

**DISCOURSES ON POLITICAL REFORM AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN EAST
AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE LIGHT OF NEW PROCESSES OF REGIONAL
COMMUNITY BUILDING**

Project Discussion Paper No. 15/2001

**Americanization, Westernization, Sinification,
Modernization or Globalization of China?**

by
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Preface to the Paper Series

The present discussion paper series of the Institute of East Asian Studies accompanies a research project entitled *Political Discourses on Reform and Democratisation in Light of New Processes of Regional Community-Building*. The project is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and supervised by Thomas Heberer.

The central topic of interest is, as the title of the project suggests, the influence exerted on the political reform process by political discourse. The papers published in this series address the public political discussion at the national as well as the transnational, regional level. Accordingly, the papers display a variety of discourses that have emerged in different countries and centre round different political issues. Contributions from authors of the region are particularly welcome, because they reflect an authentic view of the political discussion within the local public. By integrating and encouraging the local voices, the project team intends to compile a collection of papers that document some important debates and states of the research process.

The current political discourses in East Asia are primarily analysed in case studies of two authoritarian states (China, Vietnam), a multi-ethnic, formally democratic state with strong authoritarian features (Malaysia), and a democratic state with significant parochial structures and patterns of behaviour (Japan). In addition to these case studies, contributions from and on other countries of the region are included to provide a broad scope of comparable discourses.

While Claudia Derichs and Thomas Heberer are the editors of the paper series, a project team of eight members conducts field work in East Asia and brings forth regular proceedings. Research reports other than discussion papers shall be published in refereed journals and magazines. Detailed proceedings leading to the final results of the research project will be published as a book. The project team is composed of research fellows associated with the Chair for East Asian Politics at the Gerhard Mercator University of Duisburg. The team members are: Karin Adelsberger (area: Japan); Claudia Derichs, Ph.D. (Malaysia, Japan); Lun Du, Ph.D. (China); Prof. Thomas Heberer, Ph.D. (China, Vietnam); Bong-Ki Kim, Ph.D. (South Korea); Patrick Raszelenberg (Vietnam); Nora Sausmikat (China); and Anja Senz (China).

Paper No. 1 of the series provides a detailed idea of the theoretical and methodological setting of the project. Each discussion paper of the present series can be downloaded from the university server, using the following URL: <http://www.uni-duisburg.de/Institute/OAWISS/Publikationen/index.html>. Suggestions and comments on the papers are welcome at any time.

Duisburg, June 2000

Claudia Derichs and Thomas Heberer

Titel/Title:

Americanization, Westernization, Sinification, Modernization or Globalization of China?

Autor/Author:

Yu Keping

Reihe/Series:

Politische Reform- und Demokratisierungsdiskurse im Lichte neuer Prozesse regionaler Gemeinschaftsbildung

Discourses on Political Reform and Democratization in East and Southeast Asia in the Light of New Processes of Regional Community-Building

Zusammenfassung/Abstract:

The author argues that globalization has been an objective reality and inevitable tendency of human development from which no one can escape. So long as a country opens to the outside world, it will be in the process of globalization. China is no exception in this global age. Globalization is initiated and dominated by the US-led Western developed countries. However, no country, including the US, is able to manipulate completely the process of globalization on which developing countries, including China, have been exerting more and more influence. Globalization is a sword with negative and positive sides for both developed and developing countries. Both of them can either benefit from or get lost in globalization. Globalization changes modern world civilizations into a cosmopolity, no matter whether it originated in the East or the West. Therefore, to learn from the West never means "Westernization" while to learn from the East never means "Easternization" exclusively, and China's participation in WTO and introduction of market economy never means "Westernizing or Americanizing China" exclusively. Internationalization, nationalization and localization supplement each other. China has to participate actively in globalization if she wants to preserve her own unique civilization; just as China has to carry her national advantages forward if she wants to participate in globalization effectively. Globalization in an authentic sense is by no means an absolute "Westernization" or "Americanization". It will prove a lack of foresight to argue that China would be "Westernized" or "Americanized" once it participates in the process of globalization.

