinese student movements will provide a framework to consider the unique role Chinese students have played in shaping China's history.

2. Providing both Western and Chinese current perspectives of the events at Tiananmen will assist students in developing their own interpretation and judgment of the Chinese solution and its impact on the international community.

3. By investigating both stated and implied goals of the Chinese student protest, students will be able to determine the emerging definition of democracy proposed by Chinese students and compare/contrast this definition with their own definition of democracy.

4. Through researching the chronology of events at Tiananmen as described by Western and Chinese journalists and official documents, students will be able to synthesise similar and different interpretations.

5. By exploring the meaning of xia fang, students will decide if any government's short-term solution to suppress the free interchange of ideas inherent in any policy of opening up to the outside world is doomed to failure.

From these five hypotheses, several activities can be developed to begin student research. Initially, the research should be question-driven, rather than thesis-driven. In other words, students need to frame general questions about the Tiananmen protest, questions which they consider important to pursue. Using primary and secondary research sources, students
can then begin to focus their questions and pursue further investigation. Questions such as the following were typical:

Why was the protest held at Tiananmen Square? What role did Hu Yaobang's death, the hunger strike, Mikhail Gorbachev's visit and the Goddess of Democracy statue play in the democracy movement? Why didn't the Chinese government strike against the students sooner? Who were the student leaders? Where are the student leaders now? What kind of democracy were the students pursuing? Was it democratic for some students to refuse to leave the square when a majority wanted to? What role will continued economic reform play in providing more democracy? Should the US enforce strict sanctions against the Chinese government?

For example, several students were interested in discovering what caused the student unrest in 1989. Using cooperative learning strategies to focus the research writing, a group of students uncovered the following:

1. Student protest and public demonstrations are deeply rooted within China's unique political tradition. With over 3000 years of imperial autocracy and the tradition of scholar candidates awaiting appointment to the imperial bureaucracy, China's Class of 1989 similarly awaited appointment to the bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party dictatorship. But the mood in 1989 found young people angry at being assigned to dead-end jobs or no jobs at all, and teachers, doctors, and engineers were disenchanted to see their counterparts in private enterprise earning considerably more income. They were also angry with the rampant nepotism and corruption within all branches of the government.

2. The official Chinese government explanation for the unrest was to blame hooligans who were incited and supported by Western influences interested in overthrowing the Communist Party. Indeed Che Muqi's book entitled *Beijing Turmoil*, printed in the PRC by the Foreign Language Press, admits "... the United States began to propagate its civilisation by sending scholars and professors to China to teach and lecture ... as far as American foreign policy was concerned, their real purpose was to infiltrate China in the ideological and cultural spheres" (Muqi, 144).
3. Deng Xiaoping's dispatch of tens of thousands of Chinese college students to study abroad was meant to train the next generation with the skills necessary to modernize China. However, while living abroad in largely democratic countries Chinese students were also exposed to democratic traditions. One Radio Beijing analysis said that students had been duped by foreign values. They "took in large amounts of Western ideas and culture, but they could not digest them. Bourgeois liberalism overflowed and this was exacerbated by their blind adulation of bourgeois democracy." The same effect occurred during the reforms begun by the dowager empress in 1905. In an effort to save the Qing dynasty, the empress sent thousands of students to foreign countries to learn how to adapt western modernization. Instead, most of the students became revolutionaries and helped to hasten the demise of the Qing dynasty.

Students used their question-driven research findings to advance positions to debate, to make connections between events at Tiananmen and future US-Chinese relations and to ask further questions. Judging from the work of one group, my students concluded that Chinese students have toppled governments and created a legend about their influence in Chinese history, a legend which focuses on their bravery, sense of duty and heroism. However, these protest movements have only served to create a new political order just as detrimental to student ideas as the one they helped to destroy. They also concluded that in order to stay in power the Chinese Communist Party seems willing to forget about the more than 40,000 students and professors who were in the West during the 1989 turmoil at Tiananmen and who have not as yet returned to China.

But beyond question-driven research, one of the most engaging learning activities was for students to define a personal meaning of democracy and compare/contrast that meaning with a variety of definitions given by Chinese students. By democracy, we learned that the Chinese do not necessarily mean what most Americans think of when they hear the word; that is, a US-style party system complete with political campaigns and elections. Indeed, the Chinese students were hoping that the Party could change for the better by eliminating corruption and by allowing a broader-based decision-making process which would accept a range of opinions and ideas. They wanted more freedom of the press in order to voice their concerns more freely and a greater openness than currently exists. They wanted accountability within the system.
Yi Mu and Mark Thompson remind us that even the students who were interviewed by American news reporters suggested that democracy was a slogan for long-term goals and not a calling for the overthrow of the Party (at least not until after the violent suppression of June 4, 1989). They posit: "... if we take the two extreme interpretations—first the American one that they (Chinese students) were calling for full-blown Western democracy and then the official Party position that they were calling for the overthrow of the Chinese Communist Party and the establishment of a capitalist republic—we can immediately sense that the real demands lay somewhere between the above two poles" (Mu and Thompson 23).

Finally, in order to help my students experience living history and to determine personal meaning from the events of Tiananmen Square, a variety of documents were used to read, to discuss and to write evaluations/interpretations. Some of these documents included: The People's Daily Editorial of April 26, 1989 which provoked a strong reaction from the Chinese students, Zhao Ziyang's speech at the Asian Development Bank, Li Peng's Conversation with student leaders, Zhao Ziyang's Farewell Speech at Tiananmen and Deng Xiaoping's speech to the Central Military Commission on June 9, 1989. The use of these editorials and speeches helped define both sides of the democracy movement from both the leaders of the reformers and the Party, and also clarified the chronology of events at the Square (for English translations, use Yi and Thompson's Crisis at Tiananmen).

However, the most moving documents were the Chinese student interviews and letters. Of particular interest were the thoughts of Chai Ling, a student at Beijing Normal University who was named commander in chief of the Tiananmen demonstrators. She wrote:

"The square is our last stand. If we lose it, China will retreat into another dark age, the people will once again turn against one another, with no real feelings or communication between them. . . . There are so many kids here risking their own lives for what you (Chinese college students studying abroad) have. Do what you can, break down the barriers and don't be selfish anymore. Think about our race. One billion people can't just fade away."

Chai Ling's thoughts as well as the feelings of other Chinese students made quite an impression on my students.
While realizing they had little in common with the students who protested at Tiananmen Square in 1989, they did share a sense of communion and understanding for their hopes for human rights and future reforms. They, too, identify with the spontaneity of youth and a need for a forum to express their views.

We ended our study of Tiananmen with a look to the future, considering possibilities for the students and US-China relations. We accepted the fact that the United States no longer needs relations with China based on a policy of keeping a strong Soviet Union in check. We also proposed the possibility that the People's Army has demonstrated to Deng that without the military he cannot retain power. Indeed, the commanders could be in a strong position to pick Deng's replacement, a leader who can run a tight military state similar to the other fast-moving "Asian tigers" of South Korea and Singapore. These countries, the commanders argue, seem to be doing quite well economically without democracy.

Yet, I am reminded of a young college student I met in Kunming who, after looking over his shoulder, said: "Do not let America forget us." Teaching about the events of Tiananmen is an important step in not forgetting and in teaching students the right to think and to inquire. The Chinese students' dream of human rights and freedom is truly deferred, and they must arouse our concern and hope.
REFERENCES


CURRICULUM PROJECT

on

Qin Shih Huang ti
First Emperor of China
221-210 B.C.

Jean Kramer
1990 Fulbright Summer Seminar to China
INTRODUCTION

China! The word immediately brings to mind images of one of the oldest, continuous empires in the world. Why was China able to survive for more than 2,000 years? Who, if anyone, was responsible for this accomplishment? This historical accomplishment could not have happened by mere chance or accident. What or who gave China the ability to survive? Even when China was conquered by the Mongols or the Manchus, they were swallowed up by the Chinese culture and became more Chinese than Mongol or Manchu. But that is another aspect of history.

Historical evidence points to Qin Shih Huang ti as the person responsible for laying China's enduring foundation. Who was he? What were his accomplishments? High school historical texts merely mention his name. His greatest accomplishment appears to have been the building of the Great Wall and giving China its name. Yet those two deeds obviously would not allow China to endure historically for more than 20 centuries. Who then was this person and what were his accomplishments.

The world first learned about Qin Shih Huang ti with the discovery of the terra cotta army near Xian in 1974. Along with the rest of the world I, too, became inquisitive about this person. Only bits and pieces of information emerged here in the West. Certainly most historical texts did little to enlighten us. Most historians focus on one negative event, the Book Burning incident, and the decline of the Qin dynasty.

The focus in this paper is rather on the many accomplishments of China's first emperor. The emphasis, therefore, are upon the decisions made by this emperor that would unite China and give it a foundation that would allow it to endure until the 1911 Revolution.
MAIN GOAL:

The intent of this paper is to make the students aware of Qin Shih Huang ti and his accomplishments. The biography of the emperor is included, therefore, to be used in two ways. One, the biography will enable the teacher to familiarize him/herself to the personage of Qin Shih Huang ti. Secondly, the biography could be used as a supplemental reading assignment by the students.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will be able to list 5-6 major events in the life of Qin Shih Huang ti as they perceived them and be able to defend their choices with evidence to that effect.

2. Students will be able to describe the significant events that lead to the decline of the feudal kingdoms of the Zhao (Chou) period known as the Warring States period.

4. Students will be able to identify certain geographic features, such as the Wei River, Yellow River, Yangtze River, Tsingling Mountains, North China Plain and tell how they aided or hindered the growth of Qin.

4. Students will be able to compare and contrast the accomplishments of Qin Shih Huang ti with those of the ancient Pharoahs of Egypt, the rulers of Babylon, the Ancient Persian Empire of Darius and Xerses, Alexander the Great, Julius Ceasar and/or Charlemagne. What were similar accomplishments and what accomplishments were different.
PROCEDURE:

DAY 1:
Ask students to identify certain geographical features on a blank map of China. They should also identify the area controlled by the various feudal states of China, especially Qin before 250 B.C. See Appendix II for feudal map of China. Geographical features can be those of the teacher's choosing that he/she deems important.

DAY 2:
From their historical text read about the feudal states of the Zhao (Chou) period. Discuss the changes that occurred in the methods of warfare, the kinds of weapons used, and the increases in the sizes of the armies. A comparison can be made with European or Middle Eastern armies of the same time period. Discuss what lead to the downfall of the Zhao (Chou).

DAY 3-4:
Students will become familiar with the life of Qin Shih Huang ti either through a lecture by the teacher or by the students reading of the enclosed biography.

DAY 5:
Ask students to compile a list of the 5-6 accomplishments that they feel were the most significant in the rule of the emperor. They should be able to support their choices with evidence they deem significant.

DAY 6:
Students will rely on their previous experiences with World History, to compile the accomplishments of other great men in history. These could be the Pharoahs of Ancient Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar and/or Hammurabi of Babylon, Darius and/or Xerses of Persia, Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Julius Ceasar of Rome, Charlemaigne of the Holy Roman Empire. Break the class into groups of 3-4 students and assign each group a historical person. Ask them to list their accomplishments as to what made them great or outstanding rulers.

DAY 7:
Ask students as a class to make comparisons about the rulers they investigated the previous day. What similarities do they find? What differences? What is significant about their accomplishments? How does this strengthen or unify their kingdom?
DAY 8:

Ask students to analyze the laws that these various rulers had in effect. What was the value of human life? What kinds of offenses received the death penalty? Was any one kingdom more harsh or cruel than another?

DAY 9:

Ask students now to make comparisons and contrasts between Qin Shih Huang ti and the rulers from the previous two days. What similarities do they see? What contrasts? Would the people of that time be willing to make such drastic changes in their lives -- why or why not? Who had more of an impact on history? Why?

DAY 10:

Ask students to discuss the positive aspects of the rule of Qin Shih Huang ti in relation to the development of a China that could endure for 2000 years. Rather than a discussion the students could write an essay on their views.

OPTIONAL ASSIGNMENT:

View the sound filmstrip: The Terra Cotta Army.
China and Its' Ancient Pottery Army.
-QIN SHIH HUANG TI-

BACKGROUND:
The Zhou (Chou) empire of China came to power in 1027 B.C. They were the first to bring feudalism to China. The land of China was parcelled out to members of the royal family, setting up 1,773 fiefdom, or self governing states. They were required to supply the king of Zhou with troops whenever they were needed and sent a portion of their income as a tribute to the king. Eventually fiefdoms consolidated into more or less independent states.

In 771 B.C. the Zhou capital was attacked by barbarians from the north. The king requested troops to defend the capital city from his feudal lords. The lords refused to send troops to defend the capital and the king was forced to move his capital east to Luoyang, leaving the Wei River Valley. At this time the fiefdoms had been reduced to 170 principalities.

One of the principalities to emerge during this period was the small kingdom of Qin (Chin). In 677 B.C. the ruler of Qin took the title of "duke." Much of their time was spent battling the nomads from the north. From the nomads, the Qin adopted a military that involved riding horses, the beginning of a cavalry, and the use of foot soldiers. The people of Qin were more military in character because of their constant battle with the nomadic barbarians. They were considered China's Wild West as they were further west of the more civilized Chinese empires.

The Qin empire was located at the west end of the Wei River Valley, the state furthest to the west. It was protected by mountains all the way around them. It was called the "region without passes," because of the difficulty in attacking them. Geography then protected them. Also, the land was extremely fertile and farmers were prosperous, thus insuring plenty of food, which could sustain a growing population.

WARRING STATES 481-221 B.C.

Before the Warring States period wars, wars between the principalities were fought like games. Certain rules were followed with much ceremony. Few people were killed, enemy soldiers gave each other back their arrows and allowed each side to pick up the dead or wounded.
Gradually the rules changed. By 481 B.C. battles became more vicious, involving thousands of soldiers on both sides. By 246 B.C. the principalities had been reduced to seven. They were Qi, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao, Wei, and Qin.

Chariot warfare was used by all kingdoms in 481 B.C. The Chinese did not raise many of the horses needed for battle. Instead many were gotten from the nomads to the north. Chariots made up the main force of an army. Land could not be too rugged or the chariot could not maneuver. The land in the lower reaches of the Yellow River valley was flat, with few geographic obstacles. All except the Qin kingdom. It was surrounded by mountains with only a few passes providing access to their territory.

After 481 B.C. games of war were no longer. Battles became brutal with huge numbers of casualties. Also, new techniques were employed and new weapons invented. In 307 B.C. the Zhao first used a cavalry as a main fighting force. The Qin were the first to use footsoldiers and cavalry together. They also were the first to keep a standing army. And they paid their warriors by the number of enemy heads they brought back. New inventions were seize machines, moveable towers and catapults. These were necessary to attack the fortified cities. Wars gradually became very destructive with numerous deaths, mass executions, prisoners held for ransom or used as slaves.

In one period of 130 years the state of Qin was involved in 125 major battles. The casualties suffered by Qin’s enemies totaled 1,489,000 killed, wounded, captive or deserted. In 262-260 B.C. the Qin and Zhao fought a major battle at Changping. The Zhao were defeated and between 400,000 and 450,000 Zhao soldiers were killed or buried alive. But the Qin suffered casualties also, losing half their soldiers to death or injury. The State of Chu had an army of over one million soldiers. Several states had armies of 5-6 hundred thousand. The Han army was only 300,000. Many states used boys as young as fifteen years old.

Because the states of Han and Wei were closest to the Qin, they suffered the most. Once a state was defeated, nothing escaped destruction. On the battle field bellies were slashed open, heads cut off and bones were scattered in the grass. The victorious army would occupy the annexed territory. Crops would be destroyed, trees cut down, temples
burned and cattle slaughtered. The captured people were either killed or forced to be domestic servants or slaves of the victorious state.

Peasants suffered the most. They paid heavy taxes to pay for the armies. A major campaign could cost the income of ten years of farming. Canals and irrigation systems were used both for defense and irrigation for crops. During battles, the enemy would break dams, canals and destroy river banks to flood out their enemy. No thought was given to the peasants who might be drowned. The states of Qi, Wei and Zhao were on the Yellow River. In 358 B.C. the Chu cut the bank of the Yellow River to flood the Wei. In 281 B.C. the Zhao cut the Yellow River to flood the Wei.

The Qi suffered the most during periods of flooding since they were located around the mouth of the Yellow River. To protect itself the Qi built a long dam 25 li from the north river bank (1 li = 1/3 mile). After the dam was built the Zhao and Wei suffered when the Yellow River flooded. The Zhao and Wei then built their own dam on the southern bank.

Wars were a continuous way of life during the Warring States period. As a result thousands of people died. Agriculture was destroyed, and trade was interrupted. Artisans and businessmen suffered. Currencies differed from state to state making trade and business exchanges difficult. Even within the same state, the same currency may differ in value. States interfered in each other's affair by bribing court officials for favors or information. Customs differed between the states. Languages and writing script differed. Weights and measurements differed. Despite all this cities continued to grow and prosper, populations increased, and trade between the states grew. As a result the cities were often the targets of war, damaged by fire and floods, planned by their enemy. An enemy one year could be an ally the next because of the constant changing of alliances, usually brought about through bribery of officials. In 318 B.C. the Qin defeated a coalition of forces from the states of Wei, Han and Chao. The Qin decapitated 82,000. In 312 B.C. the Qin defeated the Ch'ü and decapitated 80,000. In 293 B.C. the Qin defeated a coalition of the Han and Wei. About 240,000 were decapitated.

EMERGENCE OF THE STATE OF QIN:

How and why does the state of Qin emerge as the state which conquered the other six and unifies China? There are five reasons for their rise in power.
First, their state was politically stable. The king was the absolute ruler. He did not have to appease noble families or get their support before making a decision. He did not reward his own family or the heads of noble families with high positions of government. Therefore, he did not have to rely on their support.

Secondly, the rulers chose talented people for high positions in government, regardless of their family background. The Qin also employed many talented people from the other six states.

Thirdly, they encouraged and rewarded farming. Peasants were no longer slaves and many owned their own land. Most of the fighting between the seven states was not done on Qin land. The country was free to produce and it became wealthy.

Qin was called the "land of abundance." Various reports tell of mountains of grain stockpiled about the countryside. Granaries were constructed that held 10,000 dan of grain (one dan was equal to one hectoliter). One granary reportedly held 20,000 hectoliters, another held 100,000 hectoliters. Many were scattered about the countryside.

Qin also engaged in several irrigation projects. One project, the Don Jiang Weir, in the frontier section of Qin added 3,000,000 acres into farming production. This was in the Sichuan prefecture.

Fourthly, the Qin controlled the iron production and salt mining areas. The profits from these industries went to the government.

Finally, they were more powerful militarily. Every male served in the army. Records say they had an army of more than one million men. Their soldiers were noted for their bravery and fighting ability. The soldiers were well equipped. They had a strong armour, powerful crossbows, long spears, and sharp swords. On campaigns they carried enough food for three days. They could cover 50 kilometers in half a day. They called the enemy "cowards" and they were the "brave men." One historian said it was like babies trying to fight giants. In many battles the enemy fled in terror.
BIRTH OF QIN SHIH HUANG TI:

During the Warring States period it was the custom to send the sons and grandsons as representatives to the different states. These representatives were actually hostages designed to keep peace. It also helped to build alliances. If war occurred or the alliance was broken, the hostage would then be killed. His life in the foreign court was very precarious at best.

King Zhao of Qin sent his son Yi Ren to the state of Zhao as a hostage. Yi Ren was one of twenty sons of King Zhao. Since he was not the eldest he could not be the crown prince. His older brother Lord An Guo was the Crown Prince (chosen to be the next king). Yi Ren's mother was no longer the favorite concubine of the King.

As a hostage Yi Ren survived on the financial aid supplied him by his father and by the king of Zhao (the state wherein he was a hostage). Since there were frequent conflicts between the states of Qin and Zhao, the possibility that Yi Ren would be put to death were great.

Lu Buwei was a wealthy merchant at this time who came from the state of Wei. He had become very wealthy because he "bought cheap and sold dear" (sold at very high prices). As most merchants at this time he traveled from state to state selling his goods. On one trip to the state of Zhao he met Prince Yi Ren. Because of his knowledge of the state of Qin, Lu Buwei decided to stake his future on Yi Ren and help him.

In Qin at that time there was a question on who would succeed the throne. There were twenty sons, and King Zhao had chosen Duke An Guo as the next king. Duke An Guo was already 50 years old. His favorite concubine Madam Yang had no children, therefore, the Crown Prince had not been chosen. That meant that one of An Guo's brothers could be the next king. Since Yi Ren was far away in the state of Zhao, he would probably be the last to be considered as the future king.

Lu Buwei said he would help Yi Ren by going to the Qin court and pleading his cause. He gave Yi Ren 500 ounces of gold to entertain the court officials of Zhao to begin to build alliances.
As soon as Lu Buwei arrived in the state of Qin he went to see Madam Hua Yang—the concubine of Duke An Guo. He presented Madam Hua with jewelry and antiques that he said had been sent by Yi Ren. He said Yi Ren had great respect for Madam Hua and that he missed her and Qin. He also said that if Yi Ren would be appointed Crown Prince Madam Hua would keep her favorite position in court. This was an important promise because as favorite concubine she had special privileges that she could lose. Lu Buwei said she must convince An Guo to choose Yi Ren as the next crown prince. And so she did. Yi Ren was returned to the Qin court as crown prince, and Lu Buwei became his advisor.

Lu Buwei had a favorite concubine, Zhao Ji. She came from a wealthy family and she had the reputation of being a good singer and dancer. One night while in Zhao Lu Buwei was entertaining Yi Ren and they had plenty to eat and drink. Lu Buwei called upon Zhao Ji to entertain them. Yi Ren after seeing her asked Lu Buwei if he could marry her. Lu Buwei at first hesitated. But he wanted to keep his favorable position with Yi Ren, so he finally consented. Yi Ren did not know that Zhao Ji was pregnant with Lu Buwei's child when she married him and she did not tell anyone. Yi Ren believed the child was his. He was named Zhao Zheng. And so the first emperor of China was born in 259 B.C.

In 251 B.C. King Zhao died and Crown Prince An Guo became the king and Yi Ren became the Crown Prince. Unfortunately An Guo ruled for one short year when he died and Yi Ren became the king. His son Zhao Zheng was named the crown prince. Yi Ren took the name King Zhuang Xiang of Qin. He rewarded Lu Buwei by appointing him prime minister of the state of Qin and appointed him noble over 100,000 households.

KING ZHENG OF QIN:

In 249 B.C. Zhuang Xian (Yi Ren) became the king of Qin. He ruled two years when he died and his thirteen year old son Zhao Zheng became king. He took the name King Zheng. Because he was not old enough to rule, Lu Buwei was appointed regent to run the country until King Zheng reached the age of 22. Lu Buwei ran the country both politically and militarily for 11 years (2 years under Yi Ren and now under his son.) During his rule Qin made great achievements.
Some of these achievements were:

249 B.C. - led an army and conquered Eastern Zhao and annexed the territory, seizing two important cities.

248 B.C. - attacked Wei and Western Zhao and captured 38 cities.

247 B.C. - the states of Wei, Zhao, Yan, Han and Chu formed an alliance and defeated Qin. Much of the territory taken by Qin was returned to Zhao and Wei.

244 B.C. - Qin captured 13 Han cities.

241 B.C. - Han, Zhao, Wei, Chu and Yan joined another alliance. It fell apart with the first Qin attack. These five states then attacked Qi. Meanwhile Qin attacked Han, Zhao and Wei and seized a lot of their land.

238 B.C. - Qin established ten prefectures or states from the land captured from their enemies.

By 238 B.C. King Zheng was old enough to rule himself - 22 years old. He was crowned king in an elaborate coronation and assumed total power in ruling his country.

Shortly after King Zheng assumed power, a power struggle developed at the court between King Zheng and his followers on one side and Lu Buwei and his followers on the other. An attempt was made by the followers of Lu Buwei to dethrone King Zheng. The plot was discovered and many of those involved were executed. Lu Buwei was implicated and also Zhao Ji, King Zheng's mother. Both were exiled to remote parts of the empire. Because of his disgrace Lu Buwei eventually drank a glass of poisoned wine and committed suicide (honorable death). Many of those implicated were foreigners who were working in high positions of government for King Zheng.

One foreign official was Li Si from the state of Chu. He was an advisor to Lu Buwei. He wrote a letter to King Zheng to rescind his order expelling the foreign officials. He first listed all the benefits these foreign officials had provided the state of Qin. Then the most convincing part of his argument was that if these officials were kicked out, they would surely go to work for one of the other states. Their information
would be used against Qin and could possibly destroy Qin. King Zheng was convinced and
rescinded his order. He was so impressed with Li Si that he appointed him Court Judicial
Minister and later he became the Prime Minister, second only to King Zheng.

Li Si also presented King Zheng with another problem. He said many people were
upset with the King because he did not show the proper respect for his mother by exiling
her. This did not show the proper respect for her in the eyes of the people. It was the
duty of children to always show respect to their parents. Therefore, King Zheng should
go and bring his mother back to court. If he did this the people would respect their king.
King Zheng listened to him and had his mother returned. In the early years of his reign
King Zheng would listen to his advisors. Later his advisors became fearful of telling him
the truth if they thought it would displease him. So they would tell him only what he
wanted to hear.

One of the foreign advisors King Zheng almost expelled was Zheng Guo. He had
been sent to Qin by the State of Han. He was to convince King Zheng to build an extensive
irrigation project. If it could be done, so many men would be working on the project that
there would be fewer soldiers for the army. Han would be safe from attack. King Zheng
discovered the ruse, but after Li Si's convincing argument, he decided the irrigation
project was a good idea. King Zheng told Zheng Guo to head up the project. It proved to be
a wise move.

The Zheng Guo canal connected the Wei River with several smaller rivers to
bring the much needed water to the loess land for agriculture. The canal was 1250
kilometers long. He had to cross five smaller rivers, but he used parts of these river
beds for parts of the canal. During periods of flooding these five rivers absorbed the
flooding water and not as much damage was done. As the Han has suggested 100's of
thousands of workers were used on the project. But it did not diminish the army. The
Zheng Guo Canal - named for its designer turned thousands of acres of the Wei River
valley into fertile soil. It was used for 1000 years until the Tang Dynasty.

Another adviser to Qin was Wei Liao from the state of Wei. He joined Qin in 237
B.C. He eventually became Commander-in-Chief of the Army. He cautioned King Zheng
not to let the six states unite. If they did they would become stronger than Qin. He told
King Zheng to send advisors to the other six states. They were to spare no money to spread lies and discord between the states. They would then be too busy arguing among themselves that they would not form an alliance.

Yao Jia was the person chosen to carry out Wei Liao's scheme. He was given 1000 catties of gold, and 100 chariots filled with jade and other treasures to bribe the state officials. They chose a good person for the job. He was originally from the State of Wei. He had been a thief who was driven out of Wei. He then went to Zhao and finally to Qin. He was successful in his mission because he broke up the alliances between Yan, Zhao, Wei, and Chu.

THE UNIFICATION OF CHINA:

In 236 B.C. King Zheng made the decision to begin a systematic attack on the remaining six states. It took him fifteen years to eliminate them. The State of Zhao was the first to be attacked but the State of Han was the first conquered. The unification of China ended hundred's of years of fighting and united China for the first time in over 800 years.

The State of Zhao was the most powerful at this time. They were the strongest rival to Qin. They were fortunate enough to have two good generals leading their armies. Thanks to Yao Jia of Qin, an internal conflict developed between the generals, instigated of course by him. In 236 B.C. Qin attacked suddenly. The war lasted until 233 B.C. when the Qin were defeated. More than 100,000 men were killed. General Li Mu led the Zhao army - one of their two able generals.

In 232 B.C. Qin and Zhao were again at war. Again Qin was defeated. It looked as though Zhao would be successful and destroy Qin. But the Qin plan of bribery and dissension began to work. General Li Mu was removed as the head of one army. The Zhao court officials then quarrelled among themselves as to who should lead their armies. Then in 230 B.C. a severe drought hit Zhao, resulting in many deaths.

Almost as a breather, Qin decided to step away from Zhao and let their inner fighting take its toll. It decided instead to attack the State of Han. Han was the state closest to Qin and unfortunately it was also the weakest. In 231 B.C. Qin invaded Han
with tens of thousands of men. The Han could not offer much resistance. They were defeated and surrendered much of their land which made them even weaker. Then in 230 B.C. Qin attacked a second time. This time Han was too weak to resist. They surrendered and became a part of the State of Qin in 229 B.C.

In 229 B.C. the Qin attacked the State of Zhao from two directions so that Zhao had to split their army. The war lasted for over a year and hundreds of battles, large and small were fought. One of the leading generals was killed by Zhao government officials during their internal squabble. The other general was removed. The net result was the Zhao troops became disenchanted with their own government and many of them deserted. A short time later Qin defeated the State of Zhao.

The next state to be attacked was Yan. It was located on the Yi River. It was weakened by many years of warfare with Zhao. They realized they were not strong enough to resist the Qin. Instead they decided to try to assassinate King Zheng. Two officials were sent and the plot was quickly discovered. As soon as the two officials were executed, Qin sent a large army and the State of Yan was eliminated in 226 B.C.

The next objective was the State of Wei. Once the states of Han and Zhao were eliminated Wei found itself surrounded by Qin. Rather than attack Wei, the Qin general decided to flood the capital city. He had his army break down the river bank and the water rushed into the city. Thousands of people drowned. Three months later the city and state surrendered in 225 B.C.

The initial assault on Chu began in 226 B.C. The Chu had been attacked and had themselves attacked others many times during their history. They had by now a large territory and a large population. In 224 B.C. the Qin attacked the Chu, who offered little resistance. The Qin army of 100,000 men advanced deep into Chu Territory before the Chu attacked. It appeared the Qin were winning when the Chu counterattacked. The Qin went down to a crushing defeat with many causalities.

In 223 B.C. the Qin assembled an army of 600,000 men. When the Chu attacked the Qin offered little resistance. They kept advancing while the Chu attacked again and again, wearing themselves out and running low on supplies. Suddenly the Qin attacked, defeating the Chu, eliminating another state.
The only state left now was Qi. It had watched the other states be gobbled up. It did not send troops to help the other states when they had asked them. Their king was old and his advisors kept telling him that they were strong enough to defeat the Qin. They made no preparations for war because everyone believed they could not be defeated. In 221 B.C. the Qin army marched in and conquered Qi without any trouble.

China was finally united.

**QIN SHIH HUANG TI**

After the unification of China, King Zheng decided he needed a new title. He felt the title of king was not grand enough to describe what he had done. He decided to combine a couple ancient Chinese words to get this new title. Huang was the title used by the first five rulers of ancient China. The character means God or Heavenly Sovereign. The second character ti refers to the three sovereigns of Heaven, Earth and Supremacy. Shih means first and King Zheng decreed that only he could use Shih or first. Therefore, from this time onward he was called Shih Huang ti or Emperor.

**GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION**

One of the first things Qin Shih Huang ti did was to organize the conquered territories according to the Qin government structure. The conquered territories would want to keep their own government and their own officials. The emperor first selected three gangs or chiefs - the top officials of the government who reported directly to him. Li Si kept his position as prime minister, second only to the emperor. As the highest official he could wear a gold seal on a purple ribbon around his neck. The second position was that of grand commander or military head. The emperor was really the chief military man, but the grand commander was responsible for carrying out his orders. He also wore a gold seal on a purple ribbon around his neck as a symbol of his position. The third chief was called the royal chief procurator. He was a step below the prime minister and the official recording secretary of the emperor. As a sign of his position he wore a silver seal on a blue ribbon around his neck.

Under the three gangs or chiefs, the emperor appointed nine qing or ministers. They controlled such areas as justice in the courts, ceremonial rites and the collection of
taxes or the treasury. They reported to the three gangs, who reported to the emperor. All this was done to strengthen the central government. Much of this organization was to continue down to the revolution of 1911.

Next, the emperor divided the countryside into prefectures and the prefectures into counties. He set up a bureaucratic system very much like a pyramid with the emperor at the top who had absolute power; down to the counties and towns within the prefecture. Worthy officials were appointed and in the beginning there were 36 prefectures, later four minority prefectures were added in the extreme north and south. The conquered states were divided into the following prefectures: the original state of Qin - 4, the state of Han - 3, the state of Zhao - 6, the state of Yan - 5, the state of Wei - 5, the state of Chu - 9, the state of Qi - 3, and the 4 minority prefectures.

Each prefecture had three officials who reported to the central government and took their orders from the capital. The prefecture governor was in charge of the day to day operations of the prefecture. A prefecture commander was in charge of the army and military affairs. The procurator's officers was like a vice governor who kept the records - such as tax information, census, etc.

Within each prefecture were several counties. The county was headed by the county magistrate, the assistant magistrate and the county commander or military man. Their duties were similar as described for the prefecture, only on a smaller scale. Each county was divided into townships. Three elders were appointed to run the township. One official was in charge of justice and tax levies, one in charge of education, and the third in charge of patrol duty and catching thieves. A township covered no more than 5 kilometers in distance or about one mile.

The village was organized along township lines. Each village head was responsible for getting the necessary laborers needed for the building projects of the emperor and for collecting the taxes.

One of the major decisions Qin Shih Huang ti made was not to appoint feudal lords to govern the prefectures. Li Si, the prime minister, argued that if the emperor's sons and feudal lords were given a territory to rule, eventually they could become powerful enough to challenge the emperor. This is what happened to the Zhao (Chou) dynasty.
leading to its downfall. Li Si suggested instead that the emperor double the rewards to his sons and those of merit. The emperor would receive enough benefits from the tax revenues it collected. Instead Li Si suggested that Qin Shih Huang ti establish prefectures and counties. Each one would be headed by a worthy official appointed by the emperor. The prefectures would be established in the barren and sparsely populated areas of China. The counties would be established in the more populated and prosperous areas. As the prefectures became prosperous they would be further divided into counties. This governmental organization continued until the revolution of 1911.

EXPANSION OF TERRITORY

Another major decision the emperor made was to conquer surrounding areas. Troops were sent both to the northern and to the southern barbarian areas. The northern barbarians were called the Tartars who occupied the territory north of the Gobi Desert. The southern barbarians were the Yue primitive peoples.

General Bai Yue was sent south to the Guangdong (Canton) area with an army of 500,000. They were to suffer a major defeat by the Yue. The Yue were hunters and fishermen. They fought the Qin using guerrilla tactics, which the Qin were not familiar with. In one battle, more than 100,000 soldiers were killed. To move additional troops to the south, the emperor ordered a 30 kilometer canal built between Lingling and Guilin. Finally in 214 B.C. the Yue were conquered, but it was very costly in terms of men lost and taxes assessed against the Chinese.

After the Yue were conquered, the emperor moved many Chinese people into the conquered areas. The Chinese people were more advanced culturally. They took with them advanced farm tools and farming techniques and their advanced culture. The primitive peoples soon adopted many of the ways of the Chinese.

Meanwhile the nomadic Tartars from the north kept attacking the Qin. In 215 B.C. the Qin attacked the Tartars and drove them back 700 li into the Gobi Desert. The Tartars were nomadic herders, raising especially horses. The Qin needed horses for their armies and needed to trade with the Tartars for them. The Chinese did not have enough pasture land to raise enough horses for their own use.
THE GREAT WALL

Once the Tartars were driven back the emperor sent General Meng Tian to the north to construct the Great Wall. During the Warring States periods, several of the states had constructed defensive walls. General Ming Tian was instructed to connect the existing walls and extend it along the northern border of Qin. General Meng was given 300,000 men for the construction effort. Some of the men built roads to transport the materials needed for the construction of the Wall. Other men worked on the actual construction of the defensive wall. Others still were needed to fend off the attacking Tartars. Many of the men sent to work on the Wall were convicts. It is estimated that for every man who worked on the wall, ten were needed to supply the necessary materials or for road construction. The longer the wall became, the further it was to transport the necessary supplies.

Building the Wall required more engineering skill than constructing a single structure, such as the pyramids of Egypt or the hanging gardens of Babylon. The land over which the wall extended, changed with every foot of construction. The Wall was built through marshes, quicksand, desert and of course mountains. The weather also presented problems from extreme cold to searing heat. The construction of the Wall is even more incredible when we realize the work was done without the help of mechanical equipment or modern explosives.

