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Etienne Balazs, CH. CIVILIZATION & BUR. Ya: e U/press, 1964
p.7

"The problem of determining the structure of Ch. society is further complicated by certain features in Ch. his. that partake of the nature of feudalism, I refer, of course, not to the feudalism of classical times under the Chou, previous to the emergence of a bur. soc., but to regressive forms of feudalism that occurred from time to time at later periods & notably to the important role of the aristocracy during the Middle Ages, when THEY CLUNG TENACIOUSLY TO THEIR LATIFUNDIA & THEIR PRIVILEGES."

p.10: "In this (state over family) as in so many other things, the Confucianism supplanted the state-minded Legalists only to carry out even more rigorously the doctrines they had preached. State control & state intervention existed here long before these activities became common technical terms."

Intimidation through collective responsibility

"Ch. As A Permanently Bur. Society", 1957 lecture (pub.'d by JAP. Nat. Comm for UNESCO (1959) in "Int. Symposium on His. of Eastern & Wes. Cultural Contacts, Collection of Papers Presented".--

p.15: "The ideas of Hegel concerning the nature of Asiatic societies have often been dismissed on the ground that he lacked a knowledge of the facts. It is indeed an easy matter to refute the Hegelian conception of a China stagnating in immobility, for with each advance in knowledge it can be seen more & more clearly that China's his. was full of upheavals, abrupt transitions, & gradual changes. Yet Hegel was right, to the extent that he sensed the unchanging character of Ch. social structure, & in this he is singularly in accord with the opinion of almost all historians of China.... The often pointless debate about the periodization of Ch. his. that began in the '30s, & will no doubt last for a long time in the future, always come up against certain phenomena of an undeniably enduring nature.... you cannot conjure away the sheer length of time the Ch. Empire lasted.... What, then were 1st most striking features?"

"1. In the 1st place. Ch. was a large agrarian society, highly developed, but using traditional techniques, & est'd. on a sub-continent that lacks any marked geog. articulation.... It was, in other words, a pre-ind. nonmarketing society, based on a peasant subsistence eco

2) This soc. was bur. because the social pyramid.... was capped & characterized by the aristocratic mandarinate.

3) The class of scholar-officials (or mandarins) ... held all power AND ... This unproductive elite drew its strength from the function it performed--THE SOCIALLY NECESSARY, indeed indispensable, function of coordinating & supervising the productive labor of others so as to make the whole social organism work. All mediating & administrative functions were carried by the scholar-officials. They prepared the calendar, they held the court, etc. they supervised the construction of dms., canals, dikes, etc.; they were in charge of all pub. wks., esp. those aimed at forestalling droughts & floods; they built up reserves against famine & encouraged every kind of irrigation project... these 'dispensars' before their time were firmly against any form of special-ization. There was only one occasion they recognized: that of governing."

4) ... the scholar officials were the embodiment of the state ... Nothing escaped official regimentation. Trade, mining, bldg., ritual, music, schools, in fact the whole of pub. life & a great deal of pvt. life as well, were subjected to it.

Characteristics of the state... arbitrary character of

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EM Ch. Civ. & Bur. - p. 2

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justice.. Terror was installed by the principle of collective responsibility (which, contrary to what one might suppose, had no connection with the Confucianist ideal of the family) which every official in his place, the scholar-officials most of all, felt, because they ruled the state, they were also its servants... clamp down on any form of pyt. enterprise... I need mention only 3 exs. of inventions that met this fate: paper invented by a eunuch printing used by the Buddhists as a medium of religious propaganda; bill of exchange an expedient of pyt. businessmen

5) The scholar-officials' their state found in the Confucianist doctrine an ideology that suited them perfectly. In ancient times Confucianism had expressed the ideas of these former members of the feudal aristocracy who had formed a new social stratum of rev. intellectuals but in Han times (206 BC-220 AD) shortly after the foundation of the empire it became a state doctrine. the new elite found it convenient to adopt the Confucian nonreligious, rationalist outlook. Sticism was usually a cloak for subversive tendencies & the scholar-officials, anxious above all to maintain the position they had won, felt that it was something to be guarded against. Prudence dictated that they should remain soberly realistic & down to earth... strict adherence to orthodox doctrines was the surest defense against pressures of other social groups...