Schlüsselwörter/Keywords:

Americanization, Westernization, Globalization, Modernization

AMERICANIZATION, WESTERNIZATION, SINIFICATION, MODERNIZATION OR GLOBALIZATION OF CHINA?

Yu Keping

The Golden mean of middle way had been embraced for a long time in China. But since the 20th century, extremism had been prevailing. Actually, the Great Cultural Revolution is a typical example of extremism that brought China to a great disaster. The reform led by Mr. Deng Xiaoping after the end of 1970s is not only significant for economy and society, but also for politics and ideology. Ideologically, it seems to me to run away from the extremist age that Mr. Deng Xiaoping put his emphasis upon both anti-Left and anti-Right. It has proven after 20 years of reform that Deng succeeded basically in the sense that extremist ideology has not for long dominated in Chinese politics. However, everything has its exception, as a rule, old extremism passed while the new one came into being. There have appeared recently two most attractive extremes in China's ideological field, i.e. "Westernization" vs. "anti-Westernization", more concretely speaking, "Americanization" vs. "anti-Americanization". In fact, the newest extremes have exerted impacts not only in the ideological but in all other fields such as politics, economics, universities, education, literature, arts, publication, and even people's customs and everyday life.

Above all, let me illustrate aspects of the so called "Westernization" or "Americanization" by my own experience in everyday life.

In 1999, I was invited to deliver a lecture entitled "Globalization and Its Impact on China" for local cadres by the Chuyong Government, regional authorities of an autonomous minority area. It is afforded for thought to talk about globalization in a region where the economy is underdeveloped and most of the population lives under the poverty line defined by the state. However, it is much more interesting that my lecture on globalization was warmly welcomed by local cadres. Among the most interesting problems for this audience were the relations between China and the United States, and the process of China's membership in the WTO. Chuyong is located in the sub-tropic region that is very good at planting. Flower is one of the major economical plants by which the local peasants earn their living. There are a number of multicolored flowers at the market with extraordinarily low price. I was surprised at its price while I was told by accompanies that the price was low throughout the year except for April.

The price of flowers is very high in April. I asked why and was answered because of Valentine's Day! Chinese people, for the most of their part, hadn't known what Valentine's Day is at all while now it becomes a consumptive hotspot in marginal underdeveloped areas. You can imagine what influences Western, especially American economy and culture have exerted on the Chinese society, including poor minority areas.

Let me take another example. Among things I really won't do in Beijing is to accompany my little daughter going to McDonald's. It is not mainly because I don't get used to Western food but because I used to line-up in a queue waiting to eat and even to be bothered while eating by standing up. Going to McDonald's is my daughter's favorite prize for her excellent scores for exams. So her enjoying is exactly my suffering. It is estimated that there have been established over 70 branches of McDonald's only in Beijing during the last decade. McDonald is perceived as a symbol of American food culture, which was used to be jeered by Chinese. However, this American food has been introduced in China and is challenging the Chinese food by capturing Chinese children's appetite before their parents who have been enjoying delicious traditional foods.

Indeed, every Chinese inhabitant can easily observe that "Westernization" or "Americanization" is happening day-to-day all around himself. Language is a typical phenomenon to explain it. Learning English is one of the major tasks for students, both at universities, colleges, high schools, middle and even some primary schools. Mastering English is needed not only for eleven-plus, but for the promotion of one's position and even for some employment. We used to translate English terms or names with Chinese characteristics in the past while at present we usually prefer to westernize our Chinese terms or names. Western and American advertisements fill out all major streets in metropolitan cities in China. The operating system of computers we use is the Chinese version of Windows and the word processor we use is Word. Both of them are authorized by the American Microsoft Company. As for literature and arts, American novels, movies, music, painting, cartoons etc., for the most part, would be translated into Chinese very quickly and become popular as it is in the US. Some popularized movies like Titanic were played in China at exactly the same time as in Western countries and arose great echo, too. American public characters like Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Alan Greenspan, Monica Lewinsky, Madonna, or Michael Jordan are persons whom ordinary urban Chinese talk about. Many Chinese publishers like to buy American copyrights of books and to publish them in Chinese here in China. For they usually are able to make much more money