The Great Wall is not a solid rampart of earth. The Wall was laid on a stone foundation or solid rock. The outer shell of the Wall was constructed of hard baked brick. Between the outer shells, clay was tampered in between. A brick platform topped the clay filling which was sloped for rain water to drain off. The top of the wall was edged with parapets for the defending archers. Every two arrow shots apart a watch tower was built. This provided the defenders with a good defensive crossfire against any attacker. Also, the top platform was wide enough for five mounted horsemen to ride abreast.

When completed the Great Wall started at the Sino-Korean border and ran 10,000 li to the west. Ancient Chinese records say the Wall was 2,600 miles long, however, today it measures 2,100 miles. The difference could be the over estimation of the length or that some of the Wall has been destroyed. Also, 30,000 households were
sent to the wall to defend it once it was completed. Since they were more advanced culturally, they helped to modernize the northern regions when they brought new ideas and techniques with them. The Great Wall helped to bring peace to northern China as long as the wall was well defended.

Thousands of people lost their lives in the construction of the Wall and in defending the Wall. Many who died in its construction were buried in the Wall itself. Chinese historians refer to the Wall as the "Wall of Tears" or the "Longest Graveyard in the World."

A COMMON LANGUAGE

When Qin Shih Huang ti united Qin, he inherited many different languages. There were differences from one feudal lord to another. People within the same state had many different languages, both spoken and written. In 221 B.C. Li Si was ordered by his emperor to come up with a system of writing that was uniform throughout the state. He was also ordered to simplify the characters, with fewer strokes. The language was supposed to be easier to read and write. The language Li Si came up with is the basis of the Chinese writing characters today. He had a dictionary composed, consisting of 3,300 characters. One stone tablet or stele has been bound from the Qin period with 86 recognizable characters. Because the Chinese written language has been consistent throughout its long history, it has helped to hold the Chinese people together. The spoken language differs from province to province even today but the written language remains little changed, even today.

STANDARDIZATION OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND CURRENCY

Qin Shih Huang ti also ordered the standardization of all weights and measurers and coins. Each of the Warring States had their own. As an example the currency between the states varied in size, shape and weight. In shape the Qi coins were knife shaped, while those of the Han, Wei and Zhao were shovel shaped. The coins of Qin, Eastern and Western Zhou were round coins. Also, the weights of the gold were not equal. Some states used the jin which was 16 ounces of gold, while some used the yi which was 20 ounces of gold. Also, Qin had two kinds of money: paramount and ordinary currency. The paramount currency was used in state affairs while the ordinary currency was used.
by the general population. This currency was a round copper coin with a square hole in the center. These-copper coins were used until the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in 1911.

The unification of the currency resulted in several benefits to Qin. First, it overcame the difficulty of calculation, which had been complicated before. Secondly, it was easy to use. And finally, the unified currency encouraged trade between the different sections of their country.

The weights and measurements within the different states varied with each one. Before unification in 221 B.C. Qin had standardized its own weights and measurements. The standard length varied from 23 to 27 centimeters, depending on the state. The measurement of volume was also confusing. The state of Qin used three different sizes based on the decimal system. Wei used four different volume measures while Zhao had only two. Once the standardization had been established, the weight or measurement was engraved on the utensils. The standardization also established four official sizes for lengths, four official sizes for volume, and five official sizes for weights.

The standardization helped China in several ways. First, it helped in the collection of taxes because all taxes could be figured the same way. Secondly, it was easier to compute and determine wages due. Third, the standardization helped to eliminate corruption, especially when the official weight or measure was engraved on the utensil used. It also encouraged trade between the various parts of the country. The emperor also sent inspectors out to check on the various weights and measurements for accuracy. If shortages were discovered, the offenders were severely punished.

QIN LEGAL SYSTEM

Qin Shih Huang ti adopted the Legalist ideology in governing the people of China. The legalist ruled through strict laws and severe punishments. They opposed the teachings of Confucius which were more humane, or the Taoist teachings which believed in a balance between man and nature. Huang ti believed in controlling all aspects of Chinese life. The emperor believed he should govern the officials and the officials should govern the people. The emperor demanded excellence in his officials. They were
responsible for their work for a full year after the completion of a project; whether it was a road, wall or building. If something happened that resulted in injury or deaths, the official was responsible.

The emperor demanded that all orders were to be carried out in one day of its reception. The legalist believed you were guilty until proven innocent. This is exactly opposite Roman law which said you are innocent until proven guilty. Officials could use torture to get a confession. However, such a confession would be viewed with suspicion and the guilty person could appeal any decision based on such a confession.

The laws of Qin were based on the laws of the past. Some of the laws went back to 1000 B.C. The laws were strict but they were not harsh for that time period in history. All laws in the world at this time were just as harsh and cruel compared to the laws of today. However the Qin had too many laws to be fair. A person could break the law and not even know they had broken the law.

Every family had to supply a member for conscripted labor during the year for the emperor’s various building projects. However, if a household was forced to move to one of the frontier areas, the household was exempt from conscript labor for twelve years. Forced labor was the most common form of punishment. It was used for a wide variety of crimes. Some of the projects were the imperial palaces, royal roads, Great Wall or canal and irrigation projects.

Punishments at this time were harsh and mutilation was common. The severity of the crime determined the punishment. If you were found guilty of treason or murder the punishments could be beheading, or your body could be torn apart by chariots or you could be cut in two at the waist. Strangulation or hanging was considered a lesser punishment because the body was not affected. Any disfigurement to the body brought shame to the family. However, in all accounts of Qin law nothing is mentioned about burying a person alive.

For lesser crimes forced labor was required as mentioned. However, the convicts also had a tattoo placed on their forehead or cheek (Hitler had the tattoo placed on the arms of Jews). Another disfigurement was the cutting off of the nose of the offender. And always the hair and beards of the convicts were cut off. Women as well as men could
be forced into labor. Besides the building projects other forms of labor could be agricultural work, guard duty, government work or working in artisan workshops for a specific period of time.

There were several other forms of punishment. One could be banishment from the country. Or a person could be flogged with a bamboo pole. Castration was common, however, specific crimes are not known. It may have been a combination of the crime and the circumstance. In the beginning castration was usually done to captured enemies. Also, it was usually coupled with being a slave for a period of time. Later the eunuch served in the court, serving the high government officials and guarding the harem. By the Ming Dynasty voluntary castration had become such a severe problem that it was forbidden by law. By 1600 there were 20,000 applications for 3,000 positions in the palace. In 1644 when the Ming dynasty fell there were over 100,000 eunuchs in Peking.

Serious crimes included murder, infanticide and injuring a fellow citizen. However, the circumstances determined the punishment. If for example you were charged with infanticide (killing a baby) for economic reasons, the punishment would be a tattoo and a period of forced labor. If, however, the child was deformed, it was not considered a crime to kill the child.

In crimes premeditation was considered. If for example you injured or wounded a person with a needle, awl or another handy tool in an argument, the crime was not considered. You would receive a fine of two suits of armour. However, if you drew a sword from a sheath, that was considered premeditation. You would then be tattooed and have forced labor.

The Qin society was a patriarchal society. The laws regarding family life were not any harsher during the Qin dynasty than in the Chou (Jhao) dynasty before or the Han dynasty which followed. A man could divorce his wife, but failure to report the divorce to the authorities could result in a crime. Incest was strictly forbidden to the point where the parties involved were beheaded. If a wife left her husband and married another, the second husband could divorce his wife when he found out she had been married before. If the wife or husband had not been divorced before remarriage, both
could be required to do forced labor. If a husband found his wife in bed with another man and killed them both immediately, he was not guilty of murder. If, however, he killed one or both later on it was considered murder - premeditated.

BUILDING ROADS

Qin Shih Huang ti needed to unite the vast territory he had conquered. He also took five tours of his country to view his vast empire. Only one other emperor took tours of his country. He also needed to move troops quickly to the frontiers. Roads were necessary to encourage trade and commerce, and they brought taxes to the capital. To accomplish this the emperor ordered roads to be built. These roads radiated out from the capital and were called fast roads. In all 4500 miles of roads were constructed, 500 more miles than those built by the Romans. They were built by convicts and conscript labor. The roads were 50 paces wide. Nearer the capital a center lane was reserved for the emperor’s use only. The roads were constructed of packed earth. Every 100 meters a willow tree was planted on each side of the road. Along with building the roads, the emperor also established the standard width of axles for chariots and carts to six feet. In this way the ruts would wear the same on the roads, making traveling easier.

In 212 B.C. General Meng Tian of the Great Wall fame was asked to build a north-south road to present day Mongolia. It was constructed from the capital city, Afang, to present day Mongolia. The road was 1800 li long and took two years to complete. Half of the road was constructed through mountains to the north of the capital city. The peaks had to be cut off and the valleys filled in. Some lesser roads in the remote areas were only five feet wide. But they were important because they linked remote area to the capital.

BUILDING CANALS

Also important to the country were the canals and irrigation projects that were constructed. They helped to unite the country and opened up many acres of farm land through irrigation. The canals were used also to transport grain and goods throughout the countryside. Three major projects were completed during the reign of the emperor. Two were started in 246 B.C. before China was united. One was the one constructed...
under Zheng Guo of the state of Han and named for him. The Han suggested the idea to keep
the soldiers busy with its construction rather than fighting the Han. Instead the
emperor accomplished both. A second canal was constructed in the southwestern part of
the Sichuan province. At that time the area was a frontier area. It is still used today.

The third canal was called the Magic Transport Canal. It was only 20 miles long.
It was constructed through the mountain and connected the Ziang and Li Rivers. The
rivers flowed in opposite directions, but were tributaries of the Yangtze. With the
construction of the canal there was 1350 continuous miles of waterways that could be
traveled. More important, the canal is still used today.

PALACE CONSTRUCTION

Also among the many construction projects the emperor undertook, was the
construction of hundreds of palaces. Three hundred palaces were constructed in the
original Qin land. In the territory captured from the other Warring States, another four
hundred palaces were constructed. Within one hundred kilometers of the capital were
about 270 palaces.

As the emperor defeated the other six Warring States, he forced the noble
families of those states to re-settle in the capital city. It is estimated 120,000 noble
families were forced to live in "velvet arrest." They were in a sense prisoners in the
capital where he could keep them under surveillance. However, the Qin emperor built
palaces for his defeated enemies. They were built in the style of the state they

The capital had hundreds of palaces and pavilions connected by causeways and
covered walks that stretched for miles. Also, the emperor ordered built huge galleries
with covered walkway connecting them with parks and gardens. Cold storage houses were
also constructed. In 212 B.C. Qin Shih Huang ti decided to have a new palace built to the
south of the Wei River. He first had built the Front Palace. It measured 675 meters
from east to west and 112 meters from north to south. The main gallery could hold
10,000 persons. When it was completed the palace was really a complex of palaces that housed 100,000 - 3,000 concubines, eunuchs who guarded the concubines and court, officials of the court and their families, the official palace guards. Fifty foot long banners hung down from the ceiling of the main gallery.

Gates led away from the palace in the four main directions. A great bridge crossed the Wei River to the old capital city on the north side of the river. A causeway encircled the palace wide enough for several horses to travel side by side, or for chariots to move safely. This causeway and covered pavilions extended for forty kilometers to Mount Li.

It is said more than 700,000 construction workers were involved in building all the palaces. Stone was quarried some distance away in the mountains to the south of the capital. Special wood and timber beams were used from southwestern China.

Because the emperor feared death and threats on his life, he moved from palace to palace. He rarely slept in the same place two consecutive nights. He had secret passageways constructed and covered roadways connecting the 270 palaces within 100 kilometers of the capital.

MOUNT LI

The final major construction project undertaken by Qin Shih Huang ti was the construction of his burial tomb known as Mount Li. Just as with the pharaohs of Egypt, the emperor believed in life after death, and prepared an elaborate final resting place for his body. When he ascended the throne at age 13, he began planning his tomb. The planning and construction was begun in 246 B.C. and it was finally completed in 209 B.C., two years after his death. The Prime Minister Li Si was put in charge of the construction after unification in 221 B.C. Li Si sent 700,000 convicts to work on the tomb.

According to the oldest Chinese historical records the Shii, historians have learned about the magnificent tomb of Qin Shih Huang ti. To date the information about a buried terra cotta army and bronze chariots have proved to be accurate. Historians are anxious to learn if the rest of the information in the Shii are accurate.
According to the records, the convict workers dug a deep pit for the burial tomb. It is said to have gone through three subterranean streams. The workers poured molten copper for an outer coffin, which was then painted red. The pit featured the three major rivers of China and also to seas to the east. Mercury was then poured into the rivers, lakes and seas to "flow ceaselessly." In 1981 and 1982 scientists tested the mound called Mount Li for the presence of mercury. Their instruments recorded strong reactions in a 1200 square meter area under Mount Li.

A dome was constructed over the burial pit. Heavenly constellations were painted on the ceiling of the dome, then pearls were used for the sun, moon and stars. The mountains and rivers were lined with pine and cypress trees made of jade. On the land were also placed cast silver and gold birds, glazed tortoises and fish. Boats made of precious woods from the south of China floated on the waterways. Statues like those from the imperial palaces were also placed inside, along with civil officials and members of the military set up by rank in rows. Candles burning whale oil were also placed inside to provide the longest light possible. Finally, mechanical booby traps were set up at the entrance to prevent grave robbers from entering.

Mount Li was said to have been 150 meters high and 215 kilometers in circumference. Various kinds of vegetation was planted on the hill to camouflage it. The total area was 56 square kilometers. Two rectangular walls were constructed around the mausoleum. The inner wall measured 580 meters from east to west and 1350 meters from north to south. The outer wall measured 940 meters from east to west and 2165 meters from north to south. The walls contained gate towers at the four gates and towers at each corner. Within the walls were gardens, a sacrificial palace and residences for the priests and guards.

Remains have been found of stone steles with inscription written on them. Bricks from the walls and towers have also been found and parts of the inside wall. Also unearthed have been the eve tiles of the roof which are decorated with geometric designs and birds on some of the roof ridges. The soil covering the tomb is now only 45 meters high. This can be explained by erosion.

Chinese records suggest the tomb has been entered twice since its official closure. In 207 B.C. troops opened the tomb in search for weapons, this during the struggle
between the Han and Qin troops. The Han established their dynasty shortly afterwards. Seven hundred years later the tomb was again plundered. Until the archaeologists again open the tomb, the extent of the damage, if any, will not be known. At the present time, scientists are in no hurry to open Qin Shih Huang ti's tomb. Scientifically they feel they could not adequately preserve, store and display items from an opened tomb. Until such time the tomb will remain sealed.

Scientists however are busy excavating the outer pits of the burial ground and the courtyards which surround it. Only about 1000 of the 6000 terra cotta army has been uncovered. Also two bronze chariots have been uncovered and restored.

BOOK BURNING

In 213 B.C. Qin Shih Huang ti gave a banquet at the main palace to celebrate the anniversary of his birth. In attendance were seventy of the learned scholars from Qin. Each in turn gave a flowery speech about the greatness of the emperor.

One scholar named Yue disagreed with the emperor's policy of breaking with the traditions of the past, such as the elimination of the feudal system. He said that based on the teachings of Confucius, the emperor should learn from the past, using traditions from the previous dynasties.

The emperor then called for a debate on the issue. He asked Prime Minister Li Si to speak the rebuttal. Li Si said the scholars were actually trying to rouse the people to rebel against the emperor. He said the scholars would, therefore, oppose any decree from the emperor. Therefore, he suggested the emperor issue a decree that required all books that opposed the thoughts of the emperor should be burned. Furthermore, any scholar who discussed these opposing opinions in public should be executed and their bodies left for all the world to see. The only books exempted from the burning order would be books on medicine, pharmacy, divination, agriculture and forestry. The emperor believed Li Si, and issued such an order.

In 213 B.C. paper had not yet been invented by the Chinese. Writing was done on either silk, which was too expensive, or on thin wood strips. The wood strips were usually about 50 centimeters long, with the characters on one side. The strips were
then laid side by side and bound together with hemp attached to the unwritten side (much like a roll top desk). The hemp kept the pages in order. The strips were then rolled up like a rug. If it was a royal decree like the book burning, the roll was tied with a string. The string was then covered with wet clay and the royal seal was fixed. Once it dried, it was easy to see if anyone had tampered with the string or seal.

All the scholars were fearful of the decree. By this time in his life, the emperor trusted no one, even his closest advisors. None dared to publicly disagree with the emperor. The emperor felt the scholars were plotting against him. For years he had sent people throughout Qin looking for the secret of eternal life. Qin Shih Huang ti felt the scholars knew the secret, but that they were conspiring to keep the secret from him, not wanting him to have it.

Finally, Shih Huang ti assembled all the scholars in the capital. He personally selected 460 scholars and "buried them alive." The word use is Keng which means live burial. Today many believe they were buried up to their necks. One story has the scholars digging their own burial pit before the burial. The Han dynasty which succeeded Qin, makes a big issue of this event. This was done probably for two reasons. One, the Han need a reason for starting their successful revolt. Secondly, the Han rulers followed the teachings of Confucius, which Qin opposed. The greatest book burning occurred between 1772-1788 A.D., which was far more destructive. Book burning was a common occurrence in Chinese history.

The book burning continued for over a year. Fu Su, the son of the emperor, opposed the book burning and spoke out against it. Fu Su said if the burning continued, the people would be so opposed to it, that they would revolt and the empire would collapse.

No one opposed the emperor, even his own son. The emperor was enraged. He was so angry he sent Fu Su to the Great Wall to work on its construction, like a common criminal. Many scholars who were not killed were also sent to the Wall.

The book burning had a great affect on Qin. First, books were scarce because they were all hand written. Secondly, the Chinese people had a great respect for learning, and the book burning decree was a great shock to the people. In the process many records
were burned, classical poems were destroyed, along with the works of Confucius and other philosophers. It took until 175 A.D. to orally collect the texts that had been destroyed.

THE DEATH OF QIN SHIH HUANG TI

The emperor became consumed with efforts to find the secret of immortal life. He was very superstitious and took very seriously the omens and signs of the soothsayers. Any unusual natural phenomena was regarded as a sign of warning to the emperor of his impending death or his overthrow, both of which he feared. This idea is called the Mandate of Heaven. Two incidents occurred which thoroughly frightened Huang ti.

The first incident was a meteor that fell to the earth. The meteor was brought to the court astrologers for examination. Someone had inscribed on it the words, "After the death of the Primal Dragon, the empire will be divided." The emperor panicked, sending out spies to the area of Qin where the meteor was found. But the guilty person was not found. The emperor then ordered everyone beheaded in the area where the meteor was discovered.

The second incident involved a piece of jade. One night one of the emperor's officials was stopped by a mysterious figure. He gave the official a jade tally and said to tell the emperor "In the year, the First Emperor will die." When the emperor saw the jade tally, he recognized it as one he had sacrificed to the Yangtze River in 219 B.C. It appeared the gods were rejecting his offerings and in effect saying they were rejecting the emperor.

By this time there was more unrest in Qin. Too many people were being forced to work on the many building projects of the emperor. The book burning incident resulted in the loss of respect the people had for the emperor. The seemingly senseless killings of people for no apparent reason - as with the meteor incident - created unrest and minor revolts within the Kingdom.

In desperation the emperor made the decision to make an inspection tour of the country and also to look himself for immortal life. He traveled with his son Hu Hai, who
had replaced Fu Su as his favorite son. Also traveling with the emperor were Qi Si, the prime minister; Zhao Gao, a powerful eunuch in charge of royal messages and decrees; and many concubines and other court officials.

The First Emperor by this time was in extremely poor health. He was under a great deal of stress created by the burden of managing such a large country and population. By now he did not trust anyone to make decisions except himself. Because of this he refused to delegate any authority for decision making.

Adding to his poor health, the emperor also ate or drank anything that the magicians said contained magical potions for immortal life. Many of these concoctions included mercury and phosphorous, which were toxic. In effect the Emperor was slowly poisoning himself. He climbed to the top of mountains and made sacrifices to ancient kings and ancestors. Anything the magicians suggested, who by now were leading him on a "wild goose chase" to save their own lives.

Finally, he proceeded to the sea, where the magicians had said the secret to immortality could be found on an island called Penglai which was guarded by giant whales and sea serpents. He searched along the coast for this mythical island and the giant sea creatures. He ordered special crossbows built to kill these sea monsters. He also had special boats constructed to enter the seas.

Finally, the Emperor spotted a large school of giant fish, probably whales. The emperor himself shot one of these giant creatures. The Emperor felt the gods were now on his side again. And so he decided to return to the capital after an absence of eight months.

THE DEATH OF QIN SHIH HUANG TI

But the Emperor was never to reach the capital. As the journey to the capital continued, the emperor became ill and continued to grow weaker. Those traveling with the emperor were afraid to ask the emperor questions concerning his funeral arrangements or the question of succession to the throne. They were afraid of his wrath.
But the Emperor knew he was dying. He wrote an official decree to his son Fu Su at the Great Wall. He asked Fu Su to meet the funeral procession at the capital, Xianyang, and to arrange for the burial. The letter in effect said the Emperor forgave Fu Su for opposing him in the book burning incident, and that he was the one chosen to succeed him. But that letter was never received by Fu Su.

The emperor gave his letter to Zhao Gao, the official in charge of official decrees. Li Si and Zhao Gao both realized that there would be trouble if Fu Su became the emperor. He was independent, and the two men realized they could not control him as they could Hu Hai, the Emperor's other son. And so they conspired to eliminate Fu Su.

Instead of the original letter of the emperor, the two men substituted another. In the forged letter Fu Su was told the Emperor was still angry with him for disobeying him in the book burning incident. They also said the emperor was unhappy because the son had failed to acquire new land for Qin. Along with the "official" letter, the two men also sent a sword, with the order that the son commit suicide. Fu Su received the letter from his father, not realizing it was a fake. Because he was a dutiful son, he obeyed what he thought was his father's wish. He committed suicide.

China was not notified of the death of Qin Shih Huang ti until the emperor's body reached the capital. The officials were afraid of a revolt from the population if the emperor's death was revealed before they returned. It was July when the emperor died, and the carriage still had a long way to go. Because of the heat, it was difficult to conceal the fact that the carriage was carrying a dead body. To conceal this, Li Si had some very odorous fish placed in some of the carriages to conceal the odor of the emperor's dead body. And so Qin Shih Huang ti arrived at the capital for burial. Hu Hai could now legally be declared the lawful heir.

HU HAI, THE SECOND EMPEROR OF QIN

Hu Hai was proclaimed the second emperor of Qin. His first order of business was to remove all possible rivals to the throne. His orders executed many of his father's ministers and his own brothers and half brothers. Huang ti had more than 20 children. He even ordered his sisters put to death, even though they could not ascend the throne. Further orders removed from positions of power many of the palace guards and army
officers. Even Li Si who was instrumental in helping to place Hu Hai on the throne was refused all requests for an audience with the emperor. He only trusted the eunuch Zhao Gao and followed only his advise.

Whatever else his shortcomings may have been, Hu Hai ordered the completion of Mount Li and saw to the burial of his father. Not only did Hu bury his father in the tomb, but he also ordered the burial of many of the artisans and workers who were employed on the tomb and its contents, some say as many as 10,000. Finally, he ordered into the tomb the childless concubines of the First Emperor, to be buried alive with him. Ancient Chinese historical records report this was the last time such an event would take place.

After the burial of his father, Hu Hai was convinced by Zhao Gao to make an inspection tour of Qin. In reality the tour proved to be a bloody purge of anyone who Hu Hai viewed as a threat to his position as emperor. Instead of enhancing his position as emperor, the tour and purges further weakened his position. The people of China became enraged by the senseless deaths ordered by Hu Hai. Revolts were common throughout the countryside. Hu Hai did not know what to do.

When he finally returned to the capital city he retreated to an inner palace. Surrounding the palace was a special guard of 50,000 hand picked guards to protect him. By this time he was beginning to question his ability to rule, and he blindly followed the advise of Zhao Gao.

Li Si and some imperial advisors who had escaped execution appealed to the young emperor to take action against the rebellions that were springing up in the wake of the purges. But Hu Hai refused to follow their advice and ordered their execution.

In the meantime a supporter of the former Qin Shih Huang ti, began to make his move. Xiang Yu was a soldier for the first emperor, but he hated his son and his incompetence. He gathered an army together from his home in the lower Yangtze valley. His first action was to decapitate the governor of his county. The more he began to resist the Second Emperor, the more rebels flocked to his cause.
Finally, in 207 B.C. Xiang Yu led an army against the forces of Hu Hai. The armies clashed north of the Yellow River. According to historical accounts, Xiang Yu used boats to ferry his army across the Yellow River. Once across he ordered the destruction of the boats. The troops were told the only achievement acceptable to Xiang Yu was the total defeat of Hu Hai’s forces. The forces of Hu Hai were discontented and many desertions were occurring. When the forces finally met, the rebel forces won, killing more than 200,000 imperial forces.

Upon hearing the defeat, Zhao Gao turned upon the young emperor. He made false accusations against him, charging him with murder. Hu Hai now really was confused because his advisor had turned against him. In desperation he committed suicide. The year was 207 B.C.

Zhao Gao now chose a nephew of Qin Shih Huang ti as the third emperor of Qin, Zi Ying. Zi Ying quickly saw the hopelessness of the situation. After emperor for only 46 days he surrendered to the rebels and Xiang Yu.

Zhao Gao was still determined to rule Qin. He proclaimed himself emperor. But as a eunuch no one would support his claim. Soon after Zhao Gao was captured and executed. With his death the Qin dynasty was no more. Xiang Yu established himself as emperor of the new Han dynasty which was to rule China for the next 400 years.


Qin Shi Huang, The First Emperor of China by Wu Zilin and Guo Zingwen, Hong Kong Man Hai Language Publication 1988 Hong Kong.

APPENDIX III

USING A CHART

1. What kinds of governments ruled each of these empires?
2. What kinds of laws did these governments have?
3. How did these governments influence the economics of their kingdoms?
4. What made the nations wealthy?
5. What did the government do to encourage trade and growth?
6. What cultural achievements are each of these empires remembered for?
7. Are these cultural achievements important today? If so, how?
8. What are the greatest achievements of these empires?
9. How did they alter future life in that empire?
10. What was the empire's growth during this time?
11. What kind of population totals are involved?
12. What are the strengths of each empire?
13. What are the weaknesses of each empire?
14. How did the strengths help the empire?
15. How did the weaknesses destroy the empire?
16. Which empire had the longest lasting effect on the lines of the people of that empire?
17. Explain these effects.
18. What was the value of human life in the empire?
19. Was there an advantage in being a man or a woman? Explain.
20. Which empire would you have wanted to live in? Why?
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<th>EMPIRE</th>
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<th>ECONOMIC GROWTH</th>
<th>CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT</th>
<th>GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS</th>
<th>TERRITORIAL GROWTH</th>
<th>STRENGTH OF EMPIRE</th>
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Feudal states of Chou China

- Evidence of Chou culture found
THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1990

Subject areas: Chinese History
               East Asian History
               World Studies
               World History
               World Cultures
               Women's Studies

Grades: 11 and 12

Submitted by: Trudi Niewiaroski
              Fulbright-Hays
              Summer Seminar
              1990
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I. The Role and Status of Women in Traditional China at the Turn of the Century

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III. Change in the Role and Status of Women in China

IV. Change in the Role and Status of American Women

V. The Role and Status of Women in China Today

VI. The Role and Status of Women in the United States Today
Objectives

Students will be able to

compare and contrast the role of women in 19th century China and the United States

Students will be able to

describe the changes in these roles in the United States and China

Students will be able to

compare and contrast the roles of present day Chinese and American women
The following can be talking/lecture/teaching points or can be distributed as a handout followed by class discussion.

I. The role and status of women in traditional China at the turn of the century.

- Chinese society was a male oriented, chauvinistic society.

- Yin represents female: negative, dark, earth, empty.
  Yang represents male: positive, light, heaven, full.

- In the Confucian family system women were subordinate.

- Since girls did not improve the status of a family, the birth of a girl was an unhappy occasion. The birth of a second daughter could mean infanticide. (The Chinese symbols for infanticide translate into killing girl babies.) The mother was blamed if a third daughter was born.

- After the birth of a baby girl two rituals were followed.
  (1) The baby was placed below the bed to indicate that she was lowly and must continually humble herself. (2) The baby was given a broken piece of pottery. This symbolized that she should be hard working and industrious, and continually place the needs of others before her own.

- Women were the property of men and could be sold as slaves, prostitutes or concubines. An unmarried woman must follow the dictates of her father and brothers, a married woman must obey her husband and a widow her sons.

- Girls tended all the siblings and young relatives in a family. Oftentimes she had a baby tied to her back for most of the day.

- At age five or six, girls had their feet bound. Their feet would be doubled up and bound until the arch broke. A bound foot was half the normal length. This kept women in their place since they could only take small steps and could not run.

- Girls were kept cloistered within the house and were rarely allowed out. Therefore, except for peasant women they could not work outside the home.

- Women could not worship ancestors. This was solely men's role.
Women by nature were considered morally and physically weak, jealous, emotional, unteachable, and ignorant.

Girls were denied an education.

Negative taboos were associated with a girl's menstrual cycle.

Women could not own property.

Women had no important decision-making authority.

When food was in short supply women were allowed to starve.

Marriages were arranged. Oftentimes the couple did not meet until the wedding day.

A bride's price was paid reimbursing the bride's family for raising her.

The bride left her home, sometimes never to see her family again, and moved in with her husband's family. The period immediately after her marriage was perhaps the most difficult for a woman.

A woman's sole purpose was to bear male children so that the husband's lineage continued.

The new daughter-in-law was under the direct authority of her mother-in-law, and since the groom's family "bought" the bride, her household duties were usually heavy and many. She was the first to rise in the morning and the last to bed at night.

If the mother-in-law or husband was disenchanted with the bride, she could be returned to her home (and the bride's price repaid), or sold, rented or leased as a servant, slave or concubine.

According to an old adage the husband (and his mother) had the right to beat his wife: "a wife is like a horse you have purchased - you ride them or flog them as you like."

The groom loved his mother first. Should he become too affectionate with his new wife, his mother might grow to resent his bride.
Divorce was unheard of.

Suicide was usually the sole escape of an abused, unhappy wife.

Because of infanticide, starvation, lack of medical attention, neglect, and suicide the ratio of male to female was 3 to 2 in many parts of China.

A bride gained status with the birth of her first son, and eventually sons who grew to adulthood became her social security.

A mother carefully nourished emotional bonds with her sons and supported her sons in family disputes. As soon as her sons were old enough, she could speak through them.

A woman gained status and position when she became a mother-in-law and could wield control over her son's wife.
II. The role and status of women in the early days of the United States

According to English common law upon which early U.S. law was based, "the husband and wife are one and that one is the husband."

*Any property that a woman possessed automatically belonged to her husband when she married.*

*Men were the heads of their families.*

*Men had full control and authority over their children.*

*Any wages a woman earned belonged to her father or, if married, to her husband.*

*Women, if educated at all, only received an elementary school education.*

*Only the teaching profession was open to women.*

*Colleges and universities were not open to women.*

*Women could not vote.*

*Women could not make public addresses.*

*Women could not gain custody of their children in the event of a divorce.*

*Women could not sue.*

*Women could not own a business. A widow, however, could run her late husband's business.*

*Some authors describe women's position as a kind of slavery. The slavemaster was the white male.*

*Women's main responsibility was to have enough children (twenty was not unusual) so that a few would reach adulthood. During the early nineteenth century, four out of five babies died before their fifth birthday.*
III. Change in the role and status of women in China.

*In the 1800s, some women in rural Kwangtung resisted the traditional role of women and vowed not to marry or once married refused to live with their husbands.*

- This area is a center for the silk industry
- Women cultivated the mulberry plants
- Women were responsible for silkworm breeding
- Women did the spinning of silk
- Infanticide was rare
- Feet were not bound
- Girls were literate
- Therefore, women wishing to remain unmarried could support themselves

*In the 1800s some upper class women were educated. A few emerged as poets, calligraphers, and artists.*

*After the mid-1800s, some male scholars and writers attacked the traditional treatment of women.*

- Kung Tzu-chen and Yu Cheng-hsieh argued against foot-binding
- Li Ju-chen in *Flowers In The Mirror* presented women as equal to men
- Liang Ch'i-chao linked women's education and productivity with a strong China

*During the waning years of the Manchu Dynasty, Western ideals of equality, liberty and democracy slowly made inroads into China.*

*Western missionaries opened schools for girls.*

*Reforms envisaged by the Taipings (Taiping Rebellion 1851-1864) included complete equality for women, a halt to female slavery, concubinage, prostitution, and foot binding. They ordered feet unbound in areas they controlled.*

*Educated urban women supported by Nationalists (early on) and Communists advocated equality of the sexes.*

*One such woman who pushed reform and became a martyr for feminism was Ch'iu Chin.*
- She unbound her own feet and formed a natural foot society
- She advocated equal education and equal opportunity in all professions
- She founded the Chinese Women's Journal which endorsed women's liberation
- She attacked arranged marriages
- She wore her hair in a queue
- She joined the movement for the overthrow of the Manchus in order to gain equality
- She was beheaded in 1907 for leading an uprising against the Manchus
- In 1912 Dr. Sun Yat-sen attended a memorial service honoring her
- She became a heroine for sexual equality

For most of the last half century of Manchu rule the most influential figure in the dynasty was the Empress Dowager Tsu-hsi.

The opening of textile factories in urban China in the early 1900s offered a few women the opportunity to earn money outside the home. Most turned over their earnings to their father or, if married, to their husband.

The May Fourth Movement (1919) included as one of its aims the emancipation of women. It advocated, for example, that all-male schools be made co-ed.

Initially, the Nationalists (Kumintang) seemed to foster women's rights. However, their influence was limited to a few urban intellectuals. Later in the 'New Life Movement' Chiang Kai Shek, influenced by Mussolini, again confined women to their traditional role.

In the 1920s women's unions were organized around issues of wife beating, literacy and foot-binding. In 1927, Chiang Kai Shek and the Kumintang attacked communism and in the process wiped out women's unions. Thousands of young women were eliminated.

In the regions of China under Communist control as a result of the Long March (1934-35) the sale of children (mostly female), slavery (usually female), and arranged marriages were forbidden.
In the early 1940s, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) organized women as the reserve labor force and women were liberated through full participation in production. However, they were still burdened by their traditional roles within the household.

A much quoted adage of Mao Zedong was, "Women hold up half the sky".

The Marriage Law of 1950 eliminated arranged marriages, concubinage, child brides, and polygamy and allowed widows to freely remarry. Also, it gave women the right to sue for divorce and gave equal rights to the marriage partners in the possession and management of family property.

As a result of the Agrarian Reform Law (1950) women received an allocation of land equal to that for men. The deed, in the woman's name, was handed to the male head of household.

Women's organizations were formed to educate women to become an active part of the new society and to supply support for women.

The First Five Year Plan (1952-57) emphasized heavy industry an area where young women and previous housewives were not yet welcome (although they were equally represented in some light industry).

Since the economy was not prepared to employ women in heavy industry, the Five Goods Movement was introduced which directed women not to forget their family and neighborhood responsibilities.

The Second Five Year Plan, or Great Leap Forward (1958-62), continued to push industrialization and agriculture and in so doing opened 300 million new jobs for women.

Communes were organized to provide communal cafeterias, childcare centers, laundries, and even mending services.

- This program alone created 13 million new jobs for women
- This program eased the domestic burden on women and freed them to aid the Great Leap effort
When the Great Leap Forward fell short of expectations, women were again forced to the sidelines.

In the mid-1960s, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution enticed women to participate more fully in society and politics.

- Women were mobilized to criticize their work places
- They formed study groups to eliminate the "Four Olds": old culture, old ideas, old customs, old habits
- Mao Zedong directed that female representation in all party committees and leadership groups be increased
- In both urban and rural areas, small scale industries were encouraged. These employed women on a part-time basis, and this increased the percentage of women in the work place
- Many small factories were operated solely by women. However, wages were low, advancement and benefits were non-existent.