6) Another theory that has been much discussed is notion of Ch. as a hydraulic society. This theory is too narrow; it takes into account only 1 element in a complex whole, and from the many functions fulfilled by the mandarin selects one only... Now vital as the hydraulic activities undoubtedly were, the pol. & administrative functions of the bur. were certainly very much more imp.

Finally, the ques. arises whether it is justifiable to dress up the mandarinate with the old, 'feudal'...

THE BIRTH OF CAP. IN CH. -- (3/60) lecture, pub'd. in Journal of Eco. & Social His. of the Orient, 1960, pp. 196-216

Above q. about Europe being "promontory of Asia" Palazzos here attributes to Paul Valéry "why was it that, in spite of very favorable conditions--for Ch. was technologically & scientifically ahead of the West until the time of the Renaissance -- Ch. civ. never gave rise to cap?... There is no need to speak of Wes. sinology. Fully occupied with philological hair-splitting

the sinologists never found the interest or the time to investigate such frivolous things in the eco. foundations & the social structure of a great society." (here he mentions primitive tribal communism, while combining slavery of antiquity & in Asia "ancient world", when he mentions Marxist schemata--rd)--then however mentions Ex did wish to develop "Asiatic society esp. Indian" "This very significant point is not generally known, & in the catechism of unclear Exist is simply passed over." (p. 20)

paucity of relevant documents if even weren't burdened by dogmatism.

7) mandarinats "I don't think... mandarinats... because in this society... acquired their..."

p. 53 "2nd: with regard to ind. cap. we must never forget that the purpose of machines is to economize labor of time. In China there was never any

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dirth of labor; on the contrary, Ch always had plenty of it. The super-
abundance of cheap labor certainly hampered the search for time-saving
devices. Nevertheless, what was chiefly lacking in Ch. for the further
dev. of cap. was not mechanical skill, or scientific attitude, nor a suf-
ficient accumulation of wealth, but scope for individual enterprise.

..... "And if cap. is interpreted as meaning only
competitive cap., or free enterprise, (which has never been introduced in our
world) then there never has been cap. in the world. But if cap. is admitted as forming
an integral & imp. part of the whole, we call cap., even if it appears to us
in Ch as a hoary old man who has left to his sturdy & reckless great grand-
son a stock of highly valuable experiences.

And just because we live in the epoch of s-c both in
the old cap. countries of the West & in the new 'People's Democracies'
of the East, the matter is one of great relevance to us today."

PART TWO--HISTORY--"History As Guide to Bur. Practice"

p. 43: "There is such an abundance & such a variety of Ch.
encyclopaedias that some general remarks are called for. Various categories
can be distinguished according to the uses for which they were intended.
There are general encyclopaedias containing classified info. on all subjects;
lexicons for literary composition; manuals of pol. science; and lastly
collections of texts serving as a storehouse of learning... all have a
common denominator: passion for quotation & classification. The tendency of
the Ch. mind to think in categories (it is typical that the encyclopaedias
should have been known as books of classification (lei-shu) & the habit of
compiling works containing extracts of texts, provide an explanation for
the uniform method used in this vast branch of lit....