from publishing the Chinese version of American books than other books. Leading books of some famous American scholars like Samuel Huntington, Milton Friedman, Alvin Toffler, John Naisbitt, Paul Samuelson and Joseph E. Stiglitz have their Chinese versions that are necessary books on the bookshelves of Chinese scholars. Most textbooks in Management and Economics currently prevailing in Harvard have been translated into Chinese and published Chinese versions. Almost all students at departments of economics or management colleges and universities are supposed to buy them by their teachers.

What I listed above are only superficial phenomena. It is more important that a lot of American values have become values for which Chinese people, especially Chinese youths search for, so that many of them begin to undergo Americanization in their minds. American life style, political system, economic system, management system, ideology and humanities become objects that many Chinese are seeking for and imitating. The US looks like a paradise for many Chinese and the American dream therefore is the highest ideal for the young generation that grew up since the reforms. Everything in the US, including American people, institutions, economy, culture and country is so perfect, so lovely and so attractive for many young Chinese that the American moon has become more round than the one in China! Going to American colleges and universities is the foremost dream of many Chinese students and their parents. There has appeared a boom of "studying abroad" since the reforms in China, above of all it means going to the USA. To be an American citizen or a permanent inhabitant is a thing which many young students earnestly long for. Even some powerful and rich Chinese have a feeling of American worship and send their children to the USA one after another regardless of the expensive costs. It is ironic that some old revolutionary cadres who have been perceiving themselves to be enemies against the USA also manage to seek out opportunities for themselves or their children to go to the USA for the sake of experiencing "capitalist evil and adversity " there.

An author profiles China's "Americanization" in such a way: "Since the 1980s, more and more commodities, like movies, VCDs, country music, Rock-and-Roll, Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and transformative toys with American brands, values and culture have been striking China's market. Even those pure entertainment products with less ideological color demonstrates and advocates a somewhat Western life style that exerts great impact on people, especially young people of the developing countries. Particularly, the rapid development of the Internet speeds materially the spread of various information. Information is quite different

from other industrial products because a great deal of information flowing on the Infobahn contains necessarily obvious political and cultural values within itself. The US and other Western countries control most of the software and hardware on which the flow of information depends; for instance, the US covers over 70% of the databanks in the world. Moreover, the US provides its laws, human rights and technology with an international label and imposes them on developing countries. Thus, Internet's 'Americanization' has begun to threaten some countries' social, political, legal and cultural values".¹

Some people go further to argue that many Chinese intellectuals and senior officials have been "Americanized" due to American powerful offenses and policies and that Chinese elite's culture has become an American culture. In their view, there is a grievous conflict between an "Americanized elite and a populace with Chinese spirits". An article written under a pseudonym published in People's Daily online recently pointed out that the US (government) "has bought off some Chinese who praise highly the advantages of a multi-party system on behalf of the US for the sake of separating China. The US has been successful to some extent in the sense that, I think, many Chinese intellectuals and officials have been 'Americanized'. The US can buy off a few of the social elite but is not able to buy off all 1.3 billion Chinese people. This fact leads to a situation that the people of low social status become nationalists while the 'elites' of high social status exert their utmost strength to perish people's nationalism".²