In the early 1970s, the anti-Confucius campaign attacked the traditional role of women.
IV. **Change in the role and status of American women**

Divide the class into small groups and assign each group a topic to be covered in a Mini Report. These reports are to be researched quickly, to be fairly brief and to be given orally. A list of possible topics follows.

Frances Wright
Sarah and Angelina Grimké
Margaret Fuller
Lucretia Coffin Mott
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Lucy Stone
The Seneca Falls Convention (1848) and Declaration
Susan B. Anthony
The New York Married Women's Property Act (1849) and the New York Joint Guardianship Law (1860) and the New York Right to Sue Law
Catherine Beecher
Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell
Olympia Brown
Abigail Duniway
Emma Willard
Sarah Hale
Anna Dickinson
Wyoming and woman suffrage 1869
Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution
Betty Friedan and *The Feminine Mystique*
National Organization for Women (NOW)
The Equal Rights Amendment
Dorothea Dix
Title IX
The Women's Bureau
Women in WWI
Women in WWII
V. The role and status of women in China today

A. Show the video(s), "Marrying" and/or, "Mediating," The Heart of the Dragon series (Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, P.O. Box 644, Paramus, New Jersey 07653), and/or "Small Happiness," One Village in China series (Long Bow Group, Inc., 617 West End Avenue, New York, New York 10024).

B. Divide the class into small groups. Circulate the handout entitled, "The Role and Status of Women in China Today". Have each group prepare answers to the following questions:

1. How much progress toward equality have Chinese women made since traditional China? since 1949?
2. In what areas have the Chinese women been most successful in gaining equal treatment?
3. What are the areas that need improvement if true equality is to be achieved?

C. Circulate the handout entitled, "An Introduction to Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation". As a class, in small groups or for homework seek answers to the following questions:

1. Why does the Women's Federation find it necessary to act as a bridge between women and the Communist Party?
2. Why does the Women's Federation award the "Prize for Heroine"?
3. How are children regarded in China today?
4. What is the purpose of the Women's Federation?
5. Give examples of organizations in the U.S. that have similar goals?

D. Homework or class assignment: Distribute Readings Packet. Using only information gained from the Readings Packet prepare a document analysis on three articles, or write a paragraph describing Chinese womanhood today, or be prepared to discuss the role and status of Chinese women today.
Handout: The Role and Status of Women in China Today

Note: the following conclusions were drawn from lectures, interviews and observations in China during a five-week period in the summer of 1990. The cities visited were Beijing, Kunming, Dali, Xian and Shanghai. The people interviewed were English-speaking, or the interview was filtered through an interpreter.

* College women or recent college graduates feel they had equal opportunity to enter college.

* Women usually enter the liberal arts. Few enter the sciences and math because there is a general feeling that women cannot succeed in these areas.

* Among college educated couples housework is shared.

* In some areas more men were seen tending babies and small children.

* In farm areas both men and women carry or pull substantial loads.

* Housework in China is difficult because of the lack of modern equipment like vacuums. Refrigerators are usually small. Therefore, daily marketing is routine.

* Both men and women use the bicycle as the most popular form of transportation. Men usually carry wives or girl friends on their bikes. Women and men transport children and the elderly on their bikes.

* Men enjoy cooking and some do most of it.

* Many women were seen as policewomen, hard hat construction workers, plumbers, electricians, doctors, pharmacists, ditch diggers, taxi and bus drivers. Although most car, truck and taxi drivers are men.
In the cities the one child policy is accepted. In minority areas and farming areas couples can have more than one child.

The idea of having a male child is important. Therefore, the added anxiety on a woman during pregnancy is substantial.

In the cities an equal number of boy and girl babies were observed.

To insure a male baby some urban woman use amnio synthesis.

To insure a male baby infanticide is still practiced in the countryside.

Girl and boy babies are paraded in public in all their finery.

Short hair styles appear on both boy and girl babies. It was suggested that this was popular because mothers wanted all babies to appear as males.

Some women today propose marriage.

Some country marriages are still arranged by a go between. As part of the ceremony the bride bows down to the husband’s ancestors.

The housework is usually done by women, but husbands help more and more.

Divorce is difficult because of family and community pressure, but it does happen.

To demonstrate economic development one professor said, "Today even baby girls wear watches".

In hotel management courses there are more women students than men students, yet most hotel managers are male. (Only 20-30% are women.)

In Shanghai all Chinese Opera directors are men. One woman directs a local drama company.

Many women work in an airplane parts factory, yet only 10% of the managers are women.
At one joint venture company in Shanghai women do not work in the machine shop. They do assembly work. There are no women managers. The Chinese assistant to the CEO is a woman.

Women retire at age 55. (Some professionals can ask for an extension to age 60.) Men retire at age 60.

In a Beijing cloisonne factory men and women were paid equally. The supervisor was a woman.

Girls perform better than boys until high school where boys excel. The reason given for this decline in performance is that girls have more domestic chores to do and their interests turn to the opposite sex.

Very few women are elected to the National Peoples Congress. A Beijing university professor said that in the past women did not have equal educational opportunity but as the new generation of educated women rise through the ranks, more women will be elected in the future.

Half of the students at Beijing University are women.

More than half of the professors at Beijing University are women. There are more female department heads.

When the state assigns positions to university graduates and a man and a woman have equal qualifications, the man will get the position.

In Yunnan Province, the minority populated region of China, one-fourth of the teachers are women.

Young college women feel they are equal yet concede that more higher managerial levels are filled by men because women must take maternity leave and tend baby.

In the Bai nationality (they number 3 million), a minority group, the husband takes the wife's name at marriage.

The Chinese celebrate a Woman's Day but no men's day. A woman in Shanghai mentioned that they don't need a men's day because "men are respected all the time".

Motherhood is highly honored in modern China. Yearly the citizens of Shanghai select the best mother of the year.
Chinese women get one year maternity leave and receive 80% of their salary.

There is a six-day work week and an eight hour work day divided into two shifts. Between shifts many women go home to prepare meals for family members.

Many women feel that a woman makes a poor leader. They gossip and are unfair. Women feel that men are better organized.

Women do not have the time, with extensive home duties, to improve their work status and income.

In the countryside more motorized vehicles, usually tractors pulling heavy loads, were operated by men.

According to women and men alike, women are ill-equipped to do heavy manual labor. Yet, in the countryside, about 30% of the bicycle drawn carts with heavy loads were driven by women.
AN INTRODUCTION TO
SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL WOMEN'S FEDERATION

Shanghai is an important industrial base and also the biggest
port city in China, of which the total harbour handling capacity is
the largest of the country. Shanghai is advancing in the direction
of an open, modernized socialist city with multi-function and
high-civilization.

Shanghai has a population of 12,500,000, half of whom are
women, with a ratio of 75 per cent adult women at work. The total
number of female staff is 2,700,000, accounting for 41.4 per cent of
the total in the city of Shanghai. There are over 20,000 women
specialists of medium and high levels, such as engineers, professors
and research fellows and others.

Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation (SMWF) is a mass
organization of women from all walks of life in Shanghai. It has
already been a bridge linking the Communist Party and government with
the broad masses of women. Over 4,600,000 adult women in Shanghai
elect their leaders by their representatives. Every five years, the
municipal women's congress will be convened. Now there are 120
executive members, of whom 17 are members of the standing committee (one chairwoman and seven vice-chairwomen). The executive committee comprises women from all walks of life,
including professional women, cadres, workers, peasants, intellectuals,
cadres, women experts, professors and well-known patriots.

Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation is divided into various
departments and offices, i.e. Law Consulting Department, Publicity
and Information Department, Comprehensive Work Department,
Investigation and Research Office, Children's Department, Liaison
Department, and so on. We have women organization at all levels of
districts, counties, neighborhood communities, townships, even at
villagers' committees in the rural areas and residents' committees in
the city, while we have women work committees in the fields of
science and technology, education, culture, public health and all
Democratic Parties, as well as other units. Various women's unions
are group members of the Shanghai Municipal Women's Federation,
such as Women Engineers' Union, Women Journalists' Union,
Women Doctors' Union and Women Lawyers' Union. Representing
the interests of women masses, Shanghai Municipal Women's
Federation participates in democratic consultation, democratic
management and democratic supervision. Meanwhile SMWF is also
the main channel of women masses to have dialogues with the Party
and Government. Women representatives from different levels of
SMWF have been elected members of all levels of the People's
Congress and the People's Political Consultative Conference.

At the construction period of socialist modernizations, the work
principle of SMWF is to serve the interests of women and for their
well-being in the needs of economic development. SMWF aims at
protecting the legitimate rights and interests of women in all
spheres of life: political, economic, cultural and social, including
family life, as well as helping and educating children for their
healthy growth. SMWF also endeavors to promote the education
among women in "self-respect, self-care, self-confidence and self
improvement" in order to improve the qualities of women masses
and unite them so that their wisdom and talents can be fully
displayed in building China into a prosperous, democratic and
civilized socialist country.

The tasks of different levels of SMWF at present as follows:
— to make good publicity in the society to educate people with an
advanced and modern concept on women, trying to eliminate the
vestiges of feudal ideas and tradition that look down upon women.
— to cite "March 8th Red Banner Face-to-face" every two years to
encourage women from all walks of life to make greater contribu-
tions to building Shanghai into a prosperous city.
— to cite "Prize for heroine" to encourage women to gain greater
achievements in invention, scientific management offering good
suggestions and making efforts in the campaign of promoting
production and increasing income, saving materials and energy.
— to set examples of model women through the medium of
ewspapers, the broadcasting station and TV station, and to hold
exhibition "Ode to Heroines" with the departments concerned, to
have programmes "Women's World" with TV Station, trying to let
the people realize the role and status of women, as well as their
wisdom and talents.
— to educate women to correctly handle love, marriage and family
problems according to socialist ideology and ethics, playing an
important role in the activities of harmonious "five-good" families
in over 3,000,000 families in Shanghai.
— to help mothers give a scientific and better idea for educating
their children to meet the needs of the country, to establish
Shanghai Children's Coordination Committee, mobilizing the whole
society to protect and take good care of children in the fields of
family education, daily necessities, culture and art and other
aspects, to set up Shanghai Children's Foundation, collecting funds
from the society for better service of children's after-school
education facilities, to do a better job in running the Children's
Scientific Education Center and the Municipal Kindergarten, etc.
— to run two magazines "For the Children" and "Modern Life",
— to run Women Cadres' School in order to improve the qualities
of professional women cadres, to have "Women—Studies Society"
and the "Research Association of Marriage and Family",
— to build "Women's Garden" (Women's Home) which is an
exchange and cultural entertainment center for women in which
there are exhibition hall, sports room, restaurant, hotel and beauty
salon, etc.
— to set up "Women's Travel Service Agency" to receive women
debelagations from abroad and all over the country.
— to strengthen the close link with compatriots from Hongkong,
Macao and Taiwan and family members of those who have gone to
town, as well as with women in the circles of intellectuals,
industrial, commercial and religious. In 1956 "Women and Children
Committee of Shanghai Hongkong Economic Development
Association" was set up by the combined efforts of SMWF and Hongkong
well-known women, which helps women who are very active in the
development of welfare and care for women and children to establish
"Music Kindergartens" and "Shanghai—Hongkong Nursery", etc.
— to develop the friendly intercourse with women all over the
world.

From 1979 to 1987 : SMWF received about 800 women
debelagations from over 160 countries and regions while we also
sent our women debelagations abroad, thus, promoting the friendly
exchange and friendship with women all over the world.

In reform, SMWF will make greater efforts to defend the
specific interests of the women masses she represents while
safeguarding the overall interests of the people throughout the
country in order to build her into a mass organization of unity,
greater attraction and vitality. February 1986
READINGS PACKET
ELUSIVE EQUALITY

-A Forum with Japanese Women

The Japanese visitors with Women of China staff reporters

Our reporters from Women of China, Liu Zhonglu, Feng Kewei, Su Xiaohuan and Yuan Lili held a discussion recently on the equality of the sexes with four Japanese women: Yoshiko Sato (a member of the Sino-Japanese Association), Katsuko Ihara, Yuko Nihei (a member of the China Research Institute), and Mieko Onove (from the Women's International Education Association).

Yoshiko Sato: Japanese women fought for equality of the sexes before and during the UN Decade for Women that ended in 1985. But it was only in April this year that the Japanese government passed a law aimed at providing equal employment opportunities for men and women. This was our very first piece of legislation tackling the issue of equality between the sexes.

Liu: We've had legislation affirming our equal status since our first Constitution in 1954. But inequalities still abound in practice. It's not easy to attain real equality.

Yuko Nihei: Can you give us some examples of inequality in China?

Yuan: Although the passing grade is the same for males and females on the university entrance exam, in practice men are often given priority over women with higher scores. And proportionately more men end up being recruited in some professions. There are even some women directors who don't want to take on women workers.
because of the disruptions that pregnancy, childbirth and nursing bring. But they forget women raise kids for the benefit of society in fact.

Yuko Nihei: How have the economic reforms affected those women who can't match the output of their male peers? Have there been any dismissals?

Su: I came across this very problem while conducting interviews in Tianjin. After adopting a contract system the construction teams at the Number Six Building Company refused to use women bricklayers, and the supplies department tried to raise its efficiency by sloughing off pregnant or nursing women. The company told them to stay at home and live off a monthly stipend amounting to 75 per cent of their basic wage.

These women didn't want to stay at home, and so they lodged a protest with the women's federation. After an investigation the women's federation took the matter up with the municipal authorities. With their help the building company was made to change its discriminatory practices. The company helped the formerly discarded workers set up a clothing factory, store and restaurant. The women's incomes have increased and they are pleased with their new roles.

Liu: The reforms open up the same opportunities to women and men. But they also present a challenge to women. Now many factory directors are directly elected by the workers instead of being appointed from above. Anyone with the necessary ability can become the director. In the last few years many outstanding women directors have emerged. They've set up their own organization — the Women Entrepreneurs' Association.

Yuan: A chemical plant in Yongzhou in Hunan Province was going to shut down. Then one woman employee heard that the market for down coats was booming. As Yongzhou produces duck down in large quantities she suggested the plant switch to the down coat business. The others agreed and elected her the director. In the first year they paid back their loans and the factory earned about one and a half million yuan in foreign exchange in 1985. That came to something like 95 per cent of the foreign exchange brought in by the city as a whole.

Feng: Before the reform most of the rural women worked in the fields. Since many of them didn't have the same physical strength as men their incomes were comparatively low. But now many young women are becoming workers in township enterprises. This is what I found in Taicang County near Shanghai. They can earn the same as men with the same skills. What about inequalities in Japan?

Yoshiko Sato: In the past some workplaces, especially some of the larger enterprises, had a firm policy of recruiting men only. Most women could find work only in the service industry.

But changes are taking place in Japan as well. Women are beginning to do work traditionally reserved for men — and vice versa. Some men, for instance, are turning to kindergarten teaching and nursing.

Katsuiko Ihara: There's no difference in the scores needed to get into university in Japan. More and more women are studying science and electronics. Of course they still face enormous competition. After graduation they have to pass rigorous exams to get a job. As difficult as it is to get into university, finding a job afterwards is even harder.

Yuko Nihei: Does the proportion of women decrease the higher up the job ladder you go?

Liu: Yes, because not many women had access to higher education before Liberation. To remedy this women are going to have to improve their qualifications.

Yuko Nihei: There are even fewer high-ranking women in Japan. We have 750 senators and members of the House of Representatives, but only 27 of them are women. There were about 85 hundred government executives in Japan in 1984, but only some 50-odd, or 0.6 per cent, were women. In 1985 only 0.8 per cent of provincial functionaries were women.

Yuan: Inequality between the sexes here all boils down to feudal thinking. Before Liberation Chinese women's chances of getting an education were much smaller than men's. So generally they weren't able to match men in terms of formal qualifications. What's behind inequality in Japan?

Yoshiko Sato: We've also been held back by feudalism. Traditional ideas about women's duties are keeping many of us in the home raising kids and doing housework. But lately more and more married women have been demanding the right to work outside the home. About 10 years ago nearly half of them were content to be housewives but in the last couple of years the proportion has dropped to a third.

Liu: What percentage of the Japanese women are employed?

Yoshiko Sato: In 1984, 47.5 per cent. In the last couple of years the figure moved up to just over 50 per cent. They make up just over one third of all the blue collar and clerical workers.

Feng: In Japan does the housework when wives have jobs outside the home?

Katsuiko Ihara: Most of the housework is still done by women, making life very hard for married women. Some of the younger husbands have begun to do some of the chores.

Yuko Nihei: We admire the way Chinese couples share the housework.

Yuan: Chinese women who are working both inside and outside the home are really burdened down. We're appealing for changes that will relieve us from some of the housework.

Yoshiko Sato: I've heard the saying "One of the partners in marriage deserves to be shielded."

Liu: Yes, but most Chinese women reject this notion. It sounds very fair, shield whichever spouse is the more capable, but in fact it comes down to asking the wife to take up all the household chores to shield the husband from domestic duties that might interfere with his work. Winning the right to work outside the home was a hard struggle. We can't return to the kitchen.

These are merely excerpts from a longer discussion. The Japanese visitors also asked about income, household budgets and the work of Women of China's writers.
WORKING UP TO EQUALITY

THE economic reforms are giving women employed outside the home new options, stiffer challenges and often tighter-than-ever schedules. Yet they are bearing up admirably, according to a survey last December of 145 women in nine occupations throughout Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai.

Increasing prosperity is making it possible for some families to consider living off of just one partner's salary. Is this an attractive option? Not if it means that they themselves are the ones to sacrifice their careers.

The survey asked, "If you could afford to stop working outside the home, would you keep your job nevertheless?" "Yes," said 76% of the respondents. "A woman should first be a career-minded person, and then a wife and a mother," affirmed one of them. "A woman should first be a career-minded person, and then a wife and a mother," affirmed one of them. Women clearly are aware of their need to maintain their economic independence and be part of the goings-on in the world outside their homes.

Liu Xiaoqing, a 26 year-old telephone exchange operator in a Beijing factory, says, "My husband brings in 300 yuan each month driving a taxi, so it wouldn't be hard to live within our means if I stayed home. But I put work first, family second in my life." As Liu and her husband see it, work adds depth to their lives and enriches their own relationship. After their day's work they have lots to tell each other.

What of the 20% who would be reluctant to continue their jobs if their incomes were not essential? Most are waitresses in restaurants. Liu Guangtang, a 31 year-old waitress at the Fengzeyuan Restaurant, said that she'd rather quit and stay at home if her family had enough money to go round. Because her hours are long, from 7 in the morning to 7 or 8 in the evening, she has no time to take care of her child and parents.

On the whole, however, women working outside the home value their jobs as opportunities to exercise their talents in constructive ways. They also feel that if they confined themselves to work in the home, equality between the sexes would become an empty phrase. There is an increasing awareness of their need to strengthen their position in the workplace.

Working Their Way Up

The economic reforms are putting pressure on women in particular to upgrade their job skills and raise their general level of education. Some 82% of the respondents are eager to pursue advanced studies through various kinds of technical schools, training centres, part-time universities, correspondence schools, and so on. Only 7.5% professed no interest in such undertakings. Although the 106 married respondents are hampered by their daily round of housework, most manage to spend some time on intellectual pursuits. Every week 44% spent five hours reading books, 20% seven hours, and 21% ten hours. Their reading material ranged from novels to science texts. When asked to name their favorite leisure activities 30% mentioned reading, second only to travelling for which 33% opted. Traditional domestic pastimes such as sewing and knitting were favored by only 10%.

Liang Runhua, a staff member at a household service agency in Beijing's Yuetan Street, was one of the many who spent several years in a remote frontier area during the "cultural rev-
olution." After returning to Beijing, she married, had a child and took up her all-but-forgotten studies once again. Now she is studying secretarial work at night school. Every evening she either attends classes or studies at home. It's been a long time since she's had the leisure to visit a park, watch TV, attend a dance or even go to a movie. Her dedication to her career keeps her bound to an arduous schedule.

Equal Yet Unequal

The Chinese Constitution states women have equal rights in every sphere, but inequalities still abound in practice. Men have more opportunities than women in both education and employment, say 65% of the respondents. Twenty-four year-old Yu Xiamei complained that a factory where she was seeking employment set 160 as the passing grade on its screening exam for female applicants, but only 100 for males. Furthermore the factory had already set recruitment quotas: 100 men and 20 women.

Women's prospects for promotion and raises are not as good as men's. For example, in 1984 the ratio of men to women among scientists and technicians was 2.1 to 1, among engineers 4.4 to 1, and among senior engineers 7.6 to 1. Yet when asked "Are you well qualified for your work?" 80% of our women respondents said they were, and 86% affirmed "Women are as able as men."

Why are men given preferential treatment? Certain administrators are feudal-minded, and regard all women as potentially troublesome. Moreover they think women should subordinate their own interests and jobs to their husbands' careers and their children's welfare.

The Most Urgent Problem

The survey found that the 106 married women among the 145 surveyed devote three times as many hours as their husbands to household chores, though 80% of their husbands "helped them" to varying degrees.

Zhang Liling, an accountant, is married to an administrator in the coal ministry. "I get off work at 5:30 p.m." Zhang said. "But before coming back home I have to go to the market to buy vegetables and the like. Once I've cooked dinner, done the dishes, washed the clothes and tidied up the apartment, I have to check my seven year-old's homework. Only after she has gone to bed do I have a chance to catch my breath. It's the same old grind, day in day out.

All in all, what do the women see as the single most urgent problem in their everyday lives? Relief from the continual round of housework, say an overwhelming 69%.
speaking out on love, marriage and sex

nowadays, seminars have become fashionable among Chinese youth, the most popular subjects for discussion being love, marriage and sex. Such seminars allow participants to argue and express their own opinions on topics that, traditionally, were considered taboo and not discussed in public. They were considered subjects to be shared only between close friends. But things have changed. The young now believe that they have a legitimate right to discuss such issues and that it is in their own best interests to do so.

recently a journalist from Chinese youth attended a seminar concerning these issues, sponsored by young people from Beijing Pharmaceutical Factory (BPF) and Beijing Economic Institute (BEI). Following is his report:

what kind of spouse is most ideal?

Zhang Zhimin (BPF worker): "The most ideal man in my opinion should be enterprising, considerate, and have a sense of humour."

Li Ling (BPF worker): "I agree. A man needs to show his ability in his profession. Otherwise, he is not a man at all."

Zhang Zheng (BEI student): "Most young men feel that the ideal wife should be beautiful and gentle. If a woman is wise and pretty but not gentle, they wouldn't think highly of her."

Li Wei (BPF worker): "I believe the ideal spouse is someone who has an innate understanding for the other. It's like the old saying, 'two hearts beat as one.'"

Zhou Hua (BEI student): "An ideal lifelong companion should have a strong sense of duty. This is essential in any person, let alone a spouse."

In today's Chinese families, are men and women equal?

Liu Quan (BEI student): "Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the social position of Chinese women as a whole was very low. But now men and women marry on equal terms by law. Since both have jobs and thus, steady incomes, they are equal economically. Economic equality is the basis for all the other equalities."

Zhang Zhimin: "Right. Now the phenomenon of abusing one's wife has become rare. In a family, the housework is shared by both husband and wife."

Zhang Zheng: "No, I don't think so. In today's Chinese families, men and women are not equal. At least, this is true in rural families. In many villages, buying a wife is still common. So how can we say men and women are now equal?"

Yang Dong (BEI student): "Perhaps it is more accurate to say that in Chinese cities, especially in intellectual families, men and women are equal."

Wu Qimin (BEI student): "Even in the intellectual families, it's hard to say men and women are equal. For instance, many postgraduates with PhDs do not want to choose spouses who are more successful than themselves. This is enough to illustrate the point that in the eyes of a man, the wife can not surpass the husband."

Zhou Hua.
What Ever Happened to Equality?

By Huang Qing, in 'China Daily':

Two recent events amazed me. The first was the report that the Disciplinary Commission of the Shenzhen Communist Party Committee had ruled that no leaders with party membership, in government or out, were allowed to have women as personal secretaries. When attending meetings or on business trips they should not be accompanied by female clerks, and no women should be allowed to sit behind the wheels of their cars.

While the move was commended by the press, this, clearly, was a regulation made by men for men. If this is meant to curb corruption, to restrain men from committing sexual crimes, what should women leaders do? According to the mandate which seems to address male officials with no recognition of the existence of women leaders — women cannot recruit women secretaries. Like their male colleagues, they too must hire men for this work. Is the rule designed to aid women, if they wish, to engage in illegal activities? This discriminatory regulation assumes there are no relevant women leaders, which is certainly not the case, and that women are immune to corruption, which is also not true.

The other event that surprised me, though less so, was the amendment to the regulation requiring women to retire five years earlier than men. According to Women's News, a paper based in Beijing, the Personnel Ministry recently drafted a new regulation that allows senior professional women to work as long as men if they so choose. This has been welcomed by many senior professional women, who see it as putting them on an equal footing with men as far as retirement is concerned.

The two events, made public after the March 8th International Working Women's Day, best illustrate how women fare in present-day China. While they are promised the same professional opportunities as men, they are denied the right to work as personal secretaries, at least in Shenzhen, where only men can hold that job. The paradox here points to a confusion in contemporary China as women continue to search for their identity, while men, still dominating their world, slip back into the centuries-old role of placing women second.

With a long feudal tradition, Chinese women suffered in the bottom layer of society until 1949, when the first women revolutionaries fought alongside the men and won for themselves equal legal rights, elevating women's status in China. Women's right to work and vote was underwritten in new China's first constitution, which came into force in 1954. The achievement certainly commands praise, as women in some Western countries were forced into lengthy struggles to win suffrage, while their fathers, husbands and sons had been voting for a century.

Once they were promised equal rights, women in China counted on men to keep those promises. During the 1960s and 1970s measures guaranteed women's participation in employment and state affairs. Women took certain rights for granted. They shaped their lives and careers according to ideals, suppressing their own needs and characteristics. Unisex apparel came into vogue and the slogan 'Whatever men can do, women can do too' was the maxim for women striving for excellence according to standards set by men.

However, the reform and open policy in the 1980s presaged a drastic change. As is the case in many competitive societies where women's lives have become more complex and difficult, women in China also became frustrated and disenchanted: few job and study opportunities, little participation in social and governmental decision-making, but many responsibilities as women, wives and mothers. It is women who are responsible for carrying out the nation's family planning policy, for rearing the young, for keeping the family and society stable. This precipitates the cry 'What is the way out for women?'

Probably because women's liberation in China came in tandem with the establishment of the People's Republic, women in China tend to identify themselves with their comrades-in-arms and they are often measured by men's yardsticks. They can be accepted into decision-making circles if they are recognized as nü xiang ren (strong women), defined in terms of political muscle or professional power. Or they can be dismissed as second-class citizens, as in Shenzhen.

By Du Xieming, in 'Wen Hui Bao':

The feudal concept of regarding women as inferior to men has been severely criticized since the victory of the revolution in 1949. However,
old ideas die hard.

When many institutions of higher learning in Shanghai recruited new students last year, they set much higher standards for prospective girl students. Even if girls wanted to specialize in majors more suitable for them, they had to get 10 or 20 points more in the entrance exam than boys. If they recruited more girls, the institutions said, they would have difficulty finding jobs for them after graduation.

If women cannot be treated as equal to men in the country's biggest city, what about women in the countryside or remote regions?

After taking on an employee, an enterprise assumes responsibility for that person. When a female worker is to have a baby, however, the enterprise has to find somebody to replace her. So enterprises are reluctant to admit female workers.

By giving birth to children, women have kept mankind from extinction. The value represented in their creation of mankind's new productive forces is no less than the value of their material production.

If we refuse to recruit female workers on the grounds that they cannot work while bearing children, we are working against women's legitimate rights.

□
She's one of the family

by Nie Lisheng

She seemed to have a thankless job. Some despaired her home visits, some assed cursing in her face and some even threatened her with injury.

But now the family-planning worker is welcomed by her neighbours. And she has helped to achieve the goal of the one-child family in her township.

"Many of our colleagues have described our work as 'the most difficult job in the world,' and that is not really an exaggeration," said Cui Shuhua, a family-planning worker in Huilongguang township in the northern suburb of Beijing.

Cui, 44, is in charge of family planning for 3,587 households in six villages under the township government. Her major responsibility is to go from door to door, counting births and giving out contraceptives to make sure that all families follow the call of the State which says that one family should have no more than one child.

In the past three years, no woman in the township has had a second child. The Huilongguang township government has been honoured as a model unit in family planning by the Beijing municipal authorities.

"Until the last few years, many people were not ready to cooperate," Cui said. "You had to bear all their abusive words and contemptuous looks while reasoning with them about the advantages of single-child parenthood.

But gradually they all came to understand our work."

In 1978, when she was appointed a full-time cadre supervising family planning for the whole township, she did not quite expect the hard times she would have to endure.

"It was a kind of new work at the time when the State had just begun to tighten up its population control policy," she said. "I had to start from scratch."

For more than three months she travelled in the countryside and visited all the six villages to discover violations of the birth-control regulations.

Tradition

People were still allowed to have a second child in 1978 if their first child was four years old. In the first five months of that year, Cui found more than 10 women in the township had become pregnant with a second child when their first was under four. Some were pregnant with their third child.

"When I called on these villagers, they could hardly understand my work and even called me an evil-doing devil," Cui said. "So many neighbours and friends came to persuade me to quit the job. They all knew it was the kind of work that would really offend people, especially in the countryside where the tradition is that children mean wealth."

But Cui is a stubborn worker. Once she accepts an assignment, she never gives up. For several days she made repeated calls on these "problem" families, talking to them until they were convinced of the need for birth control.

"Some people hated me for my work. For several nights they threw stones at my house and scared my whole family awake," she recalled. "I actually knew who they might be but went to visit their homes the next day as if nothing had happened. They were my fellow villagers, and I believed they would understand it was also for their own good to have fewer children."

Cui is the only full-time family planning worker in the township. But she is in charge of 24 part-time assistants, each working in one of the six villages or 18 production teams in the township with the help of two or three volunteers as family-planning propagandists.

An important part of their work is keeping a card on each of the women, following her from marriage to age 48. Her details of family members and birth control methods are updated every six months.

Now the whole township has more than 1,500 women of childbearing age. More than 80 per cent of them have taken some long-term contraceptive measures like use of intrauterine devices (IUD) or sterilization, and the rest of them take contraceptive pills regularly or their husbands use condoms.

"Usually they use the IUD after their first birth and get sterilized after their second child," Cui said.

"Since 1979 the State has been calling for each family to have only one child, but in many cases the second birth is allowed for families that meet certain conditions."

Once, an angry young villager came to Cui and made a scene right in front of her office. The man was an ex-convict. He and his wife were eager to have a second child because their first was physically handicapped. However, according to the State regulation, the second birth is not allowed until the first child turns four.

Despite the man's noisy protest, Cui was not moved. But in the next few days, she visited him and his wife many times, talking with them like an older sister.

"The State regulation is for the welfare of the people," she told him. "Remember the other year when you were just released from prison? It was the township government that assigned you a job and helped you start a family with more than 1,000 yuan.

"On the other hand, I don't think you want to be hard up by having the burden of raising two small kids at the same time."

Persuasion

With her persistent persuasion, the man changed his mind. He and his wife agreed to wait till their first child was four. Eventually, when their child was five years old, the woman gave birth to a healthy baby girl.

"Economic punishment is a major penalty for those who eventually have more children than allowed in defiance of all our persuasion," she added. "Since 1978, the township has collected a total of more than 20,000 yuan in fines on extra-budget births."

In 1988, for instance, it fined two families 2,000 yuan and 600 yuan each for birth control violations.

Here in Huilongguang township, farmers seem to have changed their old idea of wanting a large family. They have come to realize that they are becoming better off with a lower birth rate. In the past 10 years, the annual per capita income in the township has increased steadily. It was 1,750 yuan in 1988, compared with only 140 yuan in 1979. Also, as many as 85 per cent of the farmers have started working in township industries, as most of the farming work has been mechanised.

"Now we really don't have work on them that much. Almost all women of child-bearing age are contraceptives. If the contraceptives fail, they would go to hospitals to have an abortion on their own initiative. Some may want to have second child in secret, but they are more often dissuaded of the idea by their own family members."

In Beidai village, a woman who was pregnant with a second child did not tell anyone. One however, her secret was discovered by her mother-in-law, who firmly succeeded in persuading her to have an abortion.

But there are times when Cui has to do a lot of running around to find her job done. In early 1986, a woman villagers was found pregnant for the second time. She had twin girls from the first birth, but wanted to have a boy because she felt she was looked down upon by her mother-in-law for not having a son.

When one family-planning worker came to persuade her, she agreed to have an abortion. But she changed her mind a week later. She went to her parents' home in Xingtang County in Beijing. When the case was then reported to Cui, she decided to go over to her personally. Together with some of her colleagues, Cui reasoned with her for a whole day, trying to make her understand that birth control policy was also in her own interests.

The woman then asked to be given a job in the township assembly. After Cui promised that she would go to Beijing and have the abortion.

When she returned from hospital, Cui visited her and brought her some good food. Then, the woman was regretting her previous promise and said, "You are nice to me that I will never forget in my life. Take my word, I will no more trouble for you."
Reforms Bypass China's Women
Discrimination Said to Increase

By Daniel Southerland
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING—Chinese women are widely believed to be among the main beneficiaries of much heralded economic reforms. But surveys, published articles, and protests from women indicate women are still the victims of widespread prejudice, discrimination and "feudal" concepts.

For millions of women working in factories, the situation appears to be getting not better but worse.

Many factory directors, now given more autonomy under industrial reforms introduced several years ago, have decided that women should be the first to be fired and the last to be hired.

In some cases, if a manager is unable to fire a woman employee, he simply reduces her pay.

With an eye to enhancing profits, factory managers also sometimes eliminate maternity leave, which is supposed to last as long as six months.

In a recent investigation, the All-China Women's Federation found that some enterprises denied young mothers time during the workday to feed their babies. Some factories have closed their nurseries and rooms reserved for pregnant or breast-feeding women, according to a recent report in the official China Daily newspaper.

For some, the biggest shock of all came last fall, at the end of the 13th Communist Party congress, when the country's new Politburo was announced. Alternate member Chen Muhua, the only woman on the Politburo, was dropped from the country's highest political body.

Later this year, Chen Muhua, now in her late sixties, is expected to lose her job as president of the People's Bank of China and take up a less impressive post, possibly as one of the leaders of a consultative body or as a member of the National People's Congress, China's largely powerless legislature.

Wang Deyi, a women's federation leader, has rallied for passage of a state law to protect women's rights. And the women's federation is issuing statements to try to get the point across that things are not going well.

In defense, Communist Party officials argue that more women are employed than ever before—more than 50 million in urban areas—and that there has actually been an increase in the number of women officials. For example, they say, the number of female vice ministers increased from 10 to 12 between 1983 and 1988.

But women's federation officials point out that prospective employers last year rejected a significant number of female graduates from China's most prestigious universities, including 100 from elite Beijing University. The employers argued that women are less competent than men and less able to function well once they have children.

One of the biggest problems is that many Chinese women accept the idea that they are inferior, said Li Gangzhong, chairwoman of the Women's Federation of Beijing.

Women are showing a new assertiveness in what they want out of marriage and they initiate the majority of the country's divorce proceedings. But many women act helpless when it comes to asserting their rights in the workplace.

"According to the constitution, women enjoy equality with men . . . ," said Li Gangzhong in a recent interview. "But the situation is complicated by a long history of feudalism in which the influence of women is still pretty low.

"The idea that women are inferior in the professions is not only established in the minds of men but also in the minds of women," Li added. "Some women feel they should sacrifice themselves."

Li said that leaders of the women's federation hold two conflicting views. One is that women are the "victims" of the economic reforms. The other view—which she tends to support—is that the reforms have given women who work hard and raise their educational level greater long-term opportunities to compete with men.

Li points to the example of women who have been successful at leasing enterprises, such as Guan Guangmei, a much publicized woman in her thirties in a northeastern city who has made big profits by leasing failing state-owned grocery stores and making them more efficient.

But a government survey of 1,500 working women conducted in 1985 and 1986 showed that more than 75 percent were obliged to work a double day "without any real support."

Many of these women spend 3.5 hours on housework every day. And close to 50 percent have to look after their aging parents-in-law as well, according to the survey.