"Tradition & Rev. in China" - Ch. proverb: "He who succeeds becomes Emperor,
he who fails is a bandit"

In point of fact, few of the innumerable bandits
in Ch. his succeeded in founding a dynasty, altho most dynasties fell as
a result of agrarian crises. For ex., -- to name the most imp. -- the Former
Han dynasty perished in the anarchy created by the rebels who called
themselves the 'Red Eyebrows' & the Later Han went down in one of the
bloodiest of all peasant wars, the revolt of the 'Yellow Turbans' under
its banner of the 'Great Peace' (T'ai-p'ing). The P'ang fell under
the blows of a rebel who combined in his own person all varieties of the
humiliated & dispossessed: he was the son of a peasant, a candidate who
had failed the examinations, & a smuggler. The Han conquerors were
expelled by a movement that had its lot a social & later a national
character; its leader founded the Ming dynasty, which, in turn, was removed
by a peasant rising, whereupon the vacant throne was occupied by the
Manchu conquerors. The last dynasty never recovered from the blow dealt
it by the T'ai-p'ing. Those peasants who rose, inspired by a chiliastic faith
& a Tacit & Christian who ruled over the greater part of Ch. for about
a decade & whose exploits have now become a favorite sub. for study in
present-day China."

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p. 3

Etienne Balass, Ch. Civ. & Pu. (Cont.) - Part III, THOUGHT, Ch. 14,
"Nihilistic Revolt or Mystical Escapism"

Currents of Thought in Ch. During 3 A.D.
(lecture given 3/17/48 at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises in Paris (Sorbonne) after Yellow Turbans revolt (184 AD) had been suppressed "by various strata of the ruling class (who had temporarily come to terms) & the ensuing civil war, the intellectuals .. had to resign themselves to dancing attendance on the military commanders who were the new masters of the situation." (p. 227) Yuan Shao, the man who finally succeeded in exterminating the eunuchs, & Ts'ao Ts'ao who founded a new dynasty. The text consists of a discourse given by a member of the 'brain trust' (of Ts'ao Ts'ao--rd) (197 AD) League of Literati

"I find that Yuan Shao has 10 weaknesses against 10 points in which you are superior to him. Yuan Shao cannot change this in spite of his military strength: (1) Yuan Shao makes great use of rites & ceremonies. You rely on spontaneity. This is the 1st superiority, that of the way (Tao) ... (5) Yuan Shao makes many plans without coming to a decision & once he has acted is full of after thoughts. Once you have come to a decision you carry it out immediately & adapt it to constantly changing circumstances. This is the 5th superiority, that of planning (strategy)

p. 234: "The great wave of nihilism that broke over Ch. as a result of the civil war swelled into one section of society after another, or, to put it another way, bore along several consecutive generations in its wake. The men of the 1st generation belong to Ts'ao Ts'ao's circle of intimates & were grouped round Ho Yen, the group forming a kind of pol. center for nihilist leanings....."

Confucian attacks on the nihilism: (p. 252) "These accomplished talkers do indeed enumerate the causes of existence & of empirical reality, with great ~~depth~~ profundity & they praise with emphatic fervor the beauties of the Void and of Nothingness. But the causes of physical reality can be proved, whereas the meaning of the Void & of Nothingness is difficult to examine. The song they sing finds an echo; but many who go in that direction never return. As a result, they neglected the business of keeping the world in order despite the making of arduous efforts, exalt futile occupations & deprecate the merits of men of solid worth."

Then EB says: "We see here that permanent trend in Ch. phil. which I stressed earlier--namely the social basis of metaphysical thought."

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Ch.15 The 1st Ch. Materialist

p.255 "The his. of Buddhist thought has made remarkable advances during the last 2 centuries. There has been a fundamental change of view on the importance of Mahayana, & the outlines of Ch. Buddhism are gradually becoming clearer. But the interconnections are lost because the total picture still exists in a vacuum. Buddhism is still regarded as an isolated phenomenon, a thing in itself, detached from the his. circumstances in which it arose & unrelated to outside events... And when I ~~urge~~ urge that his. (should be taken into acct. I do not mean a mere listing of names, bibliographies, translations, & commentaries. Unless it is recognized that a struggle was taking place bet. upholders of 2 opposing world views, the ideas of the protagonists will remain colorless & devoid of significance.

"The 5th c. was decisively important for the spread of Buddhism in Ch: Ch was at that time not only partitioned but also torn by social contradictions & an unbridgeable differences of opinion & full of a desperate longing for salvation."