Anxiety about "Americanization" not only comes from Chinese intellectuals and officials, but also from ordinary people. I came across an article dealing with the dangers of Americanization along with disappearance of our national identity in an informally published newsletter issued by a local government, which primarily reports on political activities of local leaders. The article cites some data and facts to explain the dangers of Americanization: the US is controlling 75% of products of TV programs, so that many TV stations of developing countries are functioning as the rebroadcast stations of the US; 90% of news spread over the world is said to be manipulated by the US and Western countries; the US' movies cover over one half of the projecting time of the world's movies. According to a questionnaire of a survey company in Beijing, typical American culture in people's mind is the following: romantic Hollywood movies, barbaric American cowboys, convenient McDonald's, technologically

¹ Bian Qi, "Reflection on the Cultural Homogenization", in: *Aspects of Social Sciences*, No. 5, 1999.

excellent Windows and Intel. Today's Chinese children eat at McDonald's, drink Coca Cola, play American games, watch American and European movies, listen to Western music, and speak English. There is nothing traditional Chinese on their mind, but instead those cultural symbols like Donald Duck, transformative toys, Jurassic, and King Lion. Not only Chinese intellectuals but also ordinary Chinese people who even don't know where the US is capitulate before American cultural hegemony coming from its mightiness and predominance in state power, science, culture and information.³

It seems that anyone would be ready to give a negative answer to the question whether "China is being Americanized" if only according to the above. However, we would draw an opposite conclusion or revise his answer at least if he don't hurry up to look at the other side of the story, that is "anti-Americanization", "anti-Westernization" or "Sinification".

It has been a permanent national complex to be against Westernization, especially against Americanization and to resist against the US, since modern China. It might be said that modern Chinese history, particularly revolutionary history of Chinese communism, is an anti-West and anti-US history to a certain extent. Partly, it is responsible for Mao Zedong's closed-doorism. The anti-US sentiment has been greatly mitigated since the reforms at the end of 1970s. But there has been a new high tide of anti-US feelings since the 1990s, especially since the event that the US-led NATO bombed the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999. You can find huge numbers of articles and essays against the US now and if you casually read newspapers and periodicals in the field of international relations, national culture and globalization. Some Chinese intellectuals disclose American intentions to "westernize and separate China"; some abominate the US as a world policeman; some disdain American arrogance; and some scorn the Chinese who cult the US as "slaves of a foreign master".

Numerous Chinese insist that the US has organized a grand conspiracy to "westernize and separate China" for a long time. In their view, hegemonism or imperialism is the US's given foreign policy. The US no longer regards the former Soviet Union but China as its strategic enemy since the Cold War ended following the collapse of Communist regimes in former Soviet Union and East Europe. As a result, keeping China within limits, trampling upon

² Mathematics: "The US Has No Good Way To Deal With China", website: www.peopledaily.com

China and erasing socialist China from the world political map becomes the given US policy. It can be foreseen that the fighting between China and the US would begin with such intensive issues as Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang and the Korean Peninsula. Tactically, the US is likely to “perish China politically” by means of military force; and strategically, the US is likely to use the by-pass policy with carrots and stick.⁴

For some Chinese intellectuals, it has been not only a theoretical issue but also a realistic one since the end of Cold War that the US strikes against China and tries to keep China backward strategically. In their view, the US has begun to besiege China militarily and each strategic step the US takes in Pacific-Asia aims at China, directly or indirectly. A writer enumerates and analyzes all military actions the US took in Pacific-Asia this year in an article entitled “Look Out, the US is besieging China!”. It argues that the US grasps firmly the card of Taiwan issue to extort China strategically on the one hand, and develops eagerly quasi-military bund in Pacific-Asia with shrinking the strategic siege of China on the other hand. The author reminds Chinese to never forget the American “insidious conspiracy”. “In recent years, it says, the US has been bending itself not only to develop relations to the former alliances, but to penetrate into other Asian countries. In Northeast Asia, the US is strengthening the military alliances of US-Japan and US-South Korea while it is adjusting its policies towards North Korea and attempting to throw a chock into the relation between China and North Korea. In Northeast Asia, the US is increasing its political influences on Northeast Asian countries by renewing its military relations with the Philippines while cottoning with