In newly established private enterprises, women workers sometimes put in extremely long hours. The China Women's Journal said recently that 4,500 women workers with private enterprises in Yueyang, a city in the southern province of Hunan, were forced to work 15 to 20 hours a day. The weekly journal said some Hunan employers beat female workers.
Woes of women singers

by Shang Wenbao

Holding microphones before the beautifully-dressed crowd dancing under dazzling lights, they sing popular songs to entertain the guests.

They are singers in dance halls, which are becoming increasingly popular throughout the country as people's desire for entertainment grows.

In Shanghai, there are now 372 dance halls according to statistics from the city's Cultural Bureau. More than 500 singers are employed there, and one-third of them are women.

They are called "ge nu," meaning women singers in Chinese. The word bears some sense of discrimination since it always reminds people of the professional women singers who worked at dance halls in the old days. Back then, such a career was disreputable.

But things are different now. In fact, there are no professional dance hall singers in Shanghai today. Most of them take the job as a "second career," going to work at night after finishing their daytime work.

In their early twenties, these women come from factories and schools, as well as professional art groups. Quite a few of them are teachers in primary schools or kindergartens, where they receive low pay and life can be dull. Many students in art schools, facing difficulty in being assigned jobs upon graduation, quit school to join the dance hall singers.

"A lot of people regard us as hating after money, but how many of them understand our hardships and suffering?" asked one young woman singer.

Cei Benyao, an official in the Art Training Centre of the city's Cultural Bureau, showed sympathy for those singers. "Many of them are career-minded and they don't see money as their chief pursuit. In daytime they practise hard and at night they sing conscientiously," he commented.

Some even become well-known singers through their outstanding performances at the dance halls. Xiao Ling is one of Shanghai's most successful dance hall singers. She was elected one of the Ten Best Singers of Shanghai 83-88.

She said, "We women singers have tried hard to earn appreciation from the audience and recognition by society." A former actress with an opera troupe in the city, she found herself idle most of the time since there were too many people in the troupe and not enough parts.

Appreciation

She didn't want to waste the "youth of her art," so she turned to singing popular songs at a dance hall. Hearing of her decision, many people around her were surprised. They did not regard it as a decent career. Yet she kept on going her own way, and finally succeeded.

Another woman singer, who is nicknamed Little Pigeon at Baoloubai Dance Hall in the city, said she had had a bitter experience. "Who doesn't want to have a job in a State institution to keep an 'iron rice bowl'? But when you fail to realize your dream there, the best way is to resign," she said.

Several years ago, she handed in her resignation to her work unit and became a singer in a dance hall while waiting for other jobs.

She added that life for her was hard. "We are often so tired after the performance. Even now we are earning big money. But we have to pay for our dresses, cosmetics and other necessary things. We are also required to pay taxes. So after all these expenses, our earnings are not much higher than what others make," she explained.

Sometimes she has to endure the rude behaviour of the audience. "At the beginning, the audience was made up of people with low taste. They liked to make fun of us and often shouted at us to change the song. If you didn't obey, they would shout: 'Off the stage!'" she recalled.

"Some upstart businessmen in those years often kept pestering us. They even followed us back home at night in cars with flashing lights," she continued. "Of course, things are much better today.

Many women singers already have boyfriends, who can protect them on their way home at night. Some found their "sweethearts" among their colleagues - male singers or musicians who work with them.

Yet social prejudice against dance hall singers sometimes destroy their chance of a happy marriage. Xiao Ai, a 22-year-old singer, fell in love with a new singer, whose surname is Ye, as got married. But soon Xiao Ai and her husband divorced.

Ye's parents were against the marriage from the beginning. Ye's father is an engineer at a research institute in Shanghai and his mother is a teacher at a normal school. Learning that their son married a dance hall singer, the flow into a rage. "My son, it was always our hope for you to have become a dance hall singer. Now you have found a 'go nu' to be your wife. You have made us lose face," Ye's father said angrily.

Marriage

After the wedlock, the couple quarrelled constantly. The husband got hot-tempered and he even suspected Xiao Ai of being unfaithful. Finally, Xiao Ai could not bear the fact that she had to stand all the arguments and asks for a divorce.

"It was a painful experience. But now I wish to have a family now!" Xiao Ai said in a gloomy mood.

Among the many women singers, Tang Gunian is one at a "high level." In 1988, she graduated from an art university and was assigned to work for an industrial company in Shanghai. But, unfortunately, the company soon went out of business due to poor management and Tang had to find a job herself.

With a beautiful voice, the 22-year-old woman decided to try her luck at singing in dance halls.

"Although my parents were not happy about my decision, they respected my choice," she said.

She lives in Changfengxincun in the city's suburbs and it takes her two hours to go downtown Shanghai. Sometimes her parents, who went to work and accompany her back home at night.

At present, she has no boyfriend yet she has her own standard in choosing a life partner: he must be talented, sincere, honest and capable in social life.

Asked what she will do if he future husband doesn't like her singing at a dance hall, she replied: "I am ready to quit the job and try another profession such as fashion design."

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sketch by Zhang Yaoning
Figures indicate attitude changes

by Wang Gansheng

China has achieved remarkable success in family planning work. The total child-bearing rate, birthrate and natural growth rate bear out this success.

1. The total child-bearing rate.

The total child-bearing rate on average of Chinese women was as high as 5.9 in the 1950s, 5.7 in the 1960s, 4 in the 1970s, and dropped to 2.5 in the 1980s (from 1981 to 1987), a 57 per cent decrease from that of the 1960s.

2. Birthrate.

The average birthrate was 3.3 per cent in the 1950s, 3.5 per cent in the 1960s, 2.3 per cent in the 1970s, and dropped to 1.9 per cent in 1980s (1981-1988), a 43 per cent decrease from the 1960s.

3. Natural growth rate.

Since 1970s, the death rate in China has been comparatively stable. The natural population growth rate was 2.5 per cent in the 1960s, 1.6 per cent in the 1970s, and dropped to 1.3 per cent in the 1980s (from 1981 to 1988), a 48 per cent decrease from the 1960s.

The family planning policy has helped the Chinese people to change their attitudes about marriage and child-bearing. In the past, couples usually married and bore children early and wished to have more than one child. But now, more and more people want to marry and give birth later and wish to have fewer children.

According to a sample survey, the average age at first marriage and 21.8 years old in the 1970s. Those who married younger than 18 years old accounted for 51.1 per cent in 1940, but dropped to 5.2 per cent in 1980, a 90 per cent decrease.

Family structure has also changed greatly. Families with more than two children dropped and those with one child increased. The one child family proportion was 20.7 per cent in 1970 and 62.2 per cent in the first half of 1988, a 152 per cent increase. Families with more than two children accounted for 62.2 per cent in 1970 and 15.4 per cent in the first half of 1988, a 75 per cent decrease.

The implementation of family planning has helped to improve population quality. Before 1950, the life expectancy of the Chinese people was only 35 years, but it rose to 67.8 years in 1981 (66.4 years for men and 69.3 years for women). It was up to 69.1 years in 1987 (67.3 years for men and 70.7 years for women).

In the 1980s, the Chinese population death rate, infant death rate, birthrate, natural growth and total fertility rates had all decreased by large margins, at the same time, the average lifespan, first marriage age and growth control rate had risen.

Compared with many developing countries, China has gained outstanding achievements in family planning work.
Farmers learn birth control

by Chen Jian and Chen Jianzhong

The State Family Planning Commission has decided to introduce Keshan County's experience nationwide to help the farmers learn the know-how of family planning.

Because of lack of education, Chinese farmers know little about knowledge on contraception, birth control and reproduction. As a result, many prejudices and ignorant customs still exist among the rural people, affecting the health of women and babies.

In view of the situation, the population programme of Keshan County in Northeastern China's Heilongjiang Province has started to teach the farmers about birth control, better child-bearing and MCH. The courses have been well received by the local people.

The State Family Planning Commission has summed up their experience in Keshan County and recommended it to the whole country.

The basic education on population and family planning is to be conducted at the village level and for the subordinate villagers' groups. At the village level, some basic education centres will be set up at the villagers' evening schools, cultural centres and primary schools.

In the villagers' groups, "homes for married women" will be set up in the homes of those who have extra rooms, enjoy a good reputation in the neighborhood, and are enthusiastic supporters of family planning. The teachers will consist of cadres, doctors, primary school teachers, members of family planning associations, and farmers who have received a secondary education.

Teaching hours will vary in different areas following the general principle of more time for teaching in the slack seasons and less in the busy seasons. The major teaching methods include classroom teaching and teaching in small groups. Meanwhile, the courses are to be combined with radio broadcasting, television and film shows, internal bulletins, general knowledge tests and opportunities of witnessing marriage registration, pregnancy examination, postpartum visit, and implementation of contraception.

Through basic education on population and family planning, many couples in rural areas have learned three or four contraceptive methods and can choose one to suit themselves. Following the guidance of science, they also know better why and how to practice family planning.

In Kaoshan Town of Yilan County, Jilin Province, many women used to like to smoke a rather strong kind of tobacco. After learning about health care during pregnancy and better child-bearing, most pregnant women have given up smoking. Looking at their new-born babies, they were very happy and said that they should give thanks for the better child-bearing education given by the family planning department.

By now, such education programmes have started in some 700 counties in China. Many provinces plan to spread them all over their rural areas in three years.

Big achievements in population study

by Liu Zheng

Unprecedented progress has been made in China since 1970 in demographic research organization, technology and professional training, following success in family planning and demographic education.

In the 1970s, there were only five population research organizations in China and now, according to incomplete statistics, there are more than 70 population research organizations of various categories in this country. The number of full-time teachers and researchers has grown from only 20 in the 1970s to more than 600 today. Population research organizations and professionals are now found in almost all the provinces, cities and autonomous regions except Tibet. Beijing and Shanghai boast the largest number of population research institutes and professionals.

Training demographic specialists began in the 1960s. Now about 120 demographic college graduates, over 30 Masters and six Doctors have been turned out in China. Such specialists have been assigned to serve in population-related educational research or administrative departments. Their work has greatly improved the quality of demographic publications.

Since 1970, training of family planning workers has started on a large scale. In the 1980s, a large number of family planning cadres were trained by the Nanjing College for Family Planning Administrators and population training centres in many parts of the country.

Chinese demographers have made achievements in their scientific research through in-depth study of the national census returns, sample surveys and extensive investigations, focusing on the practical population problems in China. They have published population policy research reports such as "Five Suggestions on Controlling Population Growth in China" and "Investigation on the Floating Population in Shanghai." There are also "the Book Series on China's Population," "Analytical Research on Fertility Rate per Thousand" and other special topic writings. Many important foreign books on demography have been translated into Chinese.

In 1977, China's first demographic magazine, "Population Research," was launched. It was followed by the launching of other publications such as the "Demographic Journal," "Population and Economy," "Population in the Northwest" and "Population." They have brought about a new boom in demographic study across China and promoted the country's population work.

In short, while we have acquired a substantial achievement in the fields of demographic study, teaching, research, training and publication, we still have a long way to go in solving the practical problems so as to serve the country's modernization.
Daughter-families helped

by Lu Xiaobin

To support the families with only daughters, a "daughter-family foundation" was set up on March 23 in Jinzhou Village outside Longshuijiang City.

"Daughter-families" refer to those families which have no sons but daughters only. When their daughters get married, they usually move to their husbands' home. Because they do not have brothers, their parents will be helpless. So most couples still want to have sons to support them when they get old no matter how many daughters they already have. That's why it is difficult to implement the "promoting one couple, one child" policy in the countryside.

"Daughter-families" has accepted 24 members. Each family was given an 800-yuan saving check after putting in 80 yuan. A woman of about 30 years old said, "I'll be able to draw my pension with this savings check when I'm old. There is no need for me to have a son after I have already had a daughter."

In order to help families with only daughters to stop worrying about their later lives, authorities in some places have speeded up the development of the local social welfare system for the aged by setting up more old folks' homes as well as "daughter-family foundations" and offering insurance service to aged people.

Last year, 210 "daughter-family foundations" were set up in rural areas of Zhejiang Province supporting more than 4,000 households with funds of more than 2.3 million yuan. Hunan Province provided insurance for aged people in rural areas. In nearby areas of Yueyang City, more than 1,600 "daughter-families" were given the insurance certificates.

The funds of the "daughter-family foundation" are raised by the members themselves plus the governmental assistance. The money is put aside in the banks. When the couples got old, they will draw their pension on a monthly basis.

The insurance funds for the aged people are allocated by the communities. When the husband is above 60 years old and the wife is above 55, they will begin to draw their old-age pension every month with the insurance certificate.

These two types of assistance are well received by the farmers. But they are only part of the nation's insurance programme to promote family planning. In recent years, China's grassroots family planning departments have been attaching increasing importance to the development of this insurance programme. Other types of insurances include only child life and health insurance, the old-age insurance for parents of only child, mother and baby insurance, abortion insurance and birth control insurance.

According to the China Family Planning Association, by the end of 1989 its local branches had offered insurance to 15.92 million people, backed up by a total of 265 million yuan of funds.

Kid alarmed at 'flourishing' big family

by Chen Xiaoyang

Mother and I went to congratulate my maternal great-grandfather on his 90th birthday. Heavens, there were so many guests at the party.

My great-grandfather has six wives and 127 children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. I am the fourth generation.

After dinner, we had a tea party. My uncle from Shantou smiled and said, "How flourishing our family is!"

According to traditional customs in rural areas men's uncle's names are OK. However, if we think about it from the point of view of controlling population growth and improving people's lives, we can't help worry about this serious problem.

The two-member family developed into a 129-member family in generations over 90 years. The rapid increase in population has adversely affected production and standards of living.

Take homes as an example. My great-grandfather built three one-storey houses. My grandparents and his brothers extended the house, saving on food and clothing.

Now my uncles are busy building new houses for their children. Thanks to sound policies for the economy, farmers can now afford to build new houses and to buy new machines, bicycles and television sets. But the rows of houses are on limited land. As a result, the limited farmland is being taken over gradually by new homes.

As for food, the family no longer has to worry about starvation. Because of the big population, the area by no means rich enough for nutrition into consideration. That's simple food and drink plain tea.

Ours is an enormous family with four generations under one roof. There are many such families in China. I have now fully realised the importance of controlling the population growth.

With a cup of tea, I wished all family members a long, long life. At the same time, I thought: For bright future and for the happiness of future generations, we must take family planning. The enormous families, the better.
Township model of one-child family

by Zhu Jingchun

At the foot of the magnificent Great Wall lies a small town with more than 6,000 people. That is Bakshin Town in Luaping County, Hebei Province. Though it is backward in education and economy, it has done a good job in family planning. The villagers owe this to the family planning association set up three years ago at the town and village level.

The Bakshin Town Family Planning Association has 450 members joined by old villagers and other activists in family planning. All of them are volunteers. They take the lead in practising birth control. The current family planning policies allow farmers in mountain areas to have two children if they really need more help in life and labour. But Chang Bei, chairman of the town federation, persuaded his two daughters to each have one child. He said that he should solve the country's population problem. Many people are like Zhang in the family planning associations.

The members of the associations try to convince couples of child-bearing age of the importance of family planning in a method called "calculation and comparison."

Wang Xiaoying, a young woman farmer, once wanted to have a second child. When she visited the "home of family planning association" in her village, she met with Dong Changwen, chairman of the village association. He told her that in the past 37 years, the village's population had doubled and the per capita farmland reduced by more than a half. If they did not control the population growth, their descendants would hardly be able to feed themselves. The woman farmer was quite convinced by the simple truth. She applied for a "one couple, one child" certificate and became a member of the association.

The family planning associations are always ready to help local people and have been welcomed by them as a result.

Li Jingtian, 62, was director of the family planning association in her village of more than 20 families. If a woman in her village had an operation for birth control, she would visit her with eggs, rice and tinned food which she had bought with her own money.

Gao Bin, an association member, volunteered to help an old widow for more than 10 years. He regarded her as his mother and did everything for her. He fetched water, washed clothes, chopped wood, ground corn into flour and helped her to seek medical treatment. The associations have helped more than 400 poor households to improve their quality of life by running training classes and offering family planning tips. The town-level family planning association has built several orchards through organizing voluntary labour. The income from the 70,000 fruit trees will be shared by village-level associations in support of households of only one child, or two daughters, and widows and widowers.

Through the last three years, the family planning associations have helped Bakshin Town win the county government's commendation for having outstandingly carried out the State's population policies.
Minister on experience of China's family planning

by Han Yuejin

Many developing countries are worried by the rapid growth in their populations and the remarkable progress China has made in controlling its population might be of some help and inspiration to those countries and regions.

Peng Peiyun, Minister of the State Family Planning Commission, told China Population that according to statistics released recently by the UN Fund for Population Activities, the world population had reached 5.3 billion and was rapidly expanding at a rate of more than 200,000 a day.

China had a huge population and should have a clearer awareness of the gravity of the world population problem, she said, adding that the country was duty bound to control its own population growth.

China had made great efforts to control its population growth, she said, pledging that it would make still greater efforts to carry out its family planning programme.

Before being appointed as Minister of the State Family Planning Commission in 1980, Peng worked in educational circles. She was deputy Party secretary of Beijing University, Party secretary of the Chinese University of Science and Technology, vice-minister of the State Education Ministry and vice-minister of the State Education Commission.

She studied social sciences in Southwest China's United University and Qinghua University and is adept at conducting investigations and research. She has formed her own ideas about China's family planning work after two years of being in charge of the nation's family planning programme.

Listing the achievements China has made in controlling its population, she said, "China started to advocate family planning among its people in the mid-1950s. Since the 1970s, the Chinese government has devoted great efforts to the programme and has achieved universally acknowledged progress in the past 20 years.

"If calculated on the birth levels of 1970, China has seen a birth reduction of more than 200 million babies in the past 20 years, saving the country a huge amount of money."

Peng said family planning was a mass-participation programme involving millions of families and concerning almost everyone in the nation. "So we must maintain close ties with the masses in carrying out family planning work," she said. She summed up the experience of China's family planning work and listed the following as major factors for the successful control of the nation's population growth:

- To adopt a firm and feasible State policy for the family planning programme
- To strengthen the leadership of those in charge of family planning work
- To set up and perfect the organizational network for the population and family planning programmes.

There are working teams in charge of family planning work in factory workshops, urban neighbourhoods and rural villages and towns.

- To make great efforts to implement the family planning policies of "stressing propaganda and education, contraception and everyday work," while adhering to the principle of combining State guidance with mass voluntary participation
- To do a good job in the field of research and popularization of contraception and birth control and provide the masses with satisfactory family planning services
- To link the family planning programme to the development of the economy, popularization of education, improvement of medical care, increase of social welfare services and the raising of Chinese women's social status.

Talking about China's current population situation and the tasks which needed to be carried out in the future to control the population, Peng said China's population growth still posed a serious problem to the nation's development. The control of China's population growth remained an arduous task, she said. She urged all staff engaged in family planning work to work more conscientiously.

"We will strengthen our population control capability by enhancing the legal system and improving the organizations at the basic level," Peng said.

As long as the Party and the people made concerted efforts, China's family planning programme would surely achieve its goal, she added.

In carrying out the family planning programme, she said, "We, on the one hand, cannot rest content with our achievements, nor be unrealistically optimistic or slacken in the slightest degree in our work."

"On the other hand, although we face a serious population problem, we cannot take unrealistic measures to get quick results, nor should we lose confidence."

Summing up, Peng concluded that as long as every country attached great importance to the population issue and adopted effective policies and measures in line with its own conditions, the excess growth of the world population would be checked.

She said she was confident that one day the world population would grow harmoniously with social and economic development.

"The future of our world is glorious and full of hope," she added optimistically.
Babysitters a help in bridging rural-urban gap

by Li Hian

Nobody could deny the fact that hundreds of rural women have eased the burden of working couples in China's large cities by acting as babysitters. However, a more significant but often neglected fact is that the urban experiences of these women have changed — and will continue to change — some traditional values in the vast but backward countryside.

I recently met a woman returning to her home in Wuwei County, Anhui Province, who told me about her experiences as a babysitter.

Having failed the college entrance examination, and not being needed at home, she moved to Beijing and became a babysitter five years ago.

Of all the homes she has worked for, a college teacher's family made the deepest impression on her.

"I was allowed to do some reading after finishing the housework. Meanwhile, they asked me to abandon my local dialect and speak standard Chinese. And they urged me to study from eight o'clock every evening," she said.

The woman felt rewarded by the time she spent with this particular employer, as she not only learned to speak standard Chinese, but also graduated from a correspondence college after two years.

"Since you were treated so well, why are you unwilling to return to the family after going home?" I was puzzled.

"I'm going home to get married — to a teacher. Afterwards, I plan to run a kindergarten in my village so that children there receive early education. And I will expect my husband and sisters to speak standard Chinese," she revealed.

Upon hearing her words, I was suddenly aware that this was by no means a traditional country woman — one who considered housework and tending to her husband and children her only duties. Life in a modern metropolis had widened her horizons and changed her thinking.

She was taking her new found knowledge and ideas home with her to promote education, progress and culture in her rural community. She was also taking home a considerable amount of money, though that was never her sole motivation.

Farmers' quality

It occurred to me that if more babysitters had experiences like this, living in large cities and being exposed to modern life, and went home to share what they had learned, the quality of Chinese farmers would rise and the culture, education and technology in rural areas would be enhanced.

Society as a whole should pay more attention to upgrading the calibre of babysitters.

Considering that many of these women are from villages in underdeveloped provinces like Anhui, Jiangxi and Zhejiang, an administrative organization should be established and their training increased.

Almost 90 per cent are unmarried women below the age of 25 lacking child-care experience. Therefore, training in children's health and development, behaviour and basic household skills is imperative.

China's rural population is considered poor and uneducated, though it has made drastic changes since opening to the outside world in 1978.

The more progressive urban civilization is gradually penetrating the vast countryside by bolstering agriculture through science and technology, promoting education in the countryside and expanding economic co-operation between urban and rural enterprises.

It seems to me that babysitters should be regarded as yet another important means of bridging the gap between China's urban and rural populations.

Statistics show that one out of 20 households in Shanghai has to employ babysitters. However, the city's current form of 10,000 babysitters is nowhere near meeting the demand of around 40,000. The situation is similar in Beijing and other large cities.

The recruitment and training of babysitters in underdeveloped regions could help alleviate poverty and unemployment. Babysitting jobs in major cities give rural women steady employment and a chance to educate themselves as they come into contact with government officials, intellectuals and skilled workers.

Formal training will further enhance the value of these young women, helping them to better serve urban families and later to exert a positive influence on their own rural communities.

CHINA DAILY

FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1990
Vital role of the ‘old aunties’

by Cai Hang

You cannot miss the “old aunties” wearing red armbands and sitting on small chairs in Chinese cities. These neighbourhood committee members are called old aunties because most of them are female and 70 per cent of them are over 50.

And people always associate these old aunties with “busybodies.” A survey of 10 large cities conducted by the Beijing-based newspaper, Economic Information, found that neighbourhood committees are responsible for 156 different jobs.

Their more vital work includes maintaining public order and mediating civil disputes. They also help educate juvenile delinquents and encourage them to become integrated members of society, arrange placement for the unemployed and disabled, and care for the elderly.

Neighbourhood committees are in charge of some seasonal work such as killing flies and mosquitos, fire prevention in the autumn, and afforestation in the spring.

“Neighbourhood committee members look inconspicuous, but their functions are noteworthy,” said the survey.

Neighbourhood committees are described as “public servants of all households” as their efforts reflect the needs of all residents.

Take the Qingshan district of Wuhan, capital of Hubei Province, as an example. More than 140,000 employees of Wuhan Steel Works live in the district. Most of them are working couples. Several years ago, their primary school-age children were suffering from hunger because there was no one to prepare their lunch.

A neighbourhood committee in the district used its office to set up a small restaurant especially for these pupils. New 184 primary school students eat lunch there. When they enter secondary school, many students miss the good old days and the “old aunties” from the neighbourhood committee.

Recreation rooms

Due to housing problems, it is still common in China for three generations to live under the same roof. To give the younger generations more room, older people were found to be spending their time on the street.

In response to this, neighbourhood committees in the country have established some 30,000 recreation rooms where the elderly can while away their time chatting and playing cards or chess.

Neighbourhood committees also set up other kinds of service centres, such as kindergartens.

“They assure a safe environment for residents,” the survey commented.

By the end of last year, about 870,000 neighbourhood security committees with 9.1 million members had been established in urban and rural China.

Many members of neighbourhood committees are talented mediators, who help ward off civil disputes.

A young couple in Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province, quarrelled for years over trivialities. Sometimes, the squabbles turned into fierce fights.

The wife complained of her husband’s male chauvinism while the husband insisted that she should be obedient to him.

Ultimately they turned to the neighbourhood committee for help. After hearing both sides’ grievances, a committee member criticized the husband’s attitude towards his wife and advised him to treat her as an equal.

The husband apologized to his wife, promising to respect her in future. They are so far keeping on good terms.

Civil disputes dealt with by the neighbourhood committee may include love affairs, property compensation, inheritance and the sharing of land and houses.

CHINA’S GENDER IMBALANCE

Millions of Chinese men have failed to find a wife, and eligible women will be in even shorter supply in coming years, according to a survey published by Beijing’s China News Service.

The service said the serious imbalance in the ratio of men to women in China would worsen over the next 20 years. A random check on 100 unmarried Chinese adults showed 93 were men, it said.

Bachelors were found to outnumber single women by 10 million within the 29- to 49-year-old age group, the news service said. It said rural men faced the bleakest prospects as more and more city dwellers turned to rural areas to find brides.

The report didn’t give any reason for the sex-ratio imbalance. But last February, the service attributed the disparity to such factors as the drowning of baby girls in rural areas, modern techniques allowing doctors to identify fetal gender and the availability of abortion. Many Chinese still believe it is imperative to bear a son to carry on the family name.
VI. The Role and Status of Women in the U.S. Today

Invite professional women to participate in a panel discussion on the opportunities open to women in America. Select a recent college graduate, and professional and non-professional women in their 30s, 40s, etc. up to women in their 70s and 80s.

Divided students into groups to prepare questions for the panelists. These questions should include, but not be limited to:

When you graduated from college/high school what fields were (were not) open to women?

How many women from your high school graduating class went on to college?

What was the male/female ratio in your university?

What professions were not open to women?

What was the starting salary of women compared to men?

What was the average age a girl married?

How many children did women have in your generation?

Did women in your generation feel they had to marry by a certain age?

What was the percentage of women in managerial positions?

Did your husband help equally with domestic chores?

In preparing the class for the panelists suggest that some students may want to chart the answers of the panelists.

Have students study the handout on the role and status of women in China today and compare and contrast that list, item by item, with their own observations and with the conclusions of the panelists on the role of American women today.

Homework assignment: Distribute Graph Packet. Be prepared to discuss, or write a paragraph entitled, "Is equality for the American woman real or imagined?" Also, project the figures on the charts to the year 2000. Be prepared to
support your projections.

**Final assignment:** Have students prepare an essay comparing and contrasting the status and role of American and Chinese women today and yesteryear.

**Final Note:** In a World Studies or World History course, an analysis and comparison of the role and status of women in Nigeria, Brazil, or India, etc., can be included when that part of the world is being studied.
### Percent of First-Professional Degrees Awarded by Major Health Professions Schools to Women: Selected Academic Years 1949-50 Through 1982-83

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1/ "First-professional degree" is the earliest degree that signifies completion of the academic requirements to begin practice in the profession.

2/ Data are not available.

3/ Data not yet available at time of publication.


All the charts in this packet are copied from:<br>**The Information Series on Current Topics: Women's Changing Role**. Information Aids, Inc., Plano, Texas, 1986 Edition.

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Form 1981 is an extension of Form 1980. Not all respondents from Form 1980 are included in Form 1981.


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*Note: Past data are for the 1970-71 and 1981-82 academic years. Projected data are for the 1993-94 academic year.*

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For methodological notes, see Projections of Education Statistics to 1983-84.
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<td>Buyer III</td>
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<td>Director of personnel II</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>Accounting clerk II</td>
<td>953</td>
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<td>1,002</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>Purchasing assistant II</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Messenger</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>46</td>
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</table>

1Includes data for workers not examined by sex.
2Includes data only for workers identified by sex.

| Characteristic | Total | Men | Women | Female-to-
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race and Hispanic origin</td>
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<td>Average</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 years and over</td>
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<td>3,211</td>
<td>2,017</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,017</td>
<td>1,194</td>
<td>85.0</td>
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<td>219</td>
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<td>76.6</td>
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<td>Hispanic</td>
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<td>207</td>
<td>76.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Average</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 to 24 years</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
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<td>14 to 19</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>80.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 to 24</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of school completed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 years or less</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 years of high school</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 years or more of high school</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 years of college</td>
<td>230</td>
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<td>4 years of college</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88.6</td>
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<td>5 years of college</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>88.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hours usually worked</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 40 hours</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 40 hours</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 40 hours</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 40 hours</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>88.9</td>
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</table>
| Top decile earnings of men and women, and percent of men earning as much as the highest paid decile of women for major occupational groups and for selected occupations, full-time workers, 1982 average averages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Lower boundary of top decile</th>
<th>Percent of men earning at least as much as women's top decile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major occupational groups</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical</td>
<td>5,664</td>
<td>5,437</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managers and administrators, except farm</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft and related workers</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operators, except transport equipment</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>368</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport equipment operators</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>445</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintenance workers</td>
<td>454</td>
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<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other service workers</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected occupational</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accountants</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>532</td>
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<td>Secondary school teachers</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>567</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales clerks, retail trade</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>390</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assemblers</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>362</td>
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<tr>
<td>Storekeepers</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>143</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bank tellers and bookkeepers</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source: Investigating the Differences in Weekly Earnings of Women and Men, Monthly Labor Review, June 1984</td>
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</table>
### Weekly earnings of wage and salary workers who usually work full time in occupations employing 50,000 or more, by sex, 1962 averages

(Thousands of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>70.540</td>
<td>42.279</td>
<td>28.267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountants</td>
<td>12.853</td>
<td>7.270</td>
<td>5.583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical specialties</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computer programmers</td>
<td>1557</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer operators</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12.853</td>
<td>7.270</td>
<td>5.583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70.540</td>
<td>42.279</td>
<td>28.267</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

See text in end of table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1972 SIC</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>All employees (in thousands)</th>
<th>Women workers (in thousands)</th>
<th>Percent of women workers</th>
<th>Rank of proportion of women workers</th>
<th>Average hourly earnings per</th>
<th>Rank of average hourly earnings</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Apparel and other textile products</td>
<td>1,025.9</td>
<td>967.9</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$5.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Health services</td>
<td>5,820.5</td>
<td>4,732.9</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>$7.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Banking...</td>
<td>1,607.9</td>
<td>1,180.9</td>
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<td>$5.80</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Apparel and accessory stores</td>
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<td>Credit agencies other than banks</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous manufacturing industries</td>
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<td>Communication</td>
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<td>54</td>
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<td>$10.22</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Rubber and miscellaneous plastics products</td>
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<td>Furniture and fixtures</td>
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<td>$8.33</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Food and kindred products</td>
<td>1,672.9</td>
<td>452.0</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>$7.67</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Wholesale trade—durable goods</td>
<td>2,188.0</td>
<td>825.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>$8.17</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Chemical and allied products</td>
<td>1,075.0</td>
<td>280.7</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>$10.01</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Building materials and garden supplies</td>
<td>598.8</td>
<td>150.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>$6.02</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Local and interurban passenger transit</td>
<td>230.0</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>$7.43</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Wholesale trade—durable goods</td>
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<td>768.0</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>$7.99</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Paper and allied products</td>
<td>859.4</td>
<td>149.1</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>$9.40</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Machinery, except electrical</td>
<td>2,262.3</td>
<td>473.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>$9.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Fabricated metal products</td>
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<td>21.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>$8.85</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Electric, gas, and sanitary services</td>
<td>881.3</td>
<td>174.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>$10.70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Miscellaneous repair services</td>
<td>296.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Stone, clay, and glass products</td>
<td>598.1</td>
<td>114.1</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$8.63</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Automotive dealers and service stations</td>
<td>1,859.8</td>
<td>319.8</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>$6.28</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Auto repair, services, and garages</td>
<td>582.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>$6.44</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Transportation equipment</td>
<td>1,738.6</td>
<td>285.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>$11.26</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Oil and gas extraction</td>
<td>710.8</td>
<td>112.7</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>$10.43</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Petroleum and coal products</td>
<td>209.3</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>$12.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Lumber and wood products</td>
<td>630.8</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>$7.83</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Trucking and warehousing</td>
<td>1,209.6</td>
<td>153.8</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>$10.26</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>General building contractors</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Primary metal industries</td>
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<td>106.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>$11.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Metal mining...</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>$12.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Special trade contractors</td>
<td>2,195.4</td>
<td>199.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>$12.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nonmetallic minerals, except fuels</td>
<td>118.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$8.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Heavy construction contractors</td>
<td>913.8</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>$11.47</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Blowing coal and lignite mining</td>
<td>229.9</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>$13.05</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Average hourly earnings are for all production and nonsupervisory workers.


**HOURS ON THE JOB**

Women tend to work fewer hours than men because they are less likely to hold jobs that would warrant longer hours. Women are also 2.5 to 3 times as likely to work part-time. In 1982, full-time workers working under 40 hours had median earnings of $230 per week (17 percent of the women versus 5 percent of the men). For those working 40 hours, the median was $300 and for those working over 40 hours, (10 percent of the women versus 24 percent of the men), the median was $400.
Median annual earnings of year-round full-time workers 14 years and over by sex, 1960-81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women's earnings</th>
<th>Men's earnings</th>
<th>Women's earnings as percent of men's earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>$3,293</td>
<td>$54,17</td>
<td>60.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,331</td>
<td>5,644</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>3,446</td>
<td>5,794</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3,561</td>
<td>5,878</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>3,690</td>
<td>6,185</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3,822</td>
<td>6,375</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3,973</td>
<td>6,848</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>4,150</td>
<td>7,182</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>4,457</td>
<td>7,664</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>4,977</td>
<td>8,227</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5,323</td>
<td>8,986</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>5,583</td>
<td>9,380</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>5,903</td>
<td>9,202</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>6,336</td>
<td>11,186</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>6,970</td>
<td>11,889</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>7,504</td>
<td>12,758</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>8,088</td>
<td>13,455</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>8,628</td>
<td>14,656</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>9,356</td>
<td>15,723</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>10,151</td>
<td>17,014</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>11,197</td>
<td>18,812</td>
<td>60.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>12,001</td>
<td>20,260</td>
<td>59.2</td>
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NOTE: Data for 1960 to 1966 are for wage and salary workers only and exclude self-employed workers. Data for 1979 to 1981 are for persons 15 years and over.


WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS 1969-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women Legislators</th>
<th>% of Total Legislators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, a service of the Rutgers University Center for the American Woman and Politics.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Senators</th>
<th>Representatives</th>
<th>Total Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65th</td>
<td>1917-1919</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66th</td>
<td>1919-1921</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67th</td>
<td>1921-1923</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>68th</td>
<td>1923-1925</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69th</td>
<td>1925-1927</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>70th</td>
<td>1927-1929</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71st</td>
<td>1929-1931</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72nd</td>
<td>1931-1933</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73rd</td>
<td>1933-1934**</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74th</td>
<td>1935-1936</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>75th</td>
<td>1937-1938</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76th</td>
<td>1939-1941</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77th</td>
<td>1941-1942</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78th</td>
<td>1943-1944</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79th</td>
<td>1945-1946</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80th</td>
<td>1947-1948</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81st</td>
<td>1949-1951</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82nd</td>
<td>1951-1953</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83rd</td>
<td>1953-1954</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84th</td>
<td>1955-1956</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85th</td>
<td>1957-1958</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86th</td>
<td>1959-1960</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87th</td>
<td>1961-1962</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>88th</td>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>89th</td>
<td>1965-1966</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>90th</td>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91st</td>
<td>1969-1971**</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>92nd</td>
<td>1971-1972</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93rd</td>
<td>1973-1974**</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>94th</td>
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<td>95th</td>
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<td>97th</td>
<td>1981-1982</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>98th</td>
<td>1983-1984</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>99th</td>
<td>1985-1986</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The ten states with the highest percentages of women state legislators are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ten states with the lowest percentages of women state legislators are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mississipp i</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ten states with the highest percentages of women at the county governing board level were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, a service of the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University
### FEMALE

**RESPONSE**

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2455</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>3757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4865</td>
<td>233</td>
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Do you approve or disapprove of married women earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

**RESPONSE**

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<td>0</td>
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If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?

**RESPONSE**

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</table>

Tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.

**RESPONSE**

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Would you say that most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women, that men and women are equally suited, or that women are better suited than men in this area?

**RESPONSE**

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Source: The National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago (IL)
Bibliography


THE FIRST EMPEROR OF CHINA AND THE QUESTION OF UNIFICATION:
DOES IT HAVE RELEVANCE TO CONTEMPORARY CHINA?

WILLIAM J. PIACENTINI
1990 FULBRIGHT SUMMER SEMINAR TO CHINA
INTRODUCTION:

China - the name of the country invokes a sense of mystery, wonder and admiration in the Western mind. Home of one-fifth of the world's population, China's history dates it to being one of the four cradles of civilization in the ancient world. The expanse of the Great Wall, the splendor of the emperor's "Forbidden City," the beauty of the oldest system of writing still in use, and the giant picture of Mao Zedong in Tianamen Square are some of the images that are associated with China. However, these images are misleading for they represent a unity to a country that is still, after 5000 years of recorded history, trying to develop a sense of political unity, a sense of nationhood. The exploration of nationhood is particularly relevant today as one witnesses the disintegration of the "Communist Bloc" of Eastern Europe and the turmoil within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as various "republics" assert their right to independence and nationhood. What is the situation in China?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

China is actually an ethnically diverse country that contains fifty-five (55) minorities, but dominated by the "Han Chinese" in terms of government. Since its earliest and varied history, perhaps no event is so full of interest, drama and significance as the rise of the petty state of Qin (pronounced "Chin") from amidst the group of feudal states that comprised the China of the Zhou Dynasty (1027-
256 B.C.). It was the Qin that completed the political unification of China in 221 B.C. The Qin victory spelled the downfall of the old feudal system, which Confucius had struggled so hard to preserve, and established the foundations for the Chinese Empire, which lasted with comparatively little change until the creation of the Chinese Republic in 1912.

The founder and very first ruler of the Chinese Empire was born in 259 B.C.; his name was Qin Shihuang. At his death in 210 B.C., he had given China its name, the word "emperor" to the world, and established the world's longest running form of government - China's Imperial System which lasted over 2200 years. Although one of the most amazing rulers of all time, Qin Shihuang is little known to Westerners. He was a conqueror, a unifier, a centralizer, a standardizer, a builder, and a destroyer. In Western history, men of comparable achievement would be Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) and Julius Caesar (100-44 B.C.). Although both deified and despised during his lifetime, what he achieved in thirty-six (36) years of rule probably surpasses the accomplishments of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

PERSONAL REFLECTION:

Few visitors to China, myself included, can remain unaware of the works of Qin Shihuang for long. The legacy of the "First Emperor" (Shihuang-di) surrounds all visitors, whether they marvel at
the architectural feat known as the Great Wall, gaze in wonder at his exquisitely-detailed 7000 strong terra-cotta army in his mausoleum, learn that the magnificence of the Forbidden City in Beijing pales in comparison to his fabled palaces, travel the roads and canals which he begun, or see the script in newspapers and signs that traces its form to his rule. He was, in a real sense, the maker of China. Yet, my knowledge of him was such that he remained a shadowy figure in my World History classes. To illustrate, consult the sample pages from a variety of high school history textbooks that I have used in my teaching of World History over the past few years (Appendix 1.). There is no real analysis of this most significant individual in Chinese history. The discovery of his tomb in 1974, with its life-size terra-cotta soldiers standing guard over it, awakened my interest in this man who was the First Sovereign Emperor of China.

However, it was not until notification in 1984 of my award of a Fulbright Summer Seminar scholarship to China that ideas began to come together for a curriculum project about Qin Shihuang. The events of Spring, 1989, witnessed noble crowds of people in Tianamen Square calling for basic human rights in the most unique and dramatic manner. What would be the thoughts of the First Emperor regarding this unprecedented demonstration? The answer to this question, to my thinking, is that the leadership of the People's Republic of China retreated to the same secrecy employed by the First Emperor in the face of unparalleled threats and utilized the same degree of force with which he would have felt justified to preserve the unity of his nation and government. Thus, in an uncanny way the First Emperor of
China is relevant to the contemporary examination of the nature of China and its approach to people and government. This thesis is what I want my students to explore within the theme of the summer seminar, "China: Tradition and Transformation," that I finally participated in during the summer of 1990.

OVERALL GOAL:

It is the intent of this curriculum unit to make students in a high school World History survey course more aware of the accomplishments of Qin Shihuang and his significance to Chinese history. To do this, students will study not only his rise to power, but how he succeeded in unifying the defeated feudal states into a nation. Also, students will examine the consequences of the achieving his life's goal and the relevance, if any, of his model of governing to contemporary China.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will be able to describe the characteristics of feudal China during the Zhou Dynasty.

2. Students will become knowledgeable of the biography of Qin Shihuang.
3. Students will become aware of Qin Shihuang’s legacy of government to modern China.

4. Students will be able to describe the characteristics of a state (population, territory, sovereignty, and government) and apply them to the development of China under the rule of Qin Shihuang.

5. Students will be able to summarize and analyze various historical interpretations of Qin Shihuang’s reign.

6. Students will compare and contrast Qin Shihuang’s efforts to unify and establish the nation of China with George Washington’s efforts to unify and establish the nation of the United States of America.

7. Students will compare and contrast Qin Shihuang’s approach to people and government with the reunification of China in 1949 under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

8. Students will compare and contrast Qin Shihuang’s approach to people and government with the present government of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

UNIT OUTLINE:
This unit of study should take two weeks to complete.

**DAY 1:** Students will read in their textbooks about the nature of feudalism during the Zhou Dynasty. Students will complete an outline map of the feudal states in China at that time. The teacher will present the changes taking place in the feudal structure to the class. (see excerpt in Appendix 2.)

**DAY 2:** Students will be introduced to the state of Qin and the early life of Qin Shihuang through a lecture. Qin, situated in far western China, was insignificant, probably contained Tartar as well as purely Chinese people, and had been treated as a state outside the pale of Chinese culture. However, it benefited from an infusion of Chinese culture and crushing victories over other feudal states. In 256 B.C., it defeated the impotent Zhou rulers and established a new dynasty. In 257 B.C., Qin Shihuang was born and became the ruler of the Qin Dynasty in 246 B.C. Qin Shihuang was the illegitimate son of a treacherous merchant and a concubine of the king. He became King Zheng of Qin at age thirteen. After more than twenty years of relentless warfare and Machiavellian intrigue, he succeeded in establishing the Chinese Empire, his final goal, in 221 B.C.

**DAY 3:** Students analyze the factors that contributed to the accomplishment of Qin Shihuang's goal and discuss their merits. Students are introduced to the nature of "Machiavellian
intrigue" through the reading "On Cruelty and Mercy, and Whether
It Is Better to Be Loved Than to Be Feared or the Contrary."
(see Appendix 3.)

Students are introduced to the fighting machine developed by the
state of Qin in its advance to empire. This is accomplished by
using a selection of readings from Chapter 2, "The Land of
Hungry Ghosts," in The First Emperor of China by Guisso, Pagani
and Miller.

Students are introduced to contemporary descriptions of the
state of Qin and Qin Shihuang. Working in small groups (3-4),
they are to develop a two-page analysis. (see Appendix 4.)

Finally, students are introduced to the philosophy of Legalism
and Li Si, who became second in power only to Qin Shihuang
himself. Students read selected excerpts from The First Emperor
of China by Guisso, Pagani and Miller.

DAY 4: Students will analyze the concept of "nation" - a
sizable group of people who are united by common bonds of race,
language, custom or religion - as it applied to China at the
time of the Qin Dynasty and as it applies to contemporary China
with its fifty-five minorities. The teacher will use the
National Geographical Society map "Peoples of China" to
illustrate the lesson. Also, I would use the occasion of our
visit to the Dali School for Minorities during the summer to
discuss current policy regarding minorities. Students will
then analyze the concept of "state" based upon the four
essential characteristics of population, territory, sovereignty,
and government as it applies to China and the United States. The United States is not a "nation-state" because it is a state composed of people from many nations. May the same be said true of China? The sovereignty of each of the fifty states is subordinated to "the supreme law of the land," that is, the United States Constitution. May the same comparison be made to the Chinese constitution?

**DAYS 5 and 6** Students will begin to investigate the person of Qin Shihuang. The very word "emperor" (huangdi) comes from his name, as does the name for the country we call China which comes from the name of his dynasty (Qin - pronounced "Chin"). The students will analyze him from the perspectives of conqueror, unifier, centralizer, standardizer, builder, and destroyer. His impact on China then and now will be determined from class discussion.

Topics to be studied include: 1) the development of the military power of the state of Qin, 2) the skillful diplomacy of Qin Shihuang and the brutal unification wars fought to unify China, 3) the abolition of the feudal system and the aristocratic warlords, 4) the creation of the 2200 year old Chinese Imperial System, 5) the establishment of an enormously detailed code of laws 6) the standardization of weights and measures, currencies and a writing system, 7) the great building projects initiated - roads, canals, irrigation systems, his fabled palace at Afang, the Great Wall, and the enormous tomb that was to be his final "empire," 8) the destruction of
opposing ideological systems, the burning of the books, and the 
burying alive of the scholars. Comparisons with contemporary 
China will be elicited from the students whenever possible.

DAY 7: Students will investigate the causes of the fall of the 
Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). The Chinese concept of the "Mandate 
of Heaven" will be introduced. The effect of burning the books 
and burying the scholars will be discussed as it affected and 
has affected Chinese history. The emperor's interest in 
preserving his life and growing reliance on magic and omens will 
be studied to see if similar patterns exist among the current 
leadership of China. The emperor's growing secretive lifestyle, 
megalomania and cruelty will be studied to see if similar 
patterns exist among the current leadership of China. Students 
will read selected excerpts from the book Tell the World by 
Liu Binyan.

DAY 8: Students will reread the chapter from their American 
history textbook that details George Washington's presidency and 
the establishment of our new national government. The theme 
would be, as Washington wrote, how Americans had to learn "to 
distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of 
lawful authority." Working in small groups (3-4), students 
should complete a matrix that compares the actions taken by 
President Washington and the First Emperor with regards to such 
things as lifestyle, advisors, use of the military, foreign 
policy, fiscal policy, economic growth, government involvement
in building a system of roads and canals, individual rights of citizens, political parties, individual freedom and equality of opportunity for minorities (women, Blacks, Indians in America), and the power of the central government. Students would be asked to evaluate the following excerpt from Washington’s Farewell Address to see if Qin Shihuang would be in agreement:

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you....it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; ...discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

What would be the reaction of the Chinese people today to this excerpt?

**DAY 9**: Students will be introduced to the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party through a lecture. The students will discuss what had to be done to unify the country after the Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists.
Students will be required to compare and contrast this time period with that of the feudal states during the Zhou Dynasty and the ascendancy of Qin Shihuang as First Emperor of China.

It should be noted that it was Mao Zedong who expressed his admiration both for the success and ruthlessness of the First Emperor that led to a widespread reappraisal of him after centuries of vilification by Chinese historians (see Appendix 5).

DAY 10: Students will be introduced to the events of the mass demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in the Spring of 1989 and the tragic conclusion of June 4, 1989. A variety of media may be used because of the availability of various forms of media that chronicled the demonstrations and subsequent crackdown by the Chinese government.

The students would be posed with the following question:

"Would the First Emperor have understood and approved of the government's ultimate response to the demonstration"? Students would be divided into small groups (3-4) to debate the question and then develop a position paper explaining their response.

EVALUATION:

Students may be evaluated using a combination of instruments
and methods. I would suggest the following: an objective test at the conclusion of the unit, participation in class discussion and group work, and an individual position paper detailing the student’s conclusion regarding the life and deeds of Qin Shihuang, China’s First Emperor.

ENRICHMENT:

If at all possible, the teacher should arrange for the class to view the docu-drama, "The First Emperor of China," produced by The National Film Board of Canada and The Canadian Museum of Civilization and The Xian Film Studio of China.

TEACHER REFERENCES:


Derk Bodde, China’s First Unifier: A Study of the Ch’in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu, 1938.


First Emperor of China

In 221 B.C., the victorious ruler of Ch'in emerged as master of China. He founded the Ch'in dynasty* and adopted a new title: Shih Huang Ti (shee hwahng dee), meaning "First Emperor."

Shih Huang Ti was determined to centralize power in his own hands. To do this, he reorganized the old feudal states into provinces and appointed provincial officials responsible to him. His policies were guided by the ruthless principles of Legalism.

With iron discipline and constant watchfulness, Shih Huang Ti imposed unity on China. He eliminated all opponents, by execution if necessary. Some ancient Chinese sources claim that he forced 120,000 noble families to resettle in his capital so he could watch over their activities. Wearing disguises, he would spy on his own officials.

The emperor also tried to control ideas and prevent the teaching of different points of view. He ordered the burning of almost all books. Only practical works, he said, were worth saving.

*Some scholars suggest that the name China came from the Ch'in dynasty.

Like Roman rulers, the Chinese emperor issued coins, dug new canals, and built a highway system that radiated out from the capital to distant regions. The improvements in transportation helped to bind the empire together. Yet these impressive achievements took a terrible toll of human lives. The Chinese government forced millions of peasant laborers to work on roads and canals. Many died of starvation or overwork.

The emperor's most spectacular achievement was the construction of a long defensive wall known today as the Great Wall of China. The Great Wall connected many smaller walls that had been built to prevent nomadic tribes from raiding northern China. It stretched for 1,400 miles (2200 kilometers), from the Yellow Sea to the interior of China. Although the Great Wall did not always hold back invading armies, it established a clear boundary between China and "barbarian" foreigners.

Shih Huang Ti set out to create an empire that would last forever. Yet it collapsed within a few years of his death in 210 B.C. After eight years of turmoil, a general seized power and established the Han dynasty, which lasted for over 400 years.

2. VISUAL EVIDENCE Have students compare the Great Wall with the Egyptian pyramids in terms of purpose, method of construction, and longevity.

2. During the reign of Shih Huang Ti, tens of thousands of laborers worked on the Great Wall. The huge stone wall stretches across the mountains and valleys of northern China. It was completed, some said, at the cost of one life for every stone put in place. Chinese emperors posted guards all along the Great Wall to defend northern China from barbarian invaders.
Two Dynasties Made China a Great Empire

As you read, look for answers to these questions:

- Who was Shi Huangdi and how did his rule affect China?
- What happened to Confucianism under the Qin and Han dynasties?

Key Terms: kowtow (defined on p. 85)

By 221 B.C., the leaders of the Qin kingdom finally took control away from the weak Zhou rulers and united the small kingdoms. The Qin leader took the name Shi Huangdi (shee hwahng dee), or First Emperor.

A Strong Emperor United China Under the Qin Dynasty

Shi Huangdi was determined to unify China and rule as a strong emperor. To do so would not be easy, for the teachings of Laozi and Confucius encouraged people to accept things as they were. This outlook stood in the way of the changes Shi Huangdi had in mind. Therefore, he ordered the books of Confucius and the other philosophers burned. By destroying these books, Shi Huangdi hoped to destroy the ideas that stood in his way. Scholars who protested against his actions were either killed or banished from China forever.

Having silenced most of the educated people, Shi Huangdi then tried to silence military leaders as well. He ordered the nobles and the rulers of small kingdoms to move their households to his capital. In this way, the emperor could continually monitor their activities. Their presence at his capital also added grace and prestige to his new court. In place of tiny kingdoms, the First Emperor divided the empire into several districts. Each district was ruled by a paid official. To win the loyalty of the peasants, the emperor allowed them to own the land on which they lived and worked.

Shi Huangdi realized that he could unite China by military strength alone. He tried other methods to bring the people closer together. He built new roads to help increase trade. He also added grace and prestige to his new court. In place of tiny kingdoms, the First Emperor divided the empire into several districts. Each district was ruled by a paid official. To win the loyalty of the peasants, the emperor allowed them to own the land on which they lived and worked.

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Shi Huangdi realized that he could unite China by military strength alone. He tried other methods to bring the people closer together. He built new roads to help increase trade. He also added grace and prestige to his new court. In place of tiny kingdoms, the First Emperor divided the empire into several districts. Each district was ruled by a paid official. To win the loyalty of the peasants, the emperor allowed them to own the land on which they lived and worked.

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DYNSATIC GOVERNMENT

The first dynasty was the Xia. Although the origins of the Xia are shrouded in legend, scholars today believe that the dynasty came to power about 4000 years ago. It was followed by the Shang, which, in turn, was followed by the Zhou. Below, a twentieth-century historian notes what happened when the Shang was replaced by the Zhou:

The Duke of [Zhou] tirelessly lectured the conquered Shang peoples about the Mandate of Heaven. He told them that [Zhou] leaders had no selfish wish to glorify themselves by attacking Shang. He said that they had no choice in the matter once Heaven commanded them to punish Shang. He advised the newly conquered peoples to abide by Heaven’s decision. He pointed out to them firmly that he was prepared to make them do so if need be. The Duke of [Zhou] understood the double-edged [meaning] of the new doctrine. [Zhou] could not retain its rule unless its kings ruled in such fashion as to remain in Heaven’s good graces. To do that they must rule fairly and kindly. Thenceforth no Chinese ruler was above challenge. Any challenger proved the point of his claim merely by succeeding. The doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven was solidly established before many decades had passed. It remained thereafter the cornerstone of all Chinese political theory.*

In 221 BC, the Zhou dynasty was replaced by the Qin dynasty. The Qin was the first dynasty to unite China under one ruler. Its first—and only—ruler, Zheng, named himself Shi Huangdi, or First Emperor. A strong ruler, Shi Huangdi acted cruelly toward his subjects and tried to end freedom of thought. In time, his harsh policies led to civil war. His dynasty was overthrown, and a new dynasty called the Han came to power.

The Han dynasty expanded China’s borders and set up a national capital at Chang-an. One of its greatest accomplishments was the establishment of a stable government. The government was made up of four main parts—a single ruler, government officials, a system of laws, and an official ideology.

The single ruler was the emperor. He made laws, took charge of the government, and interpreted the ideology. When he wanted to change a law, he had only to issue a new order. Below, a concerned guest discusses the attitude toward the law with a Chinese official:

You are supposed to be dispenser of justice for the Son of Heaven, and yet you pay no attention to the statute books, but simply decide cases in any way that will accord with the wishes of the ruler. Do you really think that is the way a law official should be?

[The official replied:] And where, may I ask, did the statute books come from in the first place? . . . Whatever the earlier rulers thought was right they wrote down in the books and made into statutes, and whatever the later rulers thought was right they duly classified as ordinances. Anything that suits the present age is right. Why bother with the laws of former times?*

An emperor who ruled for many years was considered a good ruler. Many Chinese believed that “the people are like grass, the ruler like the wind. As the wind blows, so the grass inclines.” Others said that “when a prince’s conduct is correct, his government is effective without issuing orders. If his personal conc cords, or ge tested to that tested idle, philo bureaucrats to make s powerful, t to stay in o home provad several the official other times terent offici


OBJECTIVE: To understand the development and achievements of the Han Dynasty of China

King Zheng Unifies China

From 200 B.C. to A.D. 200, the Romans dramatically influenced the development of civilization in western Eurasia. At the eastern end of Eurasia, 6,000 miles away, the Chinese developed another dominant civilization. Between 234 and 222 B.C., King Zheng (jehng) fought a series of battles that brought all of China's warring states under his rule.

King Zheng of the state of Qin (chin) conquered an area that included all of present-day China. He extended his control over lands from Manchuria to the northern edge of Vietnam and from the China Sea to the foothills of the Kunlun Mountains. See the map, Empires of China, page 167.

To impress his subjects, King Zheng changed his name to Shi Huangdi (shih hwahng dee), meaning First Emperor. Before this time the word huangdi, or emperor, had been used only for gods and mythical heroes.

To exert his control over the newly conquered states, the First Emperor needed to destroy the power of the former noble families. He moved more than 100,000 families to his capital city, Xianyang (shih ahn yang), destroyed their local fortresses, and melted down the weapons in their arsenals. He then centralized the administration of China by dividing the old warring states into 36 military districts. Civil and military governors ruled each district.

Like the Roman emperors, the First Emperor of China built a system of roads to move his army quickly from one place to another. The emperor also traveled the roads to inspect his district governments.

Impact of Shi Huangdi. Even though Shi Huangdi ruled for only 11 years, he made such radical changes that his dynasty marks a turning point in Chinese history. The emperor standardized weights, measures, and coinage for use in trade. He even set a standard axle width for wagons.

Most important, Shi Huangdi standardized the Chinese writing system. He wanted government officials and educated people...
to be able to communicate with one another in a standard written language. In China, people spoke many different dialects, or regional varieties, of Chinese, making communication difficult.

**Shi Huangdi, A Mighty Emperor**

In 1974, a group of farmers made a startling discovery about 500 miles west of Beijing (bā jīhng). While digging wells near the ancient capital of Xianyang, they unearthed an army of life-sized clay soldiers. Later, archaeologists excavating the site found over 6,000 clay figures of men and horses. Shi Huangdi, the First Emperor of China, had the clay army buried to protect his tomb when he died in 210 B.C.

Shi Huangdi fought for 12 years before he conquered all of the warring states. By 221 B.C., however, he had united China by defeating all his rivals “like a silkworm devouring a mulberry leaf.”

Shi Huangdi completed the Great Wall of China. Earlier Chinese rulers had built portions of the wall to keep out the Xiongnu (shë uhng noo), aggressive nomads who lived along the northern borders of China. Shi Huangdi linked the various sections of the wall to form the 1,500 mile (2,400-kilometer) Great Wall.

When completed, the Great Wall was 15 to 30 feet (4.5 to 9.0 meters) wide at its base.

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**Map Skills**

1. Identify the three major rivers in China.
2. Why did the Chinese build the Great Wall?
3. What mountains form a border between China and Tibet?
and 40 to 50 feet (12 to 15 meters) high. As many as 25,000 watch towers may have been built, and up to 15,000 free-standing outposts stood just outside the wall. Each outpost was supplied with enough provisions to withstand a siege of four months.

By linking the various walls together, Shi Huangdi gave China long periods of peace from invading nomads. Nevertheless, Shi Huangdi worried about security almost from the moment he became emperor.

The emperor's concern about security extended to his preparations for the next life. He directed as many as 700,000 workers over 36 years to prepare a secure tomb. Artisans molded statues of soldiers and horses from clay to accompany him in death. The statues were fired at high temperatures and painted brilliant colors. The soldiers varied in height from 5 feet, 9 inches to 6 feet tall. They held actual weapons, and the clay horses were harnessed to real chariots. To protect the tomb from intruders, an automatic crossbow was set up before the grave was sealed. The bow would shoot anyone who entered the sealed tomb after the emperor's burial.

Decline of Qin. Shi Huangdi and his advisors were followers of the philosophy of Legalism. They stressed the authority of the state over the people through the use of clear, uniform, and detailed laws. The emperor used the laws to regulate all aspects of Chinese life.

The emperor tried to rid China of Confucianism because it supported the traditions of the prior Zhou Dynasty. Shi Huangdi ordered all Confucian books burned and had 460 Confucian scholars buried alive. His book burning was so successful that later Chinese scholars had to reconstruct the early writings from memory.

Forced labor on the emperor's great building projects also caused unhappiness among the people. Hundreds of thousands of workers were needed to construct the Great Wall and imperial palaces.

According to Chinese tradition, a farmer, Zhe Sheng (che jheng), started a rebellion against Shi Huangdi's successor about 206 B.C. Floods had delayed him from reaching his work assignment on time. To avoid punishment, he started a rebellion that spread throughout the empire. The Qin Dynasty was overthrown in 206 B.C. However, the centralized bureaucracy of Shi Huangdi formed the basis for the rule of all later Chinese emperors.

The Han Dynasty

Eight years of civil war followed the overthrow of the Qin Dynasty. Finally, a commoner, Liu Bang (lioo bahng), defeated his rivals to become the new emperor of China. He took the name Han after the Han River. His dynasty, which ruled China from 206 B.C. to A.D. 220, was one of the most significant dynasties in early Chinese history. The Chinese still call themselves the people of Han after the important Han Dynasty.

Han established new policies to end suffering and discontent. He set less severe penalties for breaking laws. He also reduced taxes for farmers to one-fifteenth of each year's crop. Although people were required to work on public projects, their service was limited to one month of each year.

Han Government. The Han emperors developed a professional administrative system for governing the empire. The governor in charge of the 108 districts collected taxes based on a yearly census taken by the head of every village. The governors reported to regional administrators who were responsible to the emperor's ministers.

Han rulers depended on government officials chosen for their ability rather than their wealth or family connections. The Han established the first civil service system by requiring the governors of the provinces to recommend to the civil service each year "worthy and morally correct men." The candidates then went to the capital to take
Government of this kind, it will be noticed, being based upon personal contact between ruler and subject, and upon the influence of "li" (mores or customary morality), is one ideally fitted for the small state having a stable and homogeneous culture and a fixed population. In other words, it is well suited for conditions, as they existed in the petty feudal states of the early part of the Chou dynasty, when communications were poor, and the social structure of each state was relatively static. Government in a state of this kind is a paternalistic one, similar in many ways to that existing within the family clan, which, since earliest times, has been the basis of Chinese society. This is one reason why the Confucians have so often compared the state with the family, and refer so frequently to the ruler as "the parent of the people".

Even in the time of Confucius, however, it was becoming increasingly difficult to carry this concept of personal government into practice. Communications were improving, so that fewer persons spent all their lives in one locality than formerly. Under the impact of economic changes and new ideas, the old standards of the different states were crumbling, and people were becoming more and more impatient with the fixity of the feudal structure, which utterly failed to adapt itself to new conditions. At the same time many states were seizing territory for themselves at the expense of their
neighbors, and were finding it more and more difficult to govern the subjects thus acquired through the old methods. The "11", which were backed only by the power of public opinion, were found to be inadequate to cope with the new and changing conditions. Something more tangible and compelling, which would serve as a machinery to operate government in its increasing complexities, seemed necessary.

Derk Bodde, China's First Unifier, pages 192-193.

QUESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION:

After ten years of economic reforms, 1978-1988, in China, may it be said that the old order was crumbling and people were searching for a new system of government?

Does the present leadership of China have the willingness or ability to establish a new machinery to operate government in its increasing complexities as China seeks to modernize?
On Cruelty and Mercy, and Whether It Is Better to Be Loved Than to Be Feared or the Contrary

Proceeding to the other qualities mentioned above, I say that every prince must desire to be considered merciful and not cruel; nevertheless, he must take care not to misuse this mercy. Césare Borgia was considered cruel; none the less, his cruelty had brought order to Romagna, united it, restored it to peace and obedience. If we examine this carefully, we shall see that he was more merciful than the Florentine people who, in order to avoid being considered cruel, allowed the destruction of Pistoia. Therefore, a prince must not worry about the reproach of cruelty when it is a matter of keeping his subjects united and loyal; for with a very few examples of cruelty he will be more compassionate than those who, out of excessive mercy, permit disorders to continue, from which arise murders and plundering; for these usually harm the community at large, while the executions that come from the prince harm particular individuals. And the new prince, above all other princes, cannot escape the reputation of being called cruel, since new states are full of dangers. And Virgil, through Dido, states: 'My difficult condition and the newness of my rule make me act in such a manner, and to set guards over my land on all sides.'

Nevertheless, a prince must be cautious in believing and in acting, nor should he be afraid of his own shadow; and he should proceed in such a manner, tempered by prudence and humanity, so that too much trust may not render him imprudent nor too much distrust render him intolerable.

From this arises an argument: whether it is better to be loved than to be feared, or the contrary. I reply that one should like to be both one and the other; but since it is difficult to join them together, it is much safer to be feared than to be loved when one of the two must be lacking. For one can generally say this about men: that they are ungrateful, sly, simulators and deceivers, avoiders of danger, greedy for gain; and while you work for their good they are completely yours, offering you their blood, their property, their lives, and their sons, as I said earlier, when danger is far away; but when it comes nearer to you they run away. And thus the prince who bases his power entirely on their words, finding himself completely without other preparations, comes to ruin; for friendships that are acquired by a price and not by greatness and nobility of character are purchased but are not owned, and at the proper moment they cannot be spent. And men are less hesitant about harming someone who makes himself loved than one who makes himself feared because love is held together by a chain of obligation which, since men are wretched creatures, is broken on every occasion in which their own interests are concerned; but fear is sustained by a dread of punishment which will never abandon you.

A prince must nevertheless make himself feared in such a manner that he will avoid hatred, even if he does not acquire love; since to be feared and not to be hated can very well be combined; and this will always be so when he keeps his hands off the property and the women of his citizens and his subjects. And if he must take someone's life, he should do so when there is proper justification and manifest cause; but, above all, he should avoid seizing the property of others; for men forget more quickly the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. Moreover, reasons for seizing their property are never lacking; and he who begins to live by stealing always finds a reason for taking what belongs to others; on the contrary, reasons for taking a life are rarer and disappear sooner.

But when the prince is with his armies and has under his command a multitude of troops, then it is absolutely necessary that he not worry about being considered cruel; for without that reputation he will never keep an army united or prepared for any combat.

I conclude, therefore, returning to the problem of being feared and loved, that since men love at their own pleasure and fear at the pleasure of the prince, a wise prince should build his foundation upon that which belongs to him, not upon that which belongs to others: he must strive only to avoid hatred, as has been said.
APPENDIX 4.

INSCRIPTION ON A STELAE ERECTED ON MOUNT LANGYAI BY QIN SHIHUANG IN 218 B.C.:

A new age has been inaugurated by the (First) Emperor: Laws and measures have been made right...
Agriculture, the root occupation, is encouraged, and all secondary pursuits discouraged...
Tools and measures are uniform standard...
The written script is everywhere the same...
Local customs have been regulated...
Irrigation ditches have been made and the farmlands divided...
The Emperor makes (new) laws, leaving nothing unclear, and telling his people the prohibitions.
The magistrates know their duties and smoothly is the work of the government carried out...
The tasks (of the farmer) are done in due season, and all things grow and prosper.
The people know peace and have laid down their armour and their weapons...
The realm of the Emperor
Extends to the lands of the desert,
And South to where the dwellings face north,
East to the Eastern Oceans,
And North to beyond the lands of Daxia...
His compassion bathes even the beasts of the field,
All living things benefit from his virtue,
And dwell quietly in tranquility, at home!

THE FAMOUS ESSAY OF JIA YI (201-169 B.C.) CALLED "THE SINS OF QIN"

...And then there came the First Emperor to carry on the great
achievements of six generations (of his ancestors). Cracking his
long whip, he drove the whole world before him....He climbed to the
highest position and extended his sway over the six directions,
scourging the world with his rod, and shaking the four seas with his
power....Then, he discarded the ways of the former kings and burned
the writings of the "Hundred Schools" in order to keep his people
mired in ignorance. He tore down the great fortifications of the
states, executed their powerful leaders, collected all the arms of
the Empire, and had them brought to his capital at Xianyang...all
this in order to weaken the people of the Empire....He garrisoned
each strategic point with expert generals and skillful bowmen and
placed their trusted officials and well-trained soldiers where they
could protect the land with their weapons and question all who passed
back and forth....He believed deep within his heart that...he had
built a dynasty that would be enjoyed by his descendents for ten-thousand generations.

And for a while after the death of the First Emperor, the memory of his strength continued to over-awe the common people....

QUOTE FROM WEI LIAO, A COMPETENT ADVISOR TO QIN SHIHUANG:

The king of Qin (i.e. Shihuang) has the proboscis of a hornet and large (all-seeing) eyes. His chest is like that of a bird of prey and his voice like that of a jackal. He is merciless, with the heart of a tiger or a wolf. When he is in trouble, he finds it easy to humble himself, but when he is enjoying success, he finds it just as easy to devour human beings... Should he achieve his goal of conquering the Empire, we shall all become his slaves. I cannot cast in my lot with him.

THE CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHER, HSUN TZU, DESCRIBING THE STATE OF QIN IN ABOUT 264 B.C.:

Its frontier defenses are precipitous, its geographical configurations are advantageous, its mountains, forests, streams and valleys are excellent, and its natural resources are abundant. Thus in its geographical configurations it is outstanding.

When I entered its frontiers and observed its customs, I saw that its people are simple and unsophisticated. Their music is not
corrupting or licentious, and their clothing is not frivolous. They stand in deep awe of their officials, and are people who follow precedent obediently. When I reached the yamens of its cities and towns, I saw that their officials are dignified, and that there are none who are not courteous, temperate, honest, serious, sincere and tolerant. They are worthy officials.

When I entered the capital and observed its great prefects, as they went forth from their doors and entered the public places, or left the public places and returned to their own homes, I noticed that none of them engaged in private business, have partialities, or form cliques. They are high minded, and there are none who do not have understanding of the common welfare. They are worthy great prefects.

When I observed its court, I noticed that in the hearing of affairs everything was attended to, and yet in a quiet manner as if nothing were going on. It is a worthy court.

Thus it is no accident, but calculation, which has made Ch'in victorious during four generations. This is what I have seen, and therefore it is said that the apotheosis of good government is one in which there is repose and yet government; a general grasp of the situation and yet a going into details; an obtaining of results and yet an avoidance of bother. Ch'in is like this,

Nevertheless, it also has disturbing features. Granted that it possesses all of the above characteristics, yet if we compare these with the reputation of a true King, there is no question that they fall far short. Why should this be? It is because it (Ch'in) has almost no Confucians. Therefore it is said that a thorough-going
(Confucianism) will make a true King; partial (Confucianism) will make a Lord Protector; while when there is not one particle (of Confucianism), there comes disaster. And in this respect Ch'in also falls short.
The adulation of Qin Shihuang by Chinese historians began after an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Chairman Mao-Tse-tung in September of 1971. According to documents later released, his enemies had referred to Mao as a "feudal tyrant" and "a contemporary Qin Shihuang." His supporters then mounted a nation-wide campaign to show that Shihuang had been an enlightened ruler whose greatest achievement was, like Mao's, the unification of China. Numerous books and articles on Shihuang appeared in a short space of time and formed the basis for discussion meetings throughout the country. The most widely-distributed was a biography of the First Emperor by Hung Shidi. The initial printing of this work, in May of 1972, was 1.5 million copies and in just over a year, there were over 2 million copies in print!
"To Get Rich Is Glorious:" Student Analysis of Post-Mao Economic Reform in the Peoples' Republic of China

Ellen L. Pike
1990 Fulbright Summer Seminar Abroad
Peoples' Republic of China
INTRODUCTION: Since 1978 when China's leadership announced a new policy of economic reform and openness to the outside world, the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) has experienced explosive economic growth. In fact, China is undergoing more rapid economic change now than at any other time in her modern history. However, in spite of her long and venerable history and relatively favorable social indicators, China's Gross National Product (GNP) per capita remains one of the lowest in the world. China is home to 22% of the world's population. Therefore, its current political leaders recognize that if China is to realize any gains in GNP per capita, economic reform must continue to be the focus of national policy.

OBJECTIVES: The purpose of this project is to have students explore and analyze reasons for this economic reform and to compare and contrast the effects of new economic policy in different geographic regions of China and in both urban and rural areas. Students should begin to understand why China is experimenting with market socialism and why diversification and incentives are major aspects of the reform program. In addition, students will see that in spite of enormous successes, widespread economic disparities in different areas could lead to major political problems in the future.

GRADE LEVEL: This project is suitable for Senior High School Students in World History and/or Global Studies courses, Economics, and Contemporary Chinese History.

TIME: Ten class periods are needed to complete the entire project. However, any segment of this project may be used individually.

TEACHER RESOURCES: The following is a list of general references which provide background information.


**STRAATEGIES AND PROCEDURES**

1. **THE NEED FOR REFORM:** 3 class periods

   This activity is based on student research and analysis of the reasons for economic reform in China beginning in 1978. Students can quickly review what they already know about the centralized Soviet style economic planning which the PRC used exclusively from 1949-1978 and should explore the various reasons why that "command economy" was not adequate (e.g., lack of incentive when quotas are set by government, inadequacy of rationing, poor selection of goods, and generally slow economic growth). Students should also discuss the significance of the downfall of the "Gang of Four" to the emergence of a more pragmatic power center.

   1. Have students examine slides (obtained from a community resource or university East Asia outreach center) and/or pictures from recent periodicals to get a sense of what China's economic condition is like today.

   The pictures should represent a mix of urban and rural scenes and of different geographic regions of China. Students should observe housing, consumer goods, food, health care, etc. If a slide collection is unavailable, students may examine pictures in publications such as *National Geographic*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *China Today* (formerly *China Reconstructs*), *China Pictorial*, or *Beijing Review*.

   Students should observe carefully details of the pictures and respond to questions such as:

   -- What do these pictures tell you about the degree of economic modernization in China today?

   -- How do these pictures fit your preconceived ideas about what China is like today?

   -- How are they similar to or different from pictures of your own community?
2. Ask students to perform a statistical analysis of current economic and social indicators for China in order to determine how their impressions from the pictures they have just seen match with available quantitative data. Student resources for this activity include The World Bank's Development Data Book and/or the "World Affairs Annual" of Scholastic Magazines.

Economic and social indicators yield considerable information on the condition of a country and are a useful analytical tool for students. Students should look for data on GNP per capita, GNP growth rate, life expectancy, literacy, population growth rate, percentage of population engaged in agriculture, Personal Quality of Life Index (PQLI), etc.

--China is quite conscious of the economic successes of the "Four Tigers" (Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) and wants to emulate them. Students should compare and contrast statistics for China and for each of "the Four Tigers." How far does China have to go?

--Students should compare and contrast statistics for China and for industrialized countries of their choice.

--Students should discuss the implications of these various sets of figures. Where does China rank in the world? How far does China have to go to catch up with countries with which she would like to be compared?

II. REFORM MEASURES? 1 class period

This segment of the project is based on a lecture/discussion on the nature of the various economic reforms beginning in 1978 when the Chinese government introduced aspects of a market style economy and announced a new "openness to the outside world."

These reforms included:

-- Household Responsibility System: With the abolition of the commune system, agriculture was decollectivized; family farming returned to China. This reform was designed to increase agricultural output and improve rural productivity. Once a peasant family fulfilled its responsibility to the government by meeting its production quota, the family could dispose of any surplus as it wished, including selling it for profit.
Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs): These represent opportunities for profit-making enterprises to be set up in rural areas. These enterprises help to absorb surplus labor and to halt urban migration. Examples of items produced by these enterprises are folkcrafts, textiles, bricks, tiles, etc. TVEs which are labor intensive and which are well-suited to a region's resources are best.

Contract Labor System: This system makes China's labor market more flexible and allows companies broader opportunities to acquire and train the best workers. Companies gain new employees through advertisements, by word of mouth through friends and relatives of current workers, etc. This represents a significant departure from the old employment system in which the state assigned a person to a job.

Joint Ventures: A jointly owned enterprise in which a foreign owner enters into a partnership with a Chinese owner. The foreign owner's share is usually 25% - 50%. Typical joint ventures are in areas such as tourism, energy, food stuffs, etc. These joint ventures represent a good way for China to acquire foreign investment capital and technical expertise. Examples of joint ventures are the Hyatt Hotel in Xian, Peugeot factory in Guangzhou, Pepsi-Cola in Shenzhen, and Foxboro Company in Shanghai.

Special Economic Zones (SEZ): These are five regions in China's southeast (Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, Xiamen, Hainan Island). The Chinese authorities see them as "bridges" linking China to the outside world. Generally, they produce export products and serve as "laboratories" for new management and investment policies. SEZ's represent a way for China to gain advanced technologies and to test new management and economic policies. The Chinese Government provides physical infrastructure, a well-trained labor force, and preferential tax treatment to foreign businesses.

III. PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THIS REFORM 1 class period

Using the foregoing information, students should analyze the problems inherent in this reform program from a variety of perspectives.

A. Politically, this new economic system poses problems because previously the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was the only route to the "good life" in China. Today, the good life (as it is defined economically) can be had by anyone who has the will and desire to work hard for it. What does this do to the position of the CCP in China? How might this inequality of income and diversity of lifestyle affect China's stability?
B. Economically, there are natural differences between geographic areas of China. Historically, the cities (particularly those along the coast) have been richer and better developed than the interior. Will this program of economic reform even out inequities or increase them? Thinking back to some of the pictures seen in Section I, is it possible for all of China to become "modern?"

C. Socially, what are some of the problems that could emerge between state sector and private sector workers, between "physical" laborers and "mental" laborers, between urban and rural? With the introduction of incentives, bonuses, wide varieties of consumer goods, etc., what is socialism anyway?

IV. DEVELOPING REFORM MEASURES: A ROLE PLAY: 4 class periods

In order to more fully understand the difficulties encountered in China’s economic reform program, the class should be divided up into groups of 4-6 students.

1. Using various atlases, students should select a province or city and accumulate data on its resources, land, and topography as well as population density figures, etc. Using these data, they should develop a profile of their location and determine what its economic strengths and weaknesses are.

2. Using the profile of the selected location students should then engage in a role play/simulation activity in which they represent the city or provincial board which has to come up with a plan for economic modernization.

3. Each group should report orally on its reform program. The class will critique each presentation.

The purpose of this exercise is to have students understand some of the difficult choices which China’s reformers must make. Problems with infrastructure, arable land, resources, etc. make it hard for the reform program to benefit everyone equitably.
V. CONCLUSION: 1 class period

All of the preceding activities should lead students to understand that there are many different Chinas. Because of China's size and diversity, unity and integration are important goals for her leaders. Students should discuss whether or not these economic reforms contribute to unity or encourage disparities between different regions of the country which may not be resolved.

As a concluding activity, the class can be divided into thirds for a debate. One team can argue that China's economic reforms contribute to unity while the other can argue that these reforms contribute to disunity. The third group can serve as judges.
Title: The Effectiveness of the Demographic Initiative in China Today

Submitted by:
Ella P. Ross
China Tradition and Transformation Fulbright Seminar
June 25—July 26, 1990
AN OVERVIEW

A mighty civilization! I think China has so much to offer historically and culturally. One of my deepest yearnings has always been to study firsthand the oldest continuing civilization in the world. That wish was granted during the summer of 1990. I shall forever be grateful to the United States Department of Education, The National Committee on United States-China Relations, The State Education Commission in China, Dr. Craig Canning of William and Mary and the seventeen Fulbrighters who made the Seminar, China Tradition and Transformation a very exciting and broadening experience for me. The focus of this paper is to first explain the Strategic Demographic Initiatives, second, to enumerate the incentives for following the policy, third, some of the consequences for not adhering to basic state policy will be given. Also, there will be some discussion and statistics illustrating to what extent has the program to encourage families to have only one child been effective? Finally some of the ramifications of SDI will be presented.

China, the most populous country in the world, is a predominantly rural, low-income country which extends over an immense portion of East Asia. China's three-million seven hundred five thousand three hundred ninety square miles is home to 1.08 billion people. One out every five people in the world lives in China. The vast majority of the population are Han Chinese. However, there are fifty-five minority nationalities who account for sixty-eight million of the total population.

Realizing that twenty-one percent of the world's people reside in Mainland China, Peng Peiyun, Minister of the State Family Planning Commission, stated that, "The excessive growth of the population has put heavy pressure on the economics and social development, resources, ecology, and environment. It has also seriously hindered the Chinese socialist modernization construction and the improvement of people's material and cultural level" (China Daily, July 16, 1990).

In order to eradicate poverty and make the country more prosperous and the people happier, Peng said that the implementation of the family planning program is the "one-child per couple" policy which was promulgated in 1979 (Hardee-Cleveland, 245). Since 1949, The People's Republic of China has experienced three patterns in its population growth. Here are the patterns:

- High birth rate----------high mortality rate----------low growth rate
- High birth rate----------low mortality rate----------high growth rate
- Low birth rate----------low mortality rate----------low growth rate

Such a pattern is rare especially in terms of speed, therefore much has been written and said about China's policy of family planning.

Now, some of the characteristics of China's present population will be given. It has a large base figure and youth predominance. According to the census in 1982, the number of people in the 0-14 age group made up 33.44 percent of the country's population. Those under the age of 30 comprised 64.4 percent. The average age was 29.
Another quality of the population is the predominant rural population with 797.63 million or 79.45 percent of the people living in the countryside. Thirdly, although China’s educational program is growing, it still has a low educational level. Only 6.8 percent of the people have senior middle education and above. A fourth characteristic is that China’s population is unevenly distributed.

THE FOCUS

Since population has become a key problem in the economic and social development of the People’s Republic of China, the country announced in 1979 STRATEGIC DEMOGRAPHIC INITIATIVES to strictly control population growth and family planning as basic state policy. This policy is composed of "one-child per couple," raising the quality of the population, a family-planning policy of late marriage and late childbirth. Specifically, couples are encouraged to have only one child, staff and workers, and city dwellers are urged to have a second child if their circumstances are urgent. All couples in mountainous, forest and fishing areas as well as sparsely populated regions can have a second child. Ethnic minority couples in rural areas are allowed to have as many as four children.

To guarantee the implementation of the family-planning policy, the state has adopted publicity and education as the cornerstone of the whole S D I. The first step is to publicize through mass media population information both general and specific regarding state policies and laws concerning family planning, knowledge about sterilization and contraception as well as having healthy babies and childrearing. There are mass mobilization drives and much propaganda to convince couples of the need for smaller families in order to enjoy a higher quality life (Hardee-Cleveland,259). Secondly, special classes have been held in senior high schools. Population as a field of study is now available to students in colleges and universities. The third step in this process is to organize the masses so that they will compare the relationship between the amount of land, grain and per capita income and population growth. The aim of this comparison is to get the people to see the necessity of family planning (Population and Family Planning,16).

Another way to encourage compliance with the S D I is to offer a variety of benefits including pay bonuses to those who respond to the call of having only one child. Urban couples receive a bonus of sixty Yuan annually upon presentation of the Certificate of Honor. Preferential treatment is given to only children and their families in nursery, school, factory or college enrollment, housing distribution and medical treatment. Preference is also given to those rural families with only children with regard to receiving bonuses, selling a smaller portion of fixed output quotas to the state or receiving more farm plots for private use, obtaining improved varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

PENALTIES AND RESTRICTIONS

Since one of the stated goals of the Strategic Demographic Initiatives has been to keep the total population within the range of
1.2 billion by the year 2000, high pressure methods of the family planning program have frequently been used (Yuan,7). The state also imposes economic restrictions on those who don't follow the policy of family planning. Deductions of five to ten percent will be made for seven to fourteen years from monthly wages of staff and workers and urban residents who have childbirths beyond this plan. Rural couples who violate the policy pay a fine in some areas, and in other areas they must sell a larger portion of the fixed output quotas to the state as a fine (Population and Family Planning,8). Cadres and family planning workers don't have the privilege to have more than one child. There were examples of them being fined and removed from their positions for noncompliance. Those who have children in excess of the plan will never be made cadres, will not be promoted, will not be evaluated as an advanced worker and will not be given additional housing space. There is evidence that the family planning program continues to pressure couples with unauthorized pregnancies to have abortions. those with two children are encouraged to undergo sterilization. In order to meet family planning targets set by the state and the provinces (Hardee-Cleveland,256).

In the Jiang Province, serious violators are to be punished with cancellation of employment contracts, closing of businesses, or revoking of licenses.

HOW EFFECTIVE HAS FAMILY PLANNING BEEN?

Although the family planning program is popular among the masses, serious problems still exist. The 1990's is the key period to control the population growth. according to a report from the State Statistics Bureau.

China will have its third baby boom in the early 1990's. When it comes, the number of women of child-bearing age will grow from 280 million to 340 million, 12 million of whom will reach their peak age for bearing children annually (Tang,1).

More and more Chinese people appear to be aware of the importance of birth control. On World Population Day which was held July 11, 1990, many doctors, parents with children and people of all walks of life participated in the singing, dancing, consultation sessions, quizzes, cartoon and calligraphy displays and family planning exhibitions.

China has achieved remarkable success in family planning work. The total child-bearing rate on average of Chinese women was as high as 5.9 in the 1950's, 5.7 in the 1960's, 4 in the 1970's and dropped to 2.5 in the 1980's (1981-1987) a 57 percent decrease from that of the 1960's (wang,2). Also, the average birth rate was 3.3 percent in the 1950's, 3.5 percent in the 1960's, 2.3 percent in the 1970's, and dropped to 1.9 percent in the 1980's (1981-1988) a 43 percent decrease from the 1960's.

Since the 1970's, the death rate in China has been comparatively stable. The natural population growth rate was 2.5 percent in the 1960's, 1.6 percent in the 1970's, and dropped to 1.3 percent in the 1980's (1981-1988) a 48 percent decrease from the 1960's (Wang,2).

The family planning policy has helped the Chinese people to
change their attitude about marriage and child-bearing. In the past, couples usually married and bore children early and wished to have more than one child. But now, more and more people want to marry and give birth later and wish to have fewer children.

According to a sample survey, the average age at first marriage was 18.7 in the 1940's and 21.8 in the 1970's. Those who married younger than 18 years old accounted for 51.1 percent in 1940, but dropped to 5.2 percent in 1980, a 90 percent decrease.

Family structure has also changed greatly. Families with more than two children dropped and those with one child increased. The one child family proportion was 20.7 percent in 1970 and 52.2 percent in the first half of 1980, a 152 percent increase. Families with more than two children accounted for 62.2 percent in 1970 and 15.4 percent in the first half of 1980, a 75 percent decrease (Wang,2).

The implementation of family planning has helped to improve population quality. Before 1950, the life expectancy of the Chinese people was only 35 years but it rose to 67.8 years in 1981 (66.4 years for men and 69.3 years for women). It was up to 69.1 years in 1987 (67.3 for men and 70.7 for women).

In the 1980's, the Chinese population death rate, infant death rate, birth rate, natural growth and total fertility rates had all decreased by large margins, at the same time the average life span, first marriage age and growth control had risen.

Compared with many developing countries, China has gained outstanding achievements in family planning work (Wang,2).

**SOME RAMIFICATIONS OF STRATEGIC DEMOGRAPHIC INITIATIVES:**

1). Finding work for young women who have completed their childbearing while in their twenties.

2). Addressing the needs of rural men who are actually affected by the aspirations and demands of their wives who are being suddenly liberated from the burden of extended childbearing.

3). Under-reporting of births by rural couples, especially if the first child is a girl.

4). Infanticiding of girl babies despite the 1950 law which prohibits infanticide.

5). Re-emerging of early marriage and early reproduction. The 1980 marriage law relaxed the strictures of the 1970's. Today, later marriages are again being advocated (Brophy,12).

6). Deciding how elderly parents will be cared for if there is only one child who is relocated to a different area due to migration or location policy.

7). Renouncing by 12.5 percent of "One-Child Certificate Holders" who had a girl compared to 6.7 percent who had a boy.

8). Piloting of an experimental population planning program where the
option of a second child after an interval of 6-10 years is in progress.

9) Rising tensions between the desire to meet the “One child per couple” policy and the pragmatism of achieving what is feasible in a changing yet still traditional China.

The following pages will further illustrate the position that has been taken in this paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Croll, Elizabeth and Davin, Delia, China's One-Child Policy, New York: St. Martin’s Press.


Song, Qiu, "Li's Tech Well-Received at Home and Abroad", China Daily, July 16, 1990, p.3.


The graph shows the age-specific fertility rates for China's population. The peak fertility rate is seen in the 20-24 age group, indicating a high fertility rate. This peak fertility rate occurred around 1970, as indicated in Figure 2. The fertility rate then declined to lower levels as the age group increased, showing a trend towards a lower fertility rate.

The source for this information is 'Analysis of China's National One-Per-Thousand Population Sample Fertility Survey,' published by the China Population Information Centre in 1984.
FIGURE 2  Number of women in peak childbearing ages: China, 1982–2000

NOTE: Peak childbearing ages are 21–30. Women in these ages have single-year age-specific fertility rates of 0.1 or above.


Here is an example to show that substantial increases in the number of women in their childbearing ages are expected to produce a sharp rise in total births.
This table is a good indicator of China’s fertility transition. Birth rates fluctuated erratically during the 1950s and 1960s, but then was a precipitous decline in the 1970s childbearing rate of China’s population. Table 1 presents figures on the total fertility rate in China’s population for selected years since 1950, which was calculated from the 1982 “One-in-one thousand National Fertility Survey.”

In 1970, the national total fertility rate (an estimate of how many children a woman will have in her lifetime based upon fertility behavior in that year) was a little higher than the figure for 1950. Over the next decade, there was a drop of more than 60% in the total fertility rate. In spite of recent fluctuations, low levels of fertility have been maintained. A major part of the explanation of the demographic transition can be attributed to China’s very stringent family planning campaign (White & Z. Su, 1973).
Table 1 shows the reported crude birth rates in China between 1981 and 1986, the implied number of births and total fertility rates (TFRs), and the reported crude death rates and rates of natural increase. The birth rate dropped from 20.9 per thousand in 1981 to 17.5 in 1984, giving rise to optimism that after the precipitous drop observed in the 1970s, birth rates were continuing their decline. In 1986, however, the birth rate rose to nearly the level of 1981 and the rate of natural increase rose to 14.1 from 11.2 per thousand population in 1985. The 1986 birth rate resulted in almost 3.4 million more births in 1986 than in 1985. Much of the rise was due to an increase in fertility.
TABLE 2  Percent distribution of births by birth order: China, 1970–86

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>First births</th>
<th>Second births</th>
<th>Third or higher order births</th>
<th>All births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Unclear whether data are consistent with earlier years (see note 12).


This chart shows that in spite of the vigor with which the family planning policy has been carried out, about half of all births in recent years have been second or higher order births. These figures also indicate rising compliance with the one-child program in the early 1980s and a moderate relaxation and somewhat greater proportions of higher order births by 1986 (Wheat/ST, BU, #74).
### TABLE 2  Birth control operations in China, 1971–86

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total operations*</th>
<th>IUD insertions</th>
<th>IUD removals</th>
<th>Vasectomies</th>
<th>Tubal ligations</th>
<th>Induced abortions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>13,051,123b</td>
<td>6,172,889</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>1,223,480</td>
<td>1,744,644</td>
<td>3,910.11c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>18,690,446</td>
<td>9,220,297</td>
<td>853,625</td>
<td>1,115,822</td>
<td>2,087,160</td>
<td>4,811.94c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>25,075,557</td>
<td>13,949,569</td>
<td>1,126,756</td>
<td>1,933,210</td>
<td>2,955,617</td>
<td>5,110.40c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>22,638,229</td>
<td>12,579,886</td>
<td>1,352,787</td>
<td>1,445,251</td>
<td>3,280,042</td>
<td>5,084.20c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>29,462,861</td>
<td>16,743,693</td>
<td>1,702,213</td>
<td>2,652,653</td>
<td>4,811.344</td>
<td>4,984.964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>22,385,435</td>
<td>11,626,510</td>
<td>1,812,590</td>
<td>1,495,540</td>
<td>2,707,849</td>
<td>4,742.444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>25,539,086</td>
<td>12,974,313</td>
<td>2,087,420</td>
<td>767,542</td>
<td>2,511,413</td>
<td>5,229.50c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>21,720,096</td>
<td>10,962,517</td>
<td>1,941,880</td>
<td>2,616,876</td>
<td>5,289,518</td>
<td>7,856.58c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>30,581,114</td>
<td>13,472,392</td>
<td>2,288,670</td>
<td>1,673,947</td>
<td>3,842,006</td>
<td>9,527.64c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>28,628,437</td>
<td>11,491,871</td>
<td>2,403,408</td>
<td>1,363,508</td>
<td>5,555,971</td>
<td>8,696.43c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>22,760,305</td>
<td>10,344,537</td>
<td>1,513,376</td>
<td>649,476</td>
<td>1,555,971</td>
<td>8,696.43c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>33,702,389</td>
<td>14,069,161</td>
<td>2,056,671</td>
<td>1,230,967</td>
<td>3,925,927</td>
<td>12,419.60c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>58,205,572</td>
<td>17,755,736</td>
<td>5,323,354</td>
<td>4,359,261</td>
<td>16,398,378</td>
<td>14,371.14c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>31,734,864</td>
<td>11,751,146</td>
<td>4,383,129</td>
<td>1,293,286</td>
<td>5,417,163</td>
<td>8,890.14c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>28,470,000</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>11,580.00c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NR = not reported.
* Sum of IUD insertions, IUD removals, vasectomies, tubal ligations, and induced abortions.
* Excluding IUD removals.

**SOURCES:** Data for 1971 through 1984 were reported in Public Health Yearbook of China Compiler Committee, Public Health Yearbook of China 1985 (Beijing: People's Public Health Publishing House, 1986, p. 57). The total number of operations in 1971 was reported by Yan Renying, "Family planning promotes health care work for women and children" (in Chinese), China People's Daily, 23 October 1987, p. 3. The number of abortions in 1986 was reported in "Family planning head admits 'coercive activities," FBIS, No. 130, 8 July 1987, p. K1.

The government not only tells Chinese couples they must practice birth control; it often tells them what type they must use. In 1979 and in the subsequent years, in some urban and women pregnant with a second or higher order child were required to abort their pregnancies. Table 2 shows that in the first year of the one-child program (1979), there were a surge in the number of induced abortions and tubal ligations performed in comparison to other years. Table 2 also documents the very large number of IUD insertions, IUD removals, and induced abortions carried out under the Family Planning Program.
THE OPTIMIST
BEIJING, 1990

ROBERT J. RUTH
CURRICULUM/RESEARCH PROJECT
FULBRIGHT - HAYS SEMINAR 1990
THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA
CHINA: TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION
CONFERENCE INTRODUCTION

This past June 1990, I noticed a T-shirt being worn by a man on the street in Beijing. The word OPTIMIST (in English and in Chinese - I think) sent a strong, compelling message to the throngs of us, walking and pedaling by. It gave me hope and diminished my feelings of hopelessness in the face of an invisible wall of raw power.

Humiliation, fear and deep anger at injustice, are rendered tolerable by the closely guarded images of beloved friends, nature and of being a part of a glorious culture and an ancient land.

In this, we encounter the central theme of existentialism: to live is to suffer; to survive is to find meaning in the suffering. It has been said that "those who have a WHY TO LIVE can bear with almost any HOW.

Life in China might conspire to make the citizens lose their hold, when many of the goals of life are snatched away. What alone remains is "the last of human freedoms - the ability to choose one's attitude in a given set of circumstances."

This past summer 1990, I had a rare opportunity as a Fulbright Scholar to visit the Peoples Republic of China, to gather information, to write a report, to promote international understanding, to improve the world, to make person to person contacts and to walk through and beyond personal and international history.

I made a successful application for this scholarship in December 1989, with the help and encouragement of my wife. With her sudden death, I was faced with that same central theme of existentialism: to live is to suffer, but to survive and thrive is to find meaning in the suffering. I too had the freedom to choose an attitude in a given set of circumstances.

I walked into personal history as the single father of Allison Ruth, my six year old daughter. Finding meaning in that personal crossroad, focused my attention for the next three years. I had to forego, and rightly so, the opportunity to study China in 1987.

June 1989 presented a better opportunity for me to move forward with my life and to find closure in an experience that I was ready for.
My child and I discussed where daddy was going in June 1989. We found China on the map, studied, and naturally planned her "3rd Grade-City-of-the-World Report", on Beijing. The report was due during the first week of June 1989.

World history began to unfold in breathtaking grandeur and each days newspapers made Allison's 3rd GRADE REPORT, all too real.

The magnificence, courage, euphoria, hope and naivety of a million demonstrators...and the People's Liberation Army members who joined them...in Tiananmen Square...turned. The goals of a new life were snatched away. Raw power, jealousy, feudalism and rage...punished people who wanted a just, rational and prosperous society. Chinese citizens simply wanted to choose their leaders and to change those leaders often...BECAUSE...THEY KNEW THAT THE LAST EMPEROR WAS NOT THE LAST EMPEROR.

Today I would like to report to you. I would like to relate the experiences of our trip...as the first Official U.S. Educational Delegation in 1990, to enter The Peoples Republic of China, since the historic massacre of Chinese citizens in Tiananmen Square in June 1989.

The trip was historic and extraordinary.

One of the goals of this conference is to find meaning in the description of this experience. Meaning can come from a remembrance memorializing this benchmark in the history of 1.3 billion Chinese people, in re-experiencing the inspiration and suffering, in choosing an attitude and finally in ACTION.

It is the purpose of this conference to curse the darkness...but also to light a candle.

What follows is my report to the community.
WHAT FOLLOWS THIS INTRODUCTION IS A 1 HOUR 20 MINUTE PRESENTATION


FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT OF THIS CONFERENCE, CONTACT:

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WOMEN IN CHINA
A CURRICULUM PROJECT
FOR GRADES NINE AND TEN

SLOAN SABLE
DEBORAH SHEA DOYLE
OCTOBER 1990
WOMEN IN CHINA

OBJECTIVES

CONTENT

1. Students will gain insight into the differences between urban and rural China.

2. Students will learn that China is a land of many contradictions.

3. Students will gain greater understanding of the differences between traditional and modern China.

4. Students will gain some knowledge of the system of education, family life and government in China today.

5. Students will gain knowledge of the variety of expectations, roles and the variety of working experiences of women in China.

6. Students will assess the achievements and problems of Chinese woman and to see the commonality in the female experience of Chinese and American women.

7. Students will learn more about themselves through the study of others.

SKILL OBJECTIVES

1. Students will improve critical reading and thinking skills.

2. Students will work cooperatively in assessing each other's work through peer review.

3. Students will improve their analytical skills through assignments which focus on comparison and contrast questions.

4. Students will improve their research skills by exploring one aspect of life in China in library research.

5. Students will develop interviewing skills for oral history.
CHINESE WOMEN

LESSON PLAN / ASSIGNMENT SHEET

DAY 1 - Introduce the topic by showing slides taken while in China (see enclosed list of slides to be shown) The teacher should not make any personal comments at this time. It would help to have a tape of Chinese music playing in the background. Break the class into small groups and ask each group to share their impressions of China and women in China after viewing the slides.

- Teachers who have no slides to show could begin with student oral readings from Chinese Lives and Personal Voices passed out by the teacher at the beginning of class. After a number of selections have been read, the class can then break into small groups to share their impressions.

- Hand out Assignment Sheet for the unit and the Paper Assignment.

Homework - Make a list of your impressions of China and the role of women in China based on the slides you saw in class and your small group discussions.

- Reading Assignment: See "Selected Bibliography For Teachers and Students."

DAY 2 - Show slides again with teacher adding her impressions and information from enclosed list.

- Introduce idea of interviewing American Women. Discuss techniques of interviewing, whom to interview and possible questions. Pass out interviewing sheets.

Homework - Begin interviewing American women.

DAY 3 - Discuss interviews completed to date - Review interviewing techniques, and discuss any problems encountered. Add additional questions to interview sheets.

- Show Video - Longbow Trilogy Part I (SMALL HAPPINESS) (show first 30 minutes of the tape) This video is 361
widely available.

**Homework** - Reading Assignment: See "Selected Bibliography for Teachers and Students."
- Complete interviews and begin to focus on one area of comparison between women in China and women in the United States.

**DAY 4** - Show Longbow Trilogy - Part I - (last 30 minutes of the tape)
- (Last 10 minutes of class) - Divide into groups and make a list of the comparisons between rural and urban women in China.

**Homework** - Complete interviews
- Make a list of comparisons between rural and urban women in China based upon the tape "Small Happiness" and your small group discussions.

- Reading Assignment: "See Selected Bibliography for Teachers and Students."

**DAY 5** - Library Research - Teacher works with individuals on determining their area of interest working towards developing their thesis statement. Students may use the resources of the library for additional research.
- N.B. - Students may work in groups to brainstorm on possible essay topics / areas of comparison.

**Homework** - Write the introduction for the paper including a thesis statement and outline the rest of the paper. Be sure to follow the directions on the paper assignment sheet. Make note of further interviews and research needed to complete the paper. Bring outline, notes and books to class tomorrow.

**DAY 6** - Students bring introduction and outline to class. They are to work in pairs for a peer review of their work to date. They should use the Peer Review Sheet which is included with this unit. The teacher goes about the class to trouble shoot and to answer questions. If the students are
finished with their peer review, they may begin working on the body of the paper.

**Homework** - Complete paper using the paper assignment sheet as a guideline.

**DAY 7** - Paper Due at the start of class.

- Call on individuals to share conclusions with the class. This sharing of information could extend into the following class day.
LIST OF SLIDES TO BE SHOWN TO STUDENTS.

1. students exercising in the yard of an elementary school - most of the leaders are boys - one girl leader.
2. room of tiny beds in a preschool
3. line of bicycles at a middle school
4. classroom - middle school in the city
5. classroom in a village school - list of grades on the wall.
6. several slides of women working in cloisonne factory
7. woman professor at Beijing Normal University
8. woman translator - Beijing Normal university
9. woman acrobats in Shanghai
10. woman rehearsing an opera performance
11. woman sweeping the streets
12. woman at the market
13. woman at the Hyatt Hotel gift shop
14. woman patrolling the neighborhood in Kunming
15. several posters for the One-Child Policy
16. mother with child
17. father with child
18. day-care center Kunming
19. day-care center Beijing
20. several slides of woman with bound feet
21. picture bride and groom
22. girls in minority dress
23. rubbing doors in the Imperial City (to have a boy)
24. many women looking at one "little emperor"
25. day-care center in the village cooperative
26. woman in a rice paddy
27. women threshing rice
28. woman making carpets
29. woman carving jade
30. women washing clothes in a stream
31. women holding hands in Kunming
32. young girls holding hands along the street
33. women at an embroidery factory
34. woman making paper cuts
35. slide from museum in Dali showing Bai wedding customs
36. woman making pottery in a village cooperative
37. building for the Woman's Association of Shanghai
38. woman dishing out herbal medicine prescription
39. young girls lined up for inspection in the Shanghai Hilton Hotel
PAPER ASSIGNMENT

In a short 2 - 3 page paper (500 - 750 words) compare and contrast one aspect of the lives of Chinese women with that of American women. Be sure to include an introduction with an appropriate setting and thesis statement at the beginning and a concluding paragraph at the end. In developing the body of the paper be sure to choose two to three points to elaborate in detail with supporting evidence. Include a title page, footnotes, (formal or informal) and a bibliography of works consulted and people interviewed.
PAPER COMPARING ONE ASPECT OF THE LIVES OF CHINESE AND AMERICAN WOMEN

PEER REVIEW FORM

DIRECTIONS: You are to work in pairs evaluating each other's papers.
1. First read the entire paper without stopping for comment or clarification.
2. Reread it a second time using the following check list. Be sure to write your comments where appropriate instead of merely checking YES or NO.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>A. Has the student provided the setting and context for the thesis?</td>
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<td>B. Does it contain a thesis statement which is focused and clearly expressed?</td>
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<td>C. Does it contain the 2 - 3 points which the student will explore in detail in the body of the paper?</td>
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<td>D. Has the student avoided the use the personal pronoun?</td>
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<th>2. BODY OF THE PAPER</th>
<th>YES</th>
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<th>COMMENTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>A. Has the student taken each point mentioned in the introduction and developed it in a separate paragraph in the body of the paper?</td>
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<td>B. Has the student provided evidence to support each major argument?</td>
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C. Has the student contrasted each point with the experience of American women?

D. Are the arguments in the body of the paper taken up in the same order as in the thesis statement?

III. Conclusion

Has the student included a conclusion which summarizes the paper and, if possible, provides the historical perspective for his/her conclusion?
INTERVIEW SHEET

Interviewing is rarely as simple as it seems. To make sure you get the most out of your interview you need to be prepared. The clearer you are about what it is you want to know, the more productive your interview will be. A list of questions drawn up before the interviews will help focus and standardize the discussions.

If possible you might find it useful to tape record your talks. If you use a tape recorder, test it out beforehand and make sure your batteries are new if you need to rely on them. Here is a list of questions in several categories which might be helpful to help you get started. As you proceed with the interviews make revisions in your questions as needed.

Try to interview a cross-section of women from a variety of backgrounds.

N.B. A list of possible interview questions is attached to this sheet.
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

FAMILY BACKGROUND

1. How many brothers and sisters are there in your family? What are their ages?

2. What kind of relationship did you have with your brothers and/or sisters? To whom were you the closest when you were growing up? Has that changed?

3. What kind of relationship did you have with your mother? Your father? To whom were you the closest when you were growing up? Has it changed?

4. What expectations did your family (parents, grandparents, etc.) have of you?

5. To what extent and in what ways were their expectations shaped by the fact that you are female?

6. What were the major positive influences from your family background on your growth and development as a female in our society?

7. What were the major drawbacks from your family background on your growth and development as a female in our society?

EDUCATION

1. Describe your educational background.

2. In what ways have your educational experiences been shaped by the fact that you are female?

3. What were the major positive influences in your education on your growth and development as a female in our society?

4. What were the major negative influences in your education on your growth and development as a female in our society?

5. Do you think the education of girls is changing in our society? If so, how?

WORK (This category of questions should also be addressed to those women who work full time at home taking care of the family.)

1. What did you want to be when you grew up?

2. Have you fulfilled that dream? If not, why not?

3. What were the major influences on your choice of career?

4. To what degree and in what ways was your career choice shaped by
the fact that you are female?

5. In what ways has your being female aided the development of your career?

6. In what ways has your being female hindered the development of your career?

7. Has it become harder or easier for women to succeed in your career area in the past ten years?

8. What effect do you expect your being female to have on your future in your career?

9. Do you think the work roles of women are changing in our society? If so, how?

FAMILY LIFE

1. Are you presently involved in a family as a wife and/or mother? If so, describe it.

2. How does your being female shape your role in your family?

3. Do your family responsibilities conflict with your job responsibilities?

4. If you have a daughter, have you consciously chosen to do something in raising her because she is a female?

5. If you have a son, have you consciously chosen to do something in raising him because he is a male?

6. Do you think the role of women in the family is changing in our society? If so, how?

MISCELLANEOUS

1. How were and are your expectations for your work shaped by your being female?

2. Do you believe there are basic differences between men and women? If so, what are they?

3. Would you rather be a male or a female and why?

4. Do you believe women are 1) more intuitive, 2) more emotional, 3) more in touch with their feelings, 4) more interested in relationships than men?

5. What ought men learn from women to do better?

6. What ought women learn from men to do better?
NOTES ON CHINESE WOMEN

THE FOLLOWING NOTES WERE ASSEMBLED BY SLOAN SABLE AND DEBORAH DOYLE FOLLOWING THEIR VISIT TO CHINA JUNE 28, 1990 TO JULY 28, 1990. THEY ARE BASED UPON NOTES COMPILED FROM LECTURES TO THE SECONDARY TEACHERS IN THE FULBRIGHT SEMINAR ABROAD PROGRAM AND FROM EXTENSIVE INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE WOMEN FROM MANY WALKS OF LIFE. IN READING THE FOLLOWING KEEP IN MIND THAT ONE U.S. DOLLAR EQUALS APPROXIMATELY 4.7 CHINESE YUAN.

I. LIFE CYCLE

A. CHILDHOOD

- A girl is considered to be a "small happiness" because boys are preferred.

- Traditionally a boy stayed in the family while a girl went to the husband's family. This is changing in cities today.

- While the government forbids infanticide, it is still prevalent in the countryside according to our sources.

- The penalty for infanticide is a fine; the penalty for drug dealing is death.

- In the cities nurses told us there is access to wide use of amniocentesis and abortion to avoid having female children.

- Because of the population crisis in China, the government has instituted a One-Child Policy. This makes giving birth to a daughter less desirable.
Women are caught in a bind to have one child and also to have a son.

Many Chinese expressed the concern that the One-Child Policy was creating "Little Emperors" and "Little Empresses" who were spoiled and self-centered. Every need of these children is catered to by parents and grandparents.

One person described the One-Child Policy to us as "Six planets (parents and grandparents) revolving around the sun (child)."

Special concessions, monthly stipends and other special privileges go to a family which commits itself to the One-Child Policy. If a family ignores the policy and has a second child, the government does not provide an education for that child, the family could have trouble getting promotions in their jobs, and there are no health benefits for that child. There are penalties for those who violate the policy. Only minority families are permitted to deviate from this policy. They are allowed two children. Professor Wong stated that exceptions are made for minorities because some of the minority groups are very small and might die out if they could not have more than one child.

The One-Child policy is ignored in some rural areas where it is more difficult to enforce. Boys are absolutely needed in the labor-intensive work of the countryside and to exploit new opportunities in the free economy. People can move and not be detected with more than one child.

One speaker felt the emphasis in promoting the policy should be on education. Presently, the government tries to enforce the policy through advertising posters and by assessing fines (2000 Yuan).

A speaker in a neighborhood association told us that if a child is born who is disabled or mentally retarded, the family is allowed to have another child. Also, she mentioned that if both parents are only children, they are...
allowed to have two children. Someone in each neighborhood association goes to the households to talk about family planning.

-A young guide in Guilin said her mother was a counselor for the One-Child Policy. She works in her neighborhood and talks to people about the necessity of the policy and provides them with birth control information.

-We talked to several people in the cities who fully accepted and in fact enjoyed their one child who was a girl.

-Interview with Ms. Guo, a young interpreter in Beijing. She stated that some young women don’t want children because it spoils their figures. Also, they worry that they can’t take care of them. Day-care centers are not always satisfactory because there are too many children in them. She preferred to have one person take care of a child but thought it would be too expensive. She also said that families must register births with the government (called Wu Kou) and it was not easy to get around this policy, especially in the cities.

-Professor Zhang -(Beijing ) spoke of the traditional roles of women in folktales in China. There are bad stepmothers who send stepdaughters to the woods or beat their stepsons. There are also good wives who rescue their husbands and women who are loyal to their husbands and fathers.

-Professor Wong in Beijing repeated the necessity of the One-Child Policy but pointed out that the problems arising from one-child homes were difficult to handle.

- Professor Wang - quoted Mao’s saying, “when women get degraded the whole world gets degraded.” While he stated that there have been great strides for women since 1949, he also quoted Mao’s saying: “the sky is high for women, but their wings are heavy.”

-Population in China - If every 4 people in China stood on top of each
other, they would keep going until they reached the moon. In China in 1950 each person was on 4.5 square meters; in 1975 each was on 3.6 square meters. In China 12 people occupy the same area as 1 American.

B. ADOLESCENCE

- There is less dating overall compared to teenagers than in the United States.

- Some speakers were concerned about the "love affairs" of teenagers, but this seemed to be more dating than "love affairs."

- In cities there is some parent/child strife and a desire by the children to have more freedom.

- An evening was spent speaking English with many young students in Kunming. When asked what they liked to do in their spare time, the students answered "work with my computer," "play the piano," "go to the movies" and "go hiking outside the city." After much questioning about their favorite music, some said "classical," others "piano," and finally one said "Madonna," and another "Michael Jackson."

- Ms. Guo, a young interpreter, told us her younger sister doesn't always listen to her parents. She is more open in her "love affairs" than Guo was. She said there is some teenage pregnancy. The pressures that young people feel are homework (sometimes at least 4 hours a night), relationships with parents and stress about passing the exams for senior middle school, and for university.

- Ms. Wong, a young Bai interpreter, (age 19), told us she likes to dance and sing with her girl friends. She goes with boys on picnics. She said boys help girls with studying and girls help boys with cooking. She liked going to university more (Shangdong) because she has more fun. Overall, she feels that boys have a better chance of finding a job than girls.
C. MARRIAGE

- Earlier in the rural areas than in the city.

Rural - B/20; G/18  Urban B/25; G/23

- In some areas of the countryside the girl wears sunglasses during the marriage ceremony because she is so shy. She also wears a mirror to ward off evil spirits.

- In the cities, the arranged marriage seems to be a thing of the past and in some cases people marry without the consent of their parents.

- Some Western style wedding dresses were seen in photographs and in window displays in towns.

- Women live with the husband's family in the countryside but most likely in one or the other's work unit (don wei) in the city.

- Discussion with the Roman Catholic Bishop and with the head of the Catholic Patriotic Society. They pointed out that more women than men are active in the Church. They said that the female nature is kind and that women are in the home and therefore loyal to religion. Also, in the family the wife and mother is the educator of the children. There is a Chinese saying that the women are one half of the sky. Because of family planning they ask young persons to marry and bear children later.

- Cost of basic things - 200,000 Yuan - Toyota car (4.7 Yuan - $1.00)
  2,380 Yuan - 20 inch color television (US$507)
  1,960 Yuan - small refrigerator ($418)
  5,000 Yuan - upright piano ($1060)

- Marriage age is regulated locally.

- In the countryside the young people marry earlier. They want to have children earlier to have a better life. Some marry earlier than the legal age. - The country people want more children, especially boys.
Interview with three young minority girls at the Dali Minority Middle School. One hoped to become a biologist and another a lawyer but they each expressed the view that after marriage they would return to their home village and would not work but would raise their children.

Interview with Ms. Guo, an interpreter. If couples belong to a work unit (don wei) like Beijing Normal University, they can't find common housing until at least the age of thirty. She is lucky to be in her husband's housing unit and therefore they have their own two room apartment. She shares the housework with her husband. He likes to cook. In the countryside women do more cooking than men because the men are needed in the fields.

Professor Feng. The One-Child Policy is a suggestion not law. Violators in the city will be fined.

Projection. - 1.2 Billion by the year 2000
Goal - 9.4 per 1000 increase
Now - 14 per 1000 increase
If don't decrease, 1.3 billion by the year 2000

- Neighborhood Association - Has dances for young people to meet other young people. The people sign up and tell about their background and an older person matches them up.

- Popular Television program in Shanghai - Men and Women go on the air and tell about themselves and what kind of a partner they are looking for. There is then time at the television station, and young people come down to meet each other.

Discussion with Ms. Hu Shi-gin, a woman professor in Xi'an. - Women are often ostracized after a divorce. The divorce is often looked upon as the woman's fault.
-Discussion with a woman at the Neighborhood Association - The association plays a role in divorce. It has a small mediation group, and they attempt mediation at first. The police station in the neighborhood is involved also.

D. CAREERS FOR WOMEN

- At every lecture a woman served us tea. At the Minority University in Kunming, a woman seemed to hold an important position. She seemed to be in charge of the meeting, yet she served us tea and fruit in the afternoon.

-Professor Jin Shu-xian - On the role of women in the CCP since 1949. There are now many women deputies, and the party hopes for more. She couldn't remember the exact number, but it is still fewer than it should be.

-Interview with Ms. Guo, a teacher of English at Beijing Normal University, on woman and college teaching. You don't make very much money. Teaching used to be a much more respected profession. She also feels that many students now want jobs not so much for the respect of the job as for the opportunity to get more money. The best paying jobs now are in the joint-ventures and in the hotels for foreigners.

-Ms. Guo also spoke of the number of students who can't go abroad since "the events of last June." You must work for five years after graduation, receive a scholarship from abroad or else pay the government 2000 Yuan for each year of education up to five years.

-Ms. Guo receives 70 Yuan a month plus 50 Yuan from teaching in night school. This can be compared to a regular bell cap at the Hyatt Hotel in Xian who receives 200 Yuan a month, and his supervisor who receives 300 Yuan a month.
Ms. Guo feels that there is equal pay for men and women in the universities but probably not in the joint ventures. She is told that women are not asked to translate as much in the Foreign Language Department of Beijing Normal University. We had only one female translator out of eight translators in Beijing.

Interview with a young woman who works in the bookstore of the Hyatt Hotel in Xi’an. She is a supervisor of three other women and makes about 240 Yuan a month. She makes more than her mother or father who work in a clothing factory.

Interview with young girls who work in the gift shop at the Hyatt Hotel in Xi’an. They each receive 200 Yuan a month. “Carl,” their manager, receives 240 Yuan a month. Carl went to the Shaanxi Foreign Language Institute for a two year program. He has a one-hour bicycle ride to get to work. His father works in a car factory, and he lives in his father’s work unit. One of the young girls, “Evelyn,” is the youngest of three children. She makes 200 Yuan a month. Her mother and father are teachers in the Shaanxi Business Management Institute. One brother teaches in a middle school. She makes more than anyone in her family. She attended the Shaanxi BMI for two years. The young men and women who work in these hotels take English names because it is easier for their boss to remember them. Several of these young people said they liked their new names.

Women working in an embroidery factory. Most of the people who work in the factory are women. It was well lit and had a pleasant work atmosphere. The women work a 48 hour work week and earn about 100 Yuan a month. It is very exacting work but is creative in that they often seem to be creating designs, and they work very intricate stitches. They are paid by the piece and get more money for an increased length of service.
Women working in the jade factory. They work at machines and cut and polish the jade which is made into jewelry or carvings. They are started at 50 to 60 Yuan a month. After about 20 years they receive about 200 Yuan for a 48 hour work week. The women do most of the cutting of the jade.

Interview with a wealthy peasant family outside of Xi'an. The family had two children. The mother, father and one set of grandparents lived in the house. The mother worked in the fields and gave 10% of her produce to the government and was able to keep the rest to sell. The families pay a 5% "administrative fee" to the village township. The husband and son work in the village repairing cars and earn 6000 Yuan and 1000 Yuan a year.

Interview with women at the Shanghai Opera. They receive 4 - 5 years training. An older star will receive about 400 Yuan a month while a younger star receives about 200 Yuan a month. The male roles in this section of the opera company are all played by females.

Discussion with doctor at Shanghai hospital. Woman doctors represent about 50% of the total number of doctors in both traditional and Western medicine. They receive about 200 Yuan a month. A woman doctor we met in Kunming left medicine because of the long hours and low pay and was working in the Foreign Affairs office of the Kunming Medical College where the shorter hours, more pay, and the opportunity to spend more time with her child appealed to her.

Interview with a retired couple running a "Mom/Pop" Store in Xi'an. They sell newspapers, beer, soda and ice cream. They are both retired and receive about 150 Yuan a month in retirement. They work all day and evening in their shop, pay 200 Yuan a month to the government in fees and
take home an additional 150 Yuan. They live in a two room apartment with their two sons, a daughter-in-law and a two-year-old grandchild. They store the supplies for their shop in the living room of the apartment.

-Women Musicians/Composers. We heard a recording of an Erhu solo played by a famous woman musician. Music Professor Yang said there is a well-known woman composer of scenes in Mongolia, but he couldn't remember her name. A young girl played the pipa in a demonstration for our group, but clearly the number of musicians seen and the responses of Professor Yang lead us to believe that opportunities for woman in music are not as great as those for men.

-Woman as College Professors. One half of the professors at Beijing Normal University are women. There are many more female college professors in China than in the United States.

-Women working in a carpet factory in Shanghai. They earn 200 Yuan a month. About two thirds of the factory workers are women. This is very skilled work and involves working very quickly.

-Interview with Ms. Wong, a college student in Dali. She is studying in the Foreign Language and Literature Department of Shangdong University. She felt that boys and girls receive equal treatment in foreign language at the university, but boys have a better chance of finding quality jobs after university.

-Interview with Yi-Xuan, an administrator in Secondary Education in Kunming. He said that many work units don't want to accept women. He feels that women are "physically and psychologically" inferior. He said that women are "unreliable and always out and can't do heavy work." Women are needed to take care of sick children because men's jobs are more important, and therefore men can't take time off from work.
E. RETIREMENT

-Retirement for teachers - Males - 60; Females - 55
-Life expectancy - Males - 72; Females - 76
-Ms. Guo's grandmother lives in a cave dwelling near Xi'an. She sleeps on a Kang, a brick bed. Her feet used to be bound. Guo hasn't seen her since 1985.
-Retirement age for most jobs - Women - 50 and Men - 60. You retire at 75 - 100% of your salary. The government is considering adjusting the difference in retirement age.
-Neighborhood Associations organize retirement groups. They have sewing, bridge, cooking, fishing and tai-chi groups.
-Many retired people supplement their income. Fifty percent of the workers go back to work and get double salary. If they receive over 420 Yuan a month, they must pay a tax. Most double salaries are not over that amount.
-Neighborhood Association - There are neighborhood "Aunties." These are retired women and sometimes men who keep order in the streets. There are some in each building to keep track of bad elements (thieves).
-Mr Li, guide in Shanghai - said that retired men park cars at the Ye Yuan Gardens and earn about 1 Yuan a day.
-Retired teacher in Shanghai - Was earning 200 Yuan a month when she retired; Now she receives 160 Yuan a month.

II. WOMEN IN EDUCATION
A. PRESCHOOL/KINDERGARDEN

- Visit to a day-care center in Beijing - Children separated by age up to age six. There were 25 - 30 in each group. Each group occupied two rooms with a bathroom and washing area and place to hang their clothes in between the two rooms. One room was filled with small beds so that they could nap. Two teachers monitored each group, and their room had some creative art work displayed. The state paid 27 Yuan a month for each child to attend, and their families paid 3 Yuan.

- Visit to a village day care center outside of Xi’an. This preschool/kindergarten operates in the summer while the parents are working. One group of 2 - 3 year olds were seated on small stools looking out at us as we came through to visit. They were all seated quietly and were very well behaved. Another group of 4 - 5 year olds were singing and dancing accompanied by a small organ. They didn’t seem distracted by our visit. Another group similar to this was doing the same thing. They were far from our view and did not seem to be doing it “just for show.”

- A Chinese woman who works for the American Embassy sends her five-year-old son to a state-run boarding kindergarden from Monday morning until Saturday afternoon.

B. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

- 41 years ago in 1949 at the time of liberation 80% of the country was illiterate. Now that number is down to 20%.

- 97% of elementary age students are in school.

- There are 8 million full-time teachers in both secondary and primary schools.
There is now compulsory education for nine years. In the cities, it is for twelve years, thus education is no longer just for the elite.

Schools operate six days a week. There are standarized exams to move to each higher level.

In math and science females are better at the elementary level, but this has reversed itself by upper middle school.

Twelve percent of elementary students drop out before middle school. This is mostly in the rural areas.

C. MIDDLE SCHOOL/HIGH SCHOOL

In the past, 50% of students went to junior middle school and 30% to senior-middle school and 3-4% to the university. Now there is education for all students, and therefore they try to have nine years of compulsory education and twelve years of education in the cities.

There is a required course in “Political Studies” in which the students study the relationship of people to the country and to their unit.

There is an emphasis on moral responsibility which includes morality, and physical responsibility (labor). “They need to know how to work with their hands.”

Some of the problems with students at this level according to Professor Tao of the Education Department of Beijing Normal University are that some students dislike studying. Some students say that in the United States they have “lively” studies, and the students are not bored as they sometimes are in China. Some students have problems with their parents, others start smoking and others have been found cheating on exams. He was also concerned that some start “love affairs” which he explained as beginning
to write letters and dating. However he emphasized that there are no unwed mothers and no problems with drugs.

- With math and science the females are a little ahead in junior middle school, but by senior middle school it is apparent the males are better, especially in terms of abstract thinking skills such as physics. Professor Tao said that the cause of this is found in the biology of females. They mature earlier and begin love affairs earlier. Therefore females marry earlier. Also, with the "long history of feudalism in China," females lack self esteem. He said, "we believe they are the same and can do the same as male students."

At one point the Chinese tried women's schools so women could compete and be encouraged to study without distractions. But problems developed because the girls became isolated and strange around the boys.

- There are key middle schools where the students are carefully selected. To enter them you must pass a 2 part exam with a total of 196 points or 98% on each part.

- Distribution of boy/girls in middle schools.
  - Grade 1 of junior middle school - more girls than boys
  - Senior year of senior middle school - more boys than girls

- There are two tracks in middle school - the liberal arts and the math/science tracks.

- Professor Wong of the Higher Education Department of Beijing Normal University feels that the examination system doesn't develop the whole student. It doesn't take the well-being of the student into consideration. Many high school students drop out because there is no hope for them to pass the college entrance examinations.
- The university exams last three days and are from two hours to one half day in length. There are private evening schools and tutors to help students prepare for these exams.

- Before the end of junior middle school about 25% of the students drop out. There is pressure by parents for women to drop out of school. This tendency was confirmed during our interviews with the girls at the minority school in Dali.

- Discussions with students at the Dali Minority Middle School - The girls were noticeably shier than the boys. When asked what they wanted to be, they looked down and blushed. The English teacher said they lacked confidence. Despite their shyness the girls tended to speak better English than the boys when they were in smaller groups. One third of the staff of Dali Middle School are women. The number of students with male siblings was greater than the number with female siblings. The boys said they respect aggressive girls but want to surpass them. The senior middle school girls said they don't think about marriage now because it seems too far off. In this school, 75 - 80% of the senior middle school are boys because many girls drop out after junior middle school. The boys classes are sometimes called "monk's classes" because so many of the girls have dropped out to help out at home or to marry early.

D. COLLEGE

- Exams for entrance to the university - must score 582 total points on six exams - that is a 97% average. Minority students may score six points lower, but they are at a disadvantage because the exams are given in the Mandarin language, not the minority languages.

- Some students, who just miss the cut off, are admitted to the university if their parents pay about 1500 Yuan a year.
- Interview with Ms. Guo, a translator and teacher of English at Beijing Normal University - Her sister just missed the 582 score, so her parents paid 1800 Yuan a year, and she went to Beijing Normal University for two years to study tourism. She now works at the information desk of a large joint-venture hotel.

- Professor Wong told us that once students are admitted to the university, they relax. Some in higher education have difficulty getting jobs. They need to have more students study applied science and technology. He said that bell hops, joint-venture hotel shop girls and waitresses make twice as much as university professors. At Beijing Normal University about one half of the students are women, but the percentage varies from school to school. There are many in languages and in the medical fields but fewer in the Colleges of Metalurgy and Engineering. He stated that a problem comes with job assignments. The boys get taken first even if they are less qualified. They are trying to overcome the "traditional feudal values of the country since liberation."

III. RURAL WOMEN

- 65% of the population is below thirty years of age.
- 500 million of the population are below twenty years of age.
- 80% of the population live in the countryside.
- Professor Feng said the children are thought to bring good fortune especially in old age. Childless couples are discriminated against. Boys are vastly preferred to girls. Girls are thrown out "like dirty water" because they are not of any use. A couple will bear children until they get a boy. Even at Beijing Normal University a professor had ten children until he got a boy. With economic reforms, the desire to have children in the countryside
is greater. Fines are levied but now the peasants are getting richer and can afford to pay the fine. Those who can't pay say, "this is a socialist country and it can't let us starve."

 - In the countryside there is much intermarriage and often birth defects result.

 - Professor Ye said that the responsibility system in the countryside encourages initiative, and therefore there has been an increase in the production of grain.

IV SISTERHOOD

 - Ms. Wong in Dali said the in her university (Shangdong) groups of girls get together and talk things over.

 - At the Dali Minority Middle Schhool the girls spend their free time with each other, not with the boys.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

This bibliography is designed to provide background reading for teachers and sources for teachers to draw upon in designing the student readings assigned in the "Lesson Plan / Assignment Sheet." Since reading levels vary widely in the ninth and tenth grades, it would be best if teachers choose readings for their own students which they deem appropriate in length and difficulty. Teachers might even decide to make up a packet of a variety of readings about women in China today from the materials listed below and let students choose their own readings depending upon the focus of their paper topics.


While the reading level of Women in Modern China is appropriate for students in seventh through tenth grades, it is clearly dated. It is extremely readable, provides numerous short excerpts from contemporary sources and interesting pictures and illustrations. Both teachers and students may find it useful background for the project.

Selections from China Daily News, July, 1990 are included at the end of this curriculum project. China Daily News is an English language newspaper published by the People's Republic of China and distributed throughout China to English-speaking foreigners. Teachers may select some of these articles for student reading as well as use them to discuss how to handle and interpret different points of view in primary source materials.


Chinese Women Since Mag is much more up to date than Women in Modern China, but the reading level is more difficult. It provides excellent background for teachers and able students in ninth and tenth grades. Some of the chapters included are "Peasant Women," "Urban Working Women," 'Domestic Labour and Child Care," "Love, Marriage and Divorce" and "One-Child Family." Chinese Women Since Mag would be a very useful addition to materials for library research. Elizabeth Croll has also edited with Delta Davis and Perry Kane China's One Child Policy published by Macmillan in 1985.


Personal Voices presents a very recent study of Chinese women and their concerns. Each chapter is a combination of scholarly discussion of issues and contemporary accounts from a variety of Chinese sources such as newspapers and interviews with Chinese women. The scholarly discussions provide excellent background for teachers, and most of the primary sources can easily be read by ninth and tenth

Another source for both teachers and students is the "Notes on Chinese Women" assembled by Deborah Doyle and Sloan Bable found at the end of this curriculum project and based upon lectures and interviews during their trip to China in July, 1980.


Chinese Lives is an extremely valuable source for both teachers and students. Zhang Xinlin and Sang Ye conducted interviews throughout China almost half of which were with women discussing important aspects of their lives. The interviews are lively, interesting and easy reading for ninth and tenth grade students and are an excellent source for student assigned readings. Chapter topics which include the most pertinent interviews with women are "Livings," "Way Up," "States Of Marriage," "Peasants," "Workers," "Service," "Loners," "Getting On," "Handicaps and Youth."
CHINA: A PATTERN OF TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

a nine week unit for high school students in Asian History and/or World History courses

The purposes for this course are:

a. to understand China and Chinese society by placing the 1989 Tiananmen Turmoil in perspective to an ancient, huge, and cumbersome nation that has for centuries had to deal with change: authoritatively and often with violence.

b. to explore how China has and continues to try to maintain her identity (TI) and how its desires to modernize (YONG) have historically created major problems for her and continue to do so today.

c. to see the effects of modernization and internationalization upon contemporary Chinese culture and to ascertain how these create problems for China that are very similar to our own in the United States.

d. to promote a greater understanding of China and her people so necessary in being able to live compatibly in an ever shrinking world.

To accomplish these objectives the following techniques will be used:

1. INTRODUCTION: since history is a "selection" of facts used to support an author's and even a nation's point of view, history is biased.

   a comparison of "TIME" magazine's report on the Tiananmen Turmoil of 1989 with that of the official Chinese government view of that event: "The Truth About the Beijing Turmoil: 1989" (Beijing Publishing House)

2. A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF CHINA PARALLELING CONTEMPORARY EVENTS AND POLICIES WITH THOSE OF PAST PERIODS

   a. issue: authoritarian leadership with military support

      This can be seen as early as the Shang Dynasty: 16th century BC to 11th century BC as a means of controlling a huge area, many people, warding off foreign intruders, or conquering a weakened Dynasty and maintaining control of the people. The 1644 overthrow of the Ming Dynasty is another example.

   b. issue: succession of power and loyalty

      Who will replace Deng Xiaoping? What difficulties have there been since the death of Mao and lack of clear succession to him? These issues are particularly apparent throughout Chinese history as one Dynasty is overthrown by another to be. For example, once a subordinate nation within the Shang Dynasty the Zhou Dynasty overthrew the Shang while fighting off barbarians. A more recent example would be the lack of continuity after Sun Yat-sen's death, and prior to that the Nationalists overthrow of the Manchus who were unable to deal with the effects of westerners (foreigners) upon their civilization.
c. Issue: Authoritarian Leadership as if it were mandated from Heaven

The Chinese ruler as receiving his mandate from Heaven climaxed during the Ming Dynasty with the creation of the Forbidden City and the Temple of Heavenly Peace. It suggests a people submitting to another form of authoritarianism - that backed by the unknown aura of divine power.

This seems reflected again during the Great Cultural Revolution of Mao's rule.

d. Issue: Along with the "mandate from heaven" a parallel belief evolved: if a ruler was cruel, lazy, or did not care for his people, they could overthrow him. The people then carried out God's punishment - the removal of the mandate from Heaven.

The Han Dynasty fell in part because of peasant rebellions. Other examples of this can be seen with the Taiping Rebellion against the Manchus, and the secret societies, i.e. the Boxers - resisting foreigners and the Manchus. The student movements of both May 4th and Tiananmen represent that need for purification.

e. Issue: Regional Factionalism

This has brought about warlordism at various times throughout Chinese history. For instance the Zhou Dynasty collapsed when kings could no longer control their lords, which lords then made alliances with barbarians to become independent of the king, and then fought among themselves. A period of warlordism followed the attempt of Sun Yat-sen to democratise China.

f. Issue: The Rise and Revival of Religion

Presently Protestantism is accepted in China, Catholicism presently having a smaller membership because the Pope only recognises the Catholic Church of Taiwan as the Church of China. The early Chinese beliefs of Taoism, Legalism, and Confucianism were born as a response to the insecurities created by warring states. Buddhism came into China from the north around 300 AD due to barbarian invasions at that time, it taught that worldly troubles were merely an illusion.

g. Issue: Periods in which Religion has been Forbiden

The elimination of religion and currently today's governmental attempt to assimilate all nationalities into the People's Republic is saying to such faiths as Buddhism is such an illusion. The early Chinese belief of Taoism as the Church of China collapsed when kings could no longer control their lords, which lords then made alliances with barbarians to become independent of the king, and then fought among themselves. A period of warlordism followed the attempt of Sun Yat-sen to democratise China.

h. Issue: The Rise and Revival of Religion

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Tang Dynasty in the 9th century AD one emperor destroyed 40,000 Buddhist shrines and over 4,000 monasteries.

h. issue: the bureaucratic system including examinations

The Chinese bureaucracies can be traced back to King Zheng. Although a Legalist he established state authority over all people through detailed use of uniform laws. The Han Dynasty established a professional administrative system for governing the empire. The civil service system was introduced and later during the Tang Dynasty that system became more intensified. During the Han Dynasty Confucianism was made the official state philosophy and in later centuries when dynasties fell or barbarians invaded China, the Confucian scholars kept the government departments running. This system maintained continuity of Chinese civilizations during civil wars. The same kind of bureaucratic control was instituted by Mao Ze Dang and climaxed during the Great Cultural Revolution. Just as the Han Dynasty established new policies to end suffering and discontent after the death of King Zheng, i.e. less severe penalties for breaking laws, reduced taxes for farmers, etc., the present government of China has relaxed some of its stringent regulations, i.e. permission is no longer needed for a first child, marriage laws have been amended to make divorce easier, some form of private economy has been established to allow Chinese peasants and city workers the opportunity to make a profit.

h. issue: the commune and community responsibility

Such concepts existed long before the Communist Revolution and Mao's thought. During the Wei Dynasty established by the Toba (385 AD - 534 AD) the Equal Field System in which the government gave land grants to families which were returned to the state for redistribution upon the death of the grantee. The collective responsibility system made people responsible for one another's behavior. In the 1830's Hung, leader of the Taiping Rebellion, created a basic military organization that foreshadowed the Communist movement of the 20th century.

A World History and/or Asian Studies teacher can easily use this approach by continuously making analogies to the present by using his/her current text for historical background information.

3. UTILIZING LITERATURE FROM DIFFERENT PERIODS OF CHINESE HISTORY TO GIVE STUDENTS A GREATER FEELING FOR THE DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE CIVILIZATION THEY ARE STUDYING. Such literature should accompany each of the "issues" studied. (42)

Along with the more contemporary literature slides that I took while in China will help students better grasp the concept of tradition and change. Also, "documentary" readings published by the Beijing Publishing House, clearly an arm of the government, will demonstrate differences in attitudes during the fifties, the Great Cultural Revolution, and the present.
In reading the stories it is important that the students are able to digest ("process" being the term used in educational jargon), even internalize the stories by making and thus seeing analogies to themselves. In this way they develop an understanding, hopefully empathy for China - or for that matter any culture studied -, as well as new insights into themselves and their own society.

It is worthwhile to occasionally read a story aloud to the class. This helps students conjure up new images. Whether the story is read aloud to the class or students read quietly on their own, they should be expected to give written responses. They should be given "guide" questions from which they may select several for exploration. Here are some examples:

- Describe the relationship between the daughter and her father. If you are a girl, how is this similar or different from your own relationship with your father? If you are a boy, can you think of a girl/father relationship that is similar? Explain why or why not? What do you learn about the Chinese culture from this relationship? In comparing this to your own or one with which you are familiar show how Chinese and American people and/or their culture are similar and yet different.

- What kind of images did this story provoke in your mind? What specifically do you remember about these images or the way they were presented? How do they tie in with experiences you have had in real life?

Examples of readings and their use:

1. role of women

"A Matrimonial Feud" written in the last century deals with a beautiful, well-to-do young lady who deceives and humiliates a mean father, who wants to marry his son to this girl. In the end her father coincidentally arranges marriage to the man she loves.

"Gold Flower's Story" from Jack Belden's CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD, 1949, describes liberation of peasant women from the cruelty of arranged marriages in a strictly male dominated society.

As I use these stories, they will be accompanied by slides that I took of Chinese families and homes.

2. love in China

Pearl Buck - "The Good Wife"

"A Matrimonial Feud" - 1893

Ba Jin - "Autumn in Spring"

Road to Life - "Dating in Middle School"
3. Father/Daughter relations (1950s)

Gao Ying - "Dajie and Her Father"
Du Pengcheng - "My Young Friend"
Xu Huaizhong - "The Girl who sold Wine"

4. tradition confronts change

"The New Road" by Pearl Buck, 1933 - is a story of an older man who kept a hot-water shop that he wanted, as is tradition, to hand down to his son. His son was not interested, appeared lazy to his father. The son, who joined the revolution, came to his father's humble home, in uniform, as part of the Red Guard to evict him from his home to make way for a new road.

Slides I have taken with this story in mind demonstrate the still primitive coal fired boilers that heat water in China today, pictures of the wide roads, the destruction of old compounds to make way for new high rise apartments - in other words a pattern still continuing today from the time the story was written in the 1930s.

accounts from PORTRAITS OF ORDINARY CHINESE, 1990 give a clue to the combination of old and new China. "The Latrine Cleaner" presents a reasonable account of the yet primitive means of sanitation clean-up in over populated China, while the "Hairdresser" shows that a young man who failed the exams, still can do what he wants, and can make a good deal of money. The conflict of joint corporate ventures between state owned factories and American private enterprise are hinted at in "Union Leader".

Again photos I have taken representing the lack of highly mechanized methods of sanitation and transportation alongside the modern buses and trucks should help reinforce the many issues of tradition and change.

Among the reading materials available for this section are:


PORTRAITS OF ORDINARY CHINESE, Liu Bingwen, Xiong Lei, Foreign Language Press, Beijing, 1990
Road of Life, China Reconstructs, Beijing, 1989

Twenty Seven Short Stories, Pearl S. Buck, Sun Dial Press, New York, 1933

Autumn in Spring and Other Stories, Ba Jin, Panda Books, Beijing, 1981

Stories from the Thirties, Panda Books, Beijing, 1982

Chinese Stories from the Fifties, Panda Books, Beijing, 1984

Video tapes available for this course are:

China's One Child Policy, NOVA, early 1980s

Heart of the Dragon, Public Broadcasting System, 12 part series


4. To establish a sense of continuity, to review, and to bring closure to this unit, the following kinds of questions are raised for discussion and reflection:

What are the effects of joint economic ventures upon China? How is the attitude toward foreigners changing?

How is burgeoning capitalism for the common person adding to the dissatisfaction of the Chinese people, i.e. the taxi cab driver earns more than a doctor or engineer? Since China is trying to reduce the school drop-out rate, what is the percentage of students who quit to open their own “stall” under the new economic policy? Might this be increasing?

Since freedom always accompanies modernization, since the accompanying responsibilities with freedom are usually absent, what advantages and disadvantages are evolving for the Chinese people?

How is the Chinese government still trying to preserve its traditional and even overwhelming sense of “self-pride” over the huge population?

How does the government and the “party” – to which only a mill percentage of people belong – still effectively control China?

How - if at all - is the educational system changing to meet the needs of 1.1 billion people? Is the examination system changing at all to meet the new methods of teaching and the new needs of the country?
To what extent is religious freedom and pride in minority nationalities compatible with a socialist government that must provide for and govern 1.1 billion people?

To what extent is independent thinking, emphasis upon the individual developing in China, and what kinds of conflict does this bring about?

5. Student evaluation will be based on:
   - the interpretive essays they will be writing
   - their factual knowledge as expressed through their writing
   - the strength of comments and insights made during active class participation.

David O. Solmitz
Madison High School
Madison, ME 04950

September 1990
Fulbright-Hays Seminar, Summer-1990
Tradition and Transformation
June 25 - July 28, 1990
Gary Swalley

Title: The Sights and Sounds of China

Objective: Using collected artifacts, tapes, slides, and observations, students will embark on a study of traditional and contemporary China.

Relationship to teachings: I applied to the seminar "Tradition and Transformation" to bring back a trunk of materials for hands-on research and learning. These materials along with additional student research will be housed in our district's cultural museum for dissemination throughout the junior high and elementary grades. What follows is a listing of ideas and materials in hopes of assisting future Fulbright scholars in obtaining materials and resources as they journey through the wonders of China.

The Sights and Sounds of China:

2. Take slides of street banners, bill boards, shop signs, and posters. Catch the attention of your audience by giving them a feel of walking through the neighborhood. If you can, ask for a poster or two to include in your artifact's trunk.
3. Collect several copies of Chinese newspapers in both Chinese and English editions. Try to have both copies printed on the same date. Upon return home find a copy of your local and national paper published on the similar date. These materials will provide students with the opportunity to see and research news from both sides.
4. Have students do a comparative study of the front pages of all papers housed in the trunk. Same idea could apply to comparing advertisements, sports' coverage, editorials, the environment, and trade and commerce.
5. At hotel, copy list of hotel regulations in Chinese and English. Often, the translation is an experience to read. Don't forget to make a copy of the laundry lists too. This material gives you a great comparison of the language and monetary units. You can make copies and use with students in class.
6. Ask for a menu when you dine out in China. Students will enjoy comparing menu to a local restaurant's bill of fare.
7. Interview Chinese exchange students or community members on their experiences of learning English as a second language.
8. During your travels, obtain tapes of all types of music: traditional, rock, ceremonial. Tapes make great background music for slide presentations. Also, look for American songs recorded in Chinese. You'll be able to play both and provide students with some understanding of what is being performed. (I recommend Christmas carols.)

Beijing:

1. Obtain slide packages from vendors at all historic and cultural sites. Important to have best photographs for this city in order for students to create a walking tour through China's capital with such sites as: the Imperial Palace, Temple of Heaven, Great Wall, Ming Tombs, Great Hall of the People, The Chairman Mao Memorial Hall, and Tian'anmen Square. Have students create a script and have Last Emperor serve as the guide.

2. Using slides, recreate a tour through a cloisonne factory. Have samples of cloisonne in trunk to display after the presentations. Discuss working conditions, salary, and skill of craftsmen.

3. Obtain hands-on props to make presentations more interesting such as: emperor's hat, Chairman Mao cap and souvenir bag, robes, flags, statues, handiwork, and souvenir buttons and programs. Encourage students to use and distribute these props during presentations.

4. Purchase several large maps at bookstores or department stores. Your scholar/escort will know the best place. A real find is a world map printed in Chinese with the time zones in place. A suggestion is to purchase a similar map printed in English. Having both maps, makes any comparisons easier to grasp, especially for younger students. It is a good idea to buy several to keep on display at all times.

5. Have students create a travel brochure. An excellent source for ideas and guidelines is published in China Connections, Boston, MA.

6. A copy of the book, Portraits of Ordinary People, by Liu Bingwen and Xiong Lei is a must for the artifact trunk. This book provides a series of personal interviews of everyday citizens. It is a fascinating resource for students to select a profession and interview American counterpart. Text also provides insightful comparisons between the old and the new professions in Chinese society.

7. Include copies of guide books in your trunk too. The China Guidebook 1990, Harper & Row, gives students a taste of being a novice in a new land. Instruct students to do additional research on site of interest in Beijing and compare their facts and points of interest to the guide book's descriptions.
Xian:

1. Replicas of a terra-cotta soldier and the Bronze Chariots are excellent hands-on items to compliment slides from the Qin Dynasty Terra-Cotta figures. Again, use the slides to conduct a tour of this world wonder. Have Qin Shi Huang, himself, serve as the narrator. Excellent text: *The First Emperor*.

2. While in Xian, also capture on slides the several joint venture hotels. In examining the sites of Xian, have students compile a list of reasons why joint venture hotels have located here.

3. Have research teams or class compare Xian to other cities located along the same latitude/longitude readings. What similarities or differences are noted. Do physical or political features help to explain the comparisons?

Kunming and Dali:

1. Collect hats from the various nationalities as you travel through the areas. Hats are a perfect trunk collectable. They provide a sense of character and creativity for the students in researching and role playing the various national minorities. Also, collect post cards of the minorities to pin on hats.

2. Purchase a stone on site at the Stone Forest in Kunming. Students will enjoy touching the rock as they view slide show of a climb through the Stone Forest. Chinese rock music makes an excellent background for this presentation.

3. Have students research other natural wonders similar to Stone Forest. Tell where they are located and what makes these sites unique.

4. Activity: Chinese Seals: Background and art activity. Display Chinese seal carved with your seal. (I suggest that you have one made early in the trip.) Have students read background of seal's history and prepare to make their own seal using a potato as their "stone". Activity described in *China Connections* Boston, MA.

5. Using slides of the countryside on route to Dali, have students report on farming practices of these terraced fields. Show slides while playing tape of *Ancient Chinese Music*, published by China Travel and Tourism Press. Tape provides students with sense of serenity and beauty of this pastoral area.

6. Provide students with a map of China and have them trace route to Dali. Discuss with class why this area is not considered a "normal" tourists' attraction.
Shanghai:

1. Children's toys (tops, dolls, kites, playing cards) are a find here to include with your artifacts. Samples of hand-painted t-shirts and paper cuts make for added craft items. These works with dragons and pandas can help in illustrating stories and legends. Dragon Tales by Panda Books is a fine booklet for reference to Chinese tales and legends.

2. Have students read and illustrate a tale for an additional reference material in the trunk.

3. Slides of carpet weavers capture the true artistry of these fine craftsmen. Portraits of Ordinary People has an excellent interview of a woman weaver to correlate with this slide presentation.

4. Snapshots of the harbor in Shanghai also make for a magnificent photo of the fifth largest city in the world. Have students research the importance of Shanghai to China's future economic growth.

Conclusion:

Artifacts and materials developed for a trunk will provide years of insight and education to the many sights and sounds of China. As each year passes, additional groups can add their own unique insights and creativity in exploring the wonders of both traditional and the ever-changing contemporary sides of China.
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9. Writing Activity from Community Learning Connections, Inc.

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The Transformation of the Chinese Family: The One Child Policy

Susan Tomlinson
Mannheim American Middle School
Mannheim, West Germany

Fall, 1990
Introduction

This project was designed as the result of a Fulbright Summer Seminar Abroad. It is the culmination of four weeks of study and research in the Chinese cities of Beijing, Kunming, Dali, Xian, and Shanghai. The contents consist of five lessons designed for secondary students and background reading for the teacher. The lesson plans can be used as a unit or individually.
Background

China is the world’s most populous country. Of the 5 billion people in the world, more than 1/5 are Chinese citizens. Between 1949 and 1980, China’s population grew from 540 million to 1.1 billion. It is expected that the 1990 census will show an increase to 1.2 billion.

There are several reasons for this significant increase. After the communist revolution in 1949, living conditions and medical care improved. This resulted in a high birth rate, low death rate, and high natural growth rate. Additionally, the Chinese have always placed importance on having large families. This cultural trait coupled with the high natural growth rate caused China’s population to skyrocket. By 1970 China had lost control over her growing numbers.

The tradition of large families is rooted in China’s history as an agrarian and labor intensive society. More children meant more help with the work and providing income. It also guaranteed that elderly parents would be well cared for.

The family support system has remained a strong influence throughout China’s history. In western countries, “systems” such as the workers’ guilds or the Catholic Church provided alternatives or substitutes for the security that was once the sole responsibility of the family unit. There have been no such systems for the Chinese. Therefore they continued to look inward to their extended family unit for their sole support. Even today as a socialist country, there is no such thing as Social Security. It is not necessary, because they have “family insurance.”

This family responsibility becomes even more distinct when compared to American family values. From a young age Americans are told that they will need to support themselves as adults, and they are expected to move out of the house. The Chinese know that as adults they will play an integral part in the support of their parents, and males will bring their wives into the household to assist with this responsibility. An American adult living with his or her parents is the exception to the rule. It is even wondered why he or she cannot support themselves. Yet of the Chinese it is expected that they remain in the household to best fulfill their role as a contributing member of the family unit.

Even in their language is this responsibility ingrained. One of the most insulting names that one person can call another is a term that accuses one of being less than a human being because of not having lived up to their family obligations.

Consider also the fact that there is no such thing as a babysitter in Chinese culture. A concept that Americans consider essential for ensuring the allowance of free time for parents is nonexistent for the Chinese. Grandparents and family members will care for children if the parents need to be away from home. There are, of course, day care
centers sponsored by the government and workplaces for supervision during the work day. But if parents need or want to go out after work hours and family help is not available, they will either take the child with them or not go out. The idea of paying an older child or an adult to care for children is not practiced in Chinese culture. Child care is a family responsibility.

No matter how deep the traditions, though, numbers talk. And China's numbers were echoing throughout the nation. The chaos of the Cultural Revolution allowed the population to grow unchecked. Had Mao Zedong implemented some sort of family planning policy during this time, perhaps China would have been spared the harshness of the one child policy. But he did not, and by the 1970s 12,000,000 babies were being born per year. China had to implement some sort of birth control policy or face the possibility of being unable to manage and provide for a country so large. Problems resulting from overpopulation could mean a slow down if not a total stalling of their hard-earned modernization efforts.

It was necessary then for the government to initiate a family planning policy. The first attempt was in the mid-seventies when couples were encouraged to have no more than 2 children. As is typical of China's policies for change, state run media explained the duties of its citizens to limit their family size. But they had waited too long, and the policy was neither effective nor drastic enough to affect significant change. By 1980 China had implemented the world's first one child policy.

How then were the Chinese able to initiate a program that would shake the foundation of the extended family unit? How were they able to convince their people that such a drastic measure was necessary? What effects is this policy having on this population of more than 1 billion?

First of all it is a one child policy and not a law. Perhaps the difference between these two terms is a matter of interpretation, but psychologically "policy" is the better word. The good citizens, the good socialists, will do their part for their country by adhering to this policy. Were it a law, it would be unenforceable. But as a policy you can reward the adherents, fine or simply not reward the offenders, and make allowances for special situations.

Chinese law states that the permissible ages for marriage are 20 for females and 22 for males. The government requests, however, that males and females wait until ages 23 and 25 respectively if at all possible. It is further requested that childbearing be postponed until the late 20s. This is not an altogether unrealistic request. There are severe housing shortages in the cities, and couples who must find their own housing must sometimes wait for several
3.

years for an apartment. Consider also the fact that since the events of June, 1989, all young people wishing to enter universities must first spend a year in military service. Both of these factors serve the need to postpone marriage until a later age.

Couples who pledge to have only one child are rewarded in several ways. They receive certificates and recognition from their community. Mothers are granted a one year paid maternity leave. Both parents receive yearly bonuses from their professors, and the child’s education will be either free or inexpensive. Only children receive preferential treatment when applying to schools.

What of those parents who do not make this pledge and have not yet decided? They are never allowed to forget about this policy. Posters and billboards line city streets extolling the virtues of the one child family. Slogans state that family planning is the responsibility of everyone, and pictures show the happy mother, father, and one child as the goal for all. Family planning groups meet at local and neighborhood levels. Further influence is provided by “Cadre Grandmas,” names given to older women who are family planning workers in their villages. These workers count births, distribute contraceptives, and play an active role in persuading couples to limit themselves to one child. Second pregnancies will be visited regularly with the goal being a decision for abortion.

Expecting one child for every family is unrealistic, and exceptions have to be made. If the mother or father is an only child, they may have two children. It is not clear if the reasoning behind this is to cushion the shrinking family support for the older generation or to reward them for having an only child when it was not required. It is also unclear as to whether this "allowance" also carries with it the privileges received by one child families. Nevertheless, it is permitted. Also if the first child is physically or mentally disabled, second children are permitted after the first child reaches the age of four.

When examining the one child policy, the differences between urban and rural areas are immediately evident. Population growth is more strictly controlled in urban than rural areas for several reasons. It is believed that where population density is highest and natural resources less available that the greatest efforts for population control are most needed. In 1982 China’s rural population was 79.45% as compared to 26% for the U.S. in the same year. China’s rural population is still highly labor intensive, and the need remains for large families to help with the work. There is a Chinese saying that in the countryside "the sky is high and the emperor is far away." Because of this it is more
difficult to monitor and enforce such policies in the rural areas. Therefore exceptions are presently made for this segment of the people.

In the rural areas there is less need and less opportunity for a higher education, and couples tend to marry just below or above the legal marriage age. The feelings still exist that the younger they marry and have children, the earlier they'll have a more secure life. Fifty to 70% of rural couples have a second child.

Long a practice in Chinese history, infanticide of female babies is still a problem in rural areas. The ancient Chinese symbol for the term infanticide literally meant the drowning of baby girls. Even today the birth of a baby girl is called a small happiness as opposed to the great happiness of a male child. The importance of physical labor as well as the carrying on of the family name and caring for elderly parents continues to influence the desire for male children. These attitudes and practices have made it necessary to modify the family planning practices of the rural population.

The Han Chinese constitute 94% of the population. Fifty five minority nationalities account for the remaining 6%. Ethnic minorities in rural areas are allowed 2 children and 3 or 4 in special cases.

So what happens when these policies are ignored and more children are born? Deductions from income of 5-10% are withheld for 7 to 14 years. Fines may be levied in excess of 2000 yuan per year. This is a large amount considering that for some it is more than their yearly income, and for many it is more than half. In rural areas farmers may be required to sell a portion of their land or turn over to the government a percentage of their produce. Professionals will be demoted or forced to change jobs. Children will not be admitted to the better schools.

The long held traditions of the large family die hard for some, however. Now emerging are people termed "overbirth guerillas." They will move to another city each time they have a child in addition to their first, knowing that it may be years before the bureaucratic paperwork catches up with them. Allowed to sell their products on the open market, many farmers have become wealthy enough to pay any fines levied for "overbirth." There are also those people who can have large families and simply say: "I cannot pay, but this is a socialist country; and you cannot allow us to starve." And there are those who will not give up the idea of the right to have a son. One professor at Beijing Normal University had 9 girls before accomplishing his "great happiness" of a baby boy.

Nevertheless, the one child policy remains and with it the goal of 1.2 billion citizens at the turn of the century. In what ways is this affecting the family structure? What kind of people will these children become?
The Chinese have a term for the condition of only children. They call them suns surrounded by 6 moons (2 parents and 2 sets of grandparents). These children are their parents' "only chance" at parenthood, and therefore all of their energies are devoted to its success. These children are lavished with attention from their parents and grandparents, and the results are beginning to show themselves in the schools.

Only children tend to be dependent and don't quite know how to approach independence when they first encounter the school atmosphere. They have spent the first 5 years of their lives being "little emporers" and do not know how to relate to their age peers in large groups. Professors complain that only children are not easy to deal with. When offered guidance, these students complain of interference. If they are left to fend for themselves, educators are accused of not helping.

The full effects of China's one child policy will not be known for perhaps 10 or even 20 years. It will be at this time that these only children will beget a generation who will know no aunts or uncles. The large extended family of the past will be radically altered. Perhaps the alligence to family will be replaced by alligence to self. If so, even though the reduction in birth rate is a desired goal, China may find itself dealing with an entirely new mentality of its citizens. One can only surmise what role this will play in the changing face of communism.
Bibliography


Day 1—China’s One Child Policy

Objective

Students will be able to comprehend the concept of China's population of 1 billion.

Materials

Atlas, Scholastic Update World in Focus Issue (Scholastic Update usually publishes a special section each October detailing current information concerning population, life expectancy, literacy rates, and per capita GNP for the countries of the world), Handout #1—Natural Changes in the Population of China, graph paper.

Activities

1. The teacher will introduce students to the concept of 1 billion by writing on the board or reading the following quotes by Professor Tao Wei, Associate Professor and Department Head, Beijing Normal University.

   "Our population is now 1.1 billion. If all Chinese people were to stand on one another's shoulders, they would stretch from the earth to the moon. It would take 80 years for this many people to pass through a doorway. The birth cards (identification cards) of all Chinese citizens would produce a pile higher than the Himalayas."

   "We have too many people and our earth is too small. This is a policy of our state."

   "The population projection for the 1990 census is 1.2 billion."

   "Out of 1 billion people, 65% have been born since 1949. The population is young and 65% are less than 30 years old. Fifty percent are below the age of 21, and only 5% are over 65. The average age is 21 which is younger than the world average of 22.9."

2. Using the atlas, compare the area and population of the U.S. to that of China. Additional western and Asian countries can also be compared.

3. Students can then use graph paper to make bar graphs and/or line graphs to depict the date provided on the handout "Natural Changes in the Population of China."

4. The teacher will explain the reasons for China's growth since 1949 and will introduce students to China's one child policy.
### Natural Changes in the Population of China

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Day 2—Getting Married in China

Objective

Students will be able to compare and contrast marriage customs in China and the United States.

Materials

Handout #2, "A Modern Marriage," from The Road of Life.

Activities

Students will read the handout "A Modern Marriage" and discuss the following questions.

1. In what ways does Li Xia's wedding ceremony and celebration differ from marriage customs in the United States?

2. What are some of the major purchases of newlywed couples in the U.S.? What were the major purchases mentioned in the reading?

3. What were some ways in which the government and the workplaces affected Li Xia's marriage plans?

4. List several references that were made concerning the differences between traditional and modern customs associated with marriage.

5. What do you think are some of the reasons for the marriage procedures in China?
A Modern Marriage

LI XIA

I shall never forget the night my husband proposed. We were walking down a quiet, tree-lined street when he suddenly declared that he loved me and asked if I would marry him.

Although we had worked in the same building for some time, I was a staff reporter for one magazine, he as a translator for another magazine, at first I never really noticed him. I am extremely shortsighted. When I did get a close look, I was really attracted. You might say it was love at first sight. From then on, we often took walks and chatted together. I learned that this tall fellow, who had been abroad to study, was quite intelligent and worked very hard. He was 30 at the time and I was 26, almost "too old to get married" according to conservative Chinese tradition.

I accepted his proposal, and both sets of parents approved. So we set about making plans for our future.

Our biggest problem was housing. In Chinese cities, work units usually provide inexpensive housing. Both our units were very short of accommodations for married couples; in some cases four or five people from three generations were living in one 15-square meter room. Our combined salaries were less than 200 yuan a month, so renting an apartment, which would have cost at least 600 yuan a month (the cheapest for private housing), was also out of the question. We thought we might have to continue living separately in single-sex dormitories, and only see each other for walks or to go to the cinema.

The following spring, however, we had a stroke of luck. My roommate had already been married for six months, and she moved out when her husband was allocated a flat by his unit. Once I had the room to myself, I began to make it into a home for my husband and myself. I took down the posters of film stars from the walls and replaced them with brightly colored pictures of flowers. We also bought a double bed and several comfortable chairs.

After completing all the registration formalities and going to a local hospital for a medical examination, we were finally ready to tie the knot. One windy day in April, we went down to the Marriage Registration Office to collect our certificate. I gave my husband a "love bean" (a special symbol of love in China) in a beautiful heart-shaped box and he gave me a Western-style wedding ring. Unfortunately, he had bought the ring to fit his own finger, and I could only wear it on my thumb! "It's more like a thimble than a ring," I laughed, but he was rather upset.

We had decided to spend our honeymoon in Jinan in Shandong province, but before we left we went to a local department...
store to buy a refrigerator. These days electrical goods, especially imported ones, are considered very important when a couple gets married. In the 1970s, the bride would ask for a watch, a sewing machine and a bicycle, but now refrigerators, color TVs, tape recorders and washing machines have been added to the list. A friend of mine even refused to marry her boyfriend because he couldn't afford a famous-brand refrigerator!

Traditionally, the prospective husband would also have to provide his wife with a whole wardrobe of clothes, and arrange extravagant banquets for their families and friends. Often the bride and groom's families help out with all these expenses, but even though we had little money, we decided to do it on our own.

One of the problems of being an intellectual today in China is that wages are low — a common saying is that "those who make missiles are inferior to those who sell eggs." So my husband had to take on extra work to meet expenses. We decided not to have a wedding banquet, but instead sent special candy to our friends and colleagues from work. My husband and I were also rather shy, and felt embarrassed about receiving people's congratulations in person.

We finally made our escape to Jinan, where we spent five days, and then traveled to Tianjin. Because we were both over 25 when we married, we were given 10 days' holiday from work for our honeymoon. If we had been under 25, we would only have had three days. In Tianjin which is my husband's hometown, there are many traditional customs associated with marriage. If a son marries, four red "double happiness" characters (associated by long custom with weddings) are posted outside the house. If a daughter marries, there are only two — symbolizing in the old days the superiority of men over women. A room is prepared with new bedding, a new mirror and a new tea set, everything marked with the characters for double happiness. Firecrackers are lit at the gate of the house, and then the bride's mother-in-law pins a red velvet flower in the bride's hair.

I felt both embarrassed and excited at the thought of this fuss. Fortunately, my new mother-in-law is not very traditional, and we had already told the family that we didn't want a large banquet to celebrate our marriage. For part of ourissy, I nervously helped my mother-in-law in the kitchen, and the time passed very quickly.
AFTER THE honeymoon, we were both glad to return to our own small home in Beijing. As soon as we entered our room, my husband put down our bags and we sat on the edge of the bed holding hands. The look on my husband’s face was very tender as he murmured, “East, west, home is best.” The room felt like a stage on which our lives, whether bitter or sweet, would be played out. We might quarrel sometimes, and a baby would bring both joy and a very hectic life, but we felt our love would overcome everything.
Day 3 - Practices of New Families in China

Objective

Students will be able to discuss differences and similarities between practices of American and Chinese new families.

Materials

Handout #3, "After My Daughter Was Born," from The Road of Life.

Activities

Students will read the handout and discuss the following questions. Major points can be listed on the blackboard.

1. What are some ways in which Jiang Jialin and her mother disagree about child care practices?

2. How have Jiang Jialin's and her husband's lives changed due to the arrival of the baby?

3. In what ways is this family similar to an American family with a newborn baby? In what ways is it different?

4. Predict what kind of a life this baby may have. How might it be different if later she had brothers and sisters?
ONE SPRING afternoon I was sent to the maternity hospital. My baby was soon to come into the world! My husband and I had been married for seven years. In order to concentrate on work and study, we agreed to delay having a child. I was 33 years old. The doctor had kept a close watch on me and advised me to have a caesarean operation for the sake of my health. The date was fixed.

Gazing at the yellow jasmines in the warm sun outside my window, I had mixed feelings of excitement and anxiety. The young gynecologist came to give me a final antenatal examination. "Excellent," she smiled at me. "The little thing was sleeping and I woke it up." Her friendly attitude put me at ease.

My husband came once or twice a day to see me as the operation drew nearer. He reassured me that everything would be all right. He told me my parents (with whom we were living temporarily) had prepared a cozy room and bought a little bed for the baby. Our relatives had even started sending gifts. "Do you want a boy or a girl?" he asked me. "Of course they're the same. I can teach either one how to swim, ride a bike and play all kinds of ball games. I can teach him or her English, you can teach Chinese..." Seeing how happy he was, I was happy too.

TIME SEEMED to stand still in the operating room. I don't know how long I waited before I finally heard a loud, clear cry. A nurse soon brought my baby to me. A white plaster strip recorded: female, length: 46 cm, weight: 3,200 g. I looked at my baby girl attentively. Her little face was so...
red and tender, and so strange but also familiar. She had fallen asleep again, knowing nothing about me, her mother, nor the world. I felt reassured, as if I had accomplished a glorious task.

Two weeks later I left the hospital. My work unit covered all the costs of my hospitalization and the operation. Back at my parents' house my daughter immediately became the center of the family. Everybody wanted to see her and express their affection. As her mother, I felt rather left out. I watched everybody bustling about her as if I lay in bed.

My husband and I had decided to have only one child and to bring it up in our own way, not by conventional methods. Mother insisted that we should follow her advice. Being a doctor and a mother of two children, she had the right to do so. But it was too much when she said we were just experimenting with our strange ideas on the baby. My husband complained that she was monopolizing our daughter. We ran into more and more conflicts. People in China often wrap infants tightly in small, thin quilts or blankets. They believe babies sleep better this way and won't catch cold. Mother likes this idea, but I object to it. The newspapers say it is incorrect, I explained, as it affects the child's normal physical growth, particularly the development of the hands and indirectly the brain. She, of course, wouldn't listen to me. So whenever she was out, I would untie the wraps to let my daughter stretch her arms and legs freely. She must feel more comfortable this way.

Both my husband and I are against spoiling the child, but as she is our only daughter sometimes we weaken. Once the family was seated having dinner when suddenly we heard my daughter's cry. My mother went to have a look and said when she returned, "It's okay. She's doing breathing exercises." The child went on crying. My husband stood up but was stopped by my mother. "It doesn't matter. She's full and I've just changed her diaper." I grew so uneasy as I listened to her continuous cries. Afraid of hurting my mother's feelings, I remained unmoved at the table. "It's not a problem," I said. "The crying has the right rhythm." But I was worried that tears might fall into her ears.

Mother required strict breast-feeding times. No matter how the baby cried, she wouldn't let me feed her even ten minutes ahead of time. "If you're ten minutes early this time," she said, "next time she'll cry half an hour earlier." I thought mother was too mechanical. But later I realized she was correct. My daughter was trained like a quartz clock, waking punctually when the time came for her to eat.

My father is a professional armyman. He made regular tours of my room to see his grand-daughter and commented "good, good." just as if he was inspecting his soldiers. Once in a while he would hold her in his arms, like holding a shell, and examine her carefully. My husband is a college teacher. Before we had our daughter, he spent much of his time at school. Now he finds as much time as possible to return home to see her. Perhaps men are all clumsy with babies. We deprived him of the right to look after her except for changing her diapers. I mocked him, telling him that he had only become a qualified father by washing diapers, but he was serious when he said we needed to hold her in our arms several times a day to give her a feeling of safety. I knew he got this idea from the Complete Library of Child Nursing.

Like other parents with only one child, we hoped to raise our daughter in a scientific way. I started listening to the "Child Care" radio program when I was pregnant and bought Knowledge for Parents, Health Consultations and many other books. I wanted to learn about child psychology, nutrition and disease prevention. I still turn to them when I have difficulties. I had six months' maternity leave with full pay. This is an incentive on the part of the government to encourage mothers who plan to have only one child. When my daughter was two months old we moved from my parents' apartment to one of our own. I began to take care of my daughter by myself, and found there were so many things I had to learn to be a good mother. I was proud at my daughter's regular check-ups when the doctor praised both her physical and intellectual development.

I watched my daughter learn to raise her head, turn over in bed and sit by herself. As she changed, some of my rules at home changed too. I used to criticize my husband for being messy, but now I made our rooms messier than he ever did, with milk bottles, diapers and toys thrown everywhere. My husband and I stopped our regular stroll after supper. We
used the time to bathe our daughter, nurse her, wash her clothes and diapers, and do other things for her. When she fell asleep, my husband prepared his lessons and I read books, newspapers, or wrote letters.

It is strange that although with a child we are much busier than before, we have more contact with other people. Friends visit us more frequently to offer us advice on our daughter. As everybody is busy, neighbors in our apartment building often greet each other only in passageways or on the staircase. Now when old people see my baby, they come over to caress her and ask questions. Young mothers examine her with a critical eye. We often exchange our experiences of looking after children. I discovered kids have a world of their own. Little ones, no matter how spoiled by their parents, always appear sensible before children even younger than themselves. They call them younger sister or brother, and touch them in a cute and loving way. Even in parks and on the street people have shown so much affection to my daughter.

The Mid-Autumn Festival is a time for family reunions in China. We spent the evening of the festival and also the six-month anniversary of my daughter's birth with my parents. While we were sipping jasmine tea and eating moon cakes, our conversation naturally turned to our daughter. Grandmother hoped she would, like her, become a doctor. Grandpa said personal qualities are most important. He wanted her to be loyal and useful to the country and the people. Her father wished her life would be full of sunshine and said he would teach her fishing as soon as she was able to learn. As her mother, I want to do everything for her.
Day 4—Family Planning Practices

Objectives

Students will be able to list and analyze ways in which government workers influence family planning in China.

Materials

Handout #4, "Vital Role of the Old Aunties" and handout #5, "She's One of the Family."

Activities

The following questions can be used to lead discussion or as a writing assignment.

1. List the ways in which the "old aunties" are responsible for the overseeing of neighborhood districts.
2. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the involvement of the neighborhood committees.
3. Who is responsible for these types of tasks or work in the U.S.? Which system do you think is more effective and why?
4. What are some of Cui Shuhua's responsibilities?
5. What aspect of her job would probably be the most difficult?
6. What are some reasons that Cui Shuhua can feel proud about her job?
7. Why might some people not agree with what Shuhua is trying to do?
8. Write or role play a discussion that Cui Shuhua might have with a family who wants a second child.
Vital role of the ‘old aunties’

by Cal Heng

You cannot miss the “old aunties” wearing red armbands and sitting on small chairs in Chinese cities.

These neighbourhood committee members are called old aunties because most of them are female and 75 per cent of them are over 60.

And people always associate these old aunties with “busybodies.” A survey of 10 large cities conducted by the Beijing-based newspaper, Economic Information, found that neighbourhood committees are responsible for 160 different jobs.

Their more vital work includes maintaining public order and mediating civil disputes. They also help educate juvenile delinquents and encourage them to become integrated members of society, arrange placement for the unemployed and disabled, and care for the elderly.

Neighbourhood committees are in charge of some seasonal work such as killing flies and mosquitoes, fire prevention in the autumn, and afforestation in the spring.

“Neighbourhood committee members look insignificant, but their functions are noteworthy,” said the survey.

Neighbourhood committees are described as “public servants of all households” as their efforts reflect the needs of all residents.

Take the Qinghe district of Beijing, capital of Hebei Province, as an example. More than 160,000 employees of Wuhua Steel Works live in the district. Most of them are working couples. Several years ago, their primary school age children were suffering from hunger because there was no one to prepare their lunch.

A neighbourhood committee in the district used its office to set up a small restaurant especially for these pupils. Now 164 primary school students eat lunch there. When they enter secondary school, many students think of these old days and the “old aunties” from the neighbourhood committee.

Recreation rooms

Due to housing problems, it is still common in China for three generations to live under the same roof. To give the younger generations more room, elderly people were found to be spending their time on the street.

In response to this, neighbourhood committees throughout the country have established some 30,000 recreation rooms where the elderly can while away their time chatting and playing cards or chess.

Neighbourhood committees also set up other kinds of service centres, such as kindergartens.

“They assure a safe environment for residents,” the survey commented.

By the end of last year, about 870,000 neighbourhood security committees with 0.1 million members had been established in urban and rural China.

Many members of neighbourhood committees are talented mediators, who help ward off civil disputes.

A young couple in Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province, quarrelled for years over trivialities. Sometimes, the squabbles turned into fierce fights.

The wife complained of her husband’s rude behaviour while the husband insisted that she should be obedient to him.

Ultimately they turned to the neighbourhood committee for help. After hearing both sides’ grievances, a committee member criticized the husband’s attitude towards his wife and advised him to treat her as an equal.

The husband apologized to his wife, promising to respect her in future. They are now on good terms.

Civil disputes dealt with by the neighbourhood committees may include love affairs, property compensation, inheritance and the sharing of land and houses.

On January 1, 1990, the Organisation Law on the Urban Neighbourhood Committees of the People’s Republic of China was put into effect.

Neighbourhood committees have been placed on local government agendas. According to the survey, committee members are serving as a bridge between mayors and residents. They inform mayors about residents’ suggestions and complaints.

However, neighbourhood committees are facing housing and financial problems of their own.

For instance, Pingdingshan, a coal-producing city in Henan Province, has 179 neighbourhood committees, 64 per cent of which have no offices.

The monthly outlay for a neighbourhood committee is five yuan at most.

China Daily welcomes letters from readers on all local, national and international subjects. Preference will be given to short letters. Letters should be mailed to: Letter-to-the-Editor, China Daily, 15 Huixian Dongjie, Beijing, 100029.
She's one of the family

by Nie Lisheng

She seemed to have a thankless job. Some declined her home visits, some shouted curses at her face and some even threatened her with injury.

But now the family-planning worker is welcomed by her neighbours. And she has helped to achieve the goal of the one-child family in her township.

"Many of our colleagues have described our work as 'the most difficult job in the world', and that is not really an exaggeration," said Cui Shuhua, a family-planning worker in Huilongguang township in the northern suburb of Beijing.

Cui, 44, is in charge of family planning for 2,257 households in six villages under the township government. Her major responsibility is to go from door to door, counting births and giving out contraceptives to make sure that all families follow the call of the State which says that one family should have no more than one child.

In the past three years, no woman in the township has had a second child. The Huilongguang township government has been honoured as a model unit in family planning by the Beijing municipal authorities.

"Until the last few years, many people were not ready to cooperate," Cui said. "You had to bear all their abusive words and contemptuous looks while reasoning with them about the advantages of single-child parenthood. But gradually they all came to understand our work."

In 1978, when she was appointed a full-time cadre supervising family planning for the whole township, she did not quite expect the hard times she would have to endure.

"It was a kind of new work at the time when the State had just begun to tighten up its population control policy," she said. "I had to start from scratch."

For more than three months, she travelled in the countryside and visited all the six villages to discover violations of the birth-control regulations.

"It's for the good of all to have fewer children," Cui Shuhua often says to her fellow villagers.

People were still allowed to have a second child in 1978 if their first child was four years old. In the first five months of that year, Cui found more than 10 women in the township had become pregnant with a second child when their first was under four. Some were pregnant with their third child.

"When I called on these villagers, they could hardly understand my work and all called me quedegui (evil-doing devil)." Cui said. "So many neighbours and friends came to persuade me to quit the job. They all knew it was the kind of work that would really offend people, especially in the countryside where the tradition is that children mean wealth."

But Cui is a stubborn worker. Once she accepts an assignment, she never gives up. For several days she made repeated calls on these "problem" families, talking to them until they were convinced of the need for birth control.

"Some people hated me for my work. For several nights they threw stones at my house and scared my whole family away," she recalled. "I actually knew who they might be but went to visit their homes the next day as if nothing had happened. They were my fellow villagers, and I believed they would understand it was also for their own good to have fewer children."

Cui is the only full-time family planning worker in the township, but she is in charge of 24 part-time assistants, each working in one of the six villages or 18 production teams in the township with the help of two or three volunteers as family-planning propagandists.

An important part of their work is keeping a card on each of the women, following her from marriage to age 49. Her details of family members and birth control methods are updated every six months.

Now the whole township has more than 1,500 women of child-bearing age. More than 80 per cent of them have taken some long-term contraceptive measures like use of intrauterine devices (IUD) or sterilization, and the rest of them take contraceptive pills regularly or their husbands wear condoms.
Once, an angry young villager came to Cui and made a scene right in front of her office. The man was an ex-convict. He and his wife were eager to have a second child because their first was physically handicapped. However, according to the State regulation, the second birth is not allowed until the first child turns four.

Despite the man’s noisy protest, Cui was not moved. But in the next few days, she visited him and his wife many times, talking with them like an older sister.

“The State regulation is for the welfare of the people,” she told him. “Remember the other year when you were just released from prison? It was the township government that assigned you a job and helped you start a family with more than 1,000 yuan.

“On the other hand, I don’t think you want to be hard up by having the burden of raising two small kids at the same time.”

Persuasion

With her persistent persuasion, the man changed his mind. He and his wife agreed to wait till their first child was four. Eventually, when their child was five years old, the wife gave birth to a healthy baby girl.

“Economic punishment is a major penalty for those who eventually have more children than allowed in defiance of all our persuasion,” she added. Since 1978, the township has collected a total of more than 9,000 yuan in fines on "extra-budget births." In 1986, for instance, it fined two families 2,000 yuan and 600 yuan each for birth control violations.

Here in Huilongguang township, farmers seem to have changed their old idea of wanting a large family. They have come to realize that they are becoming better off with a lower birth rate. In the past 10 years, the annual per capita income in the township has increased steadily. It was 1,740 yuan in 1989, compared with only 140 yuan in 1979. Also, as many as 85 per cent of the farmers have started working in township industries since most of the farming work has been mechanized.

“Now we really don’t have to work on them that much. Almost all women of child-bearing age use contraceptives. If the contraceptive fails, they would go to hospital to have an abortion on their own initiative. Some may want to have a second child in secret, but they are more often dismayed of the idea by their own family members.”

In Beidixia village, a woman got pregnant with a second child but did not tell anyone. One day, however, her secret was discovered by her mother-in-law, who finally succeeded in persuading her to have an abortion.

But there are times when Cui has to do a lot of running around to get her job done. In early 1988, a woman villager was found pregnant with a second child but did not tell anyone. One day, however, her secret was discovered by her mother-in-law, who finally succeeded in persuading her to have an abortion.

When one family-planning worker came to persuade her, she agreed to have an abortion, but later she changed her mind and went to her parents’ home in Xingtang County in neighbouring Hebei Province.

The case was then reported to Cui, who decided to go over to talk to her personally. Together with some of her colleagues, Cui reasoned with her for a whole day, trying to make her understand that the birth control policy was also in their own interests.

The woman then asked to be given a job in the township enterprise. After Cui agreed to her request, she went back to Beijing and had the abortion.

When she returned from hospital, Cui visited her and brought her some good food. By then, the woman was regretting her past behavior and said, “You are so nice to me that I will never forget it in my life. Take my word, I will be no more trouble for you.”
Day 5—Spreading the Word of the One Child Policy

Objective

Students will be able to identify and analyze ways in which China educates its people concerning the one child policy.

Materials

Handouts #6 and #7 can be photocopied or overhead transparencies can be made.

Activities

1. The teacher will ask students to brainstorm for a list of public service announcements that are seen on T.V. or on billboards (e.g. don't drink and drive, give to the United Negro College Fund, recycle). Students will then be asked to discuss to what degree they feel that these forms of advertisement influence people's opinions and actions.

2. The teacher will present the students with reproductions made from the three pages of photos from handout #6. Students will then be asked to describe what their reactions might be if posters of this kind began to appear in their neighborhood.

3. Students will discuss ways in which they feel they are influenced by the media in relationship to family structure or family planning or even teenage pregnancies. Ask students to recommend additional ways in which China might educate or inform its people about the need for family planning.

4. Students will be shown reproductions of the photographs from handout #7. Further descriptions of the pictures and suggested topics for discussion follow.

a. This photo depicts a population class in a middle school. Students learn about the importance of reducing the population of China. It is not a sex education class. Information about birth control is not taught at the middle school level. There are essentially no unwed mothers of school age. What are some possible reasons that this problem does not exist in China?

b. Women who pledge to have only one child receive certificates of recognition. Each year that they make
2.

this pledge, they will receive a cash bonus from the
government. What are some things for which our
government "rewards" its citizens? Are these rewards
effective incentives?

c. Notice that the babies here are numbered as opposed to
wearing nametags. Do you think this makes any
difference? If so, what?

d. Scientists continue to research new ways in which to
assist with family planning.

e. Posters promoting the one child family are found in
cities all over China.

f. Neighborhood committees help to distribute free
information concerning family planning.
These posters in Kunming, Yunnan Province remind people of the importance of being counted for the 1990 census.
All photos on this page are of family planning posters in Xian.
A population class at a middle school in Haicheng County, Liaoning Province.

Newborns at the Beijing Maternity Hospital.

Women from Dazhou Township of Shangqiu County, Henan Province, who want only one child receive an "Only Child Certificate" from the township government.

A contraceptive device for men, invented by Zhao Shengcai (second from left), president of Shanxi People's Hospital, has achieved good results.
Sidewalk bulletin boards publicizing family planning in Shanghai.

Medical personnel give information about having healthy babies to people at Changping County, Beijing.