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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 Confucianists 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

Q

"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".--

Q

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 its apex: the 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 supervised the construction of roads, 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 'mandarins' before their time were firmly against any form of specialization. There was only one occasion they recognized: that of governing."

Q

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 prt. 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 prt. 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 those 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 state 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, 25 pp. 196-216

Above q. about Europe being "promontory of Asia" Balazs 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 Exism is simply passed over." (p. 20)

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

7) mandarin state "I don't think... because in this society... was acquired their..."

p. 53 "2nd: with regard to ind. cap., we must never forget that the purpose of machines is to economize labor, on 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 sufficient accumulation of wealth, or 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 Ch. But if s-c is regarded as forming an integral & imp. part of the whole we call cap., then it appears to us in Ch as a hoary old man who has left to his sturdy & reckless great grandson 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. 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-n'ing). The 'Ming' 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 'Ming' conquerors were expelled by a movement that had its roots in 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-n'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."

PART III (unclear) ... dynasty

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p. 3

Etienne Balass, Ch. Civ. & Pol. (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 swept 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 nihilist: (p. 252) "These accomplished talkers do  
indeed enumerate the causes of existence & of empirical reality, with  
great ~~subtlety~~ 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, ex-  
alt futile occupations & deprecate the merits of men of solid worth."

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

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
- "Science Project" (circled)  
- "Encyclopedia" (circled)  
- "Tubingen Univ" (circled)  
- "Orce" (circled)  
- "12724" (circled)  
- "S. J. ... 1958 - 52" (with "SVO" above)  
- "U. of ... 1961" (with "Pres" above)  
- "Jamy" (signature)  
- "V. ..." (signature)  
- "K. ..." (signature)  
- "Comp. ... & ... cycles" (circled)  
- "EB" (initials)

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 ~~competing~~ 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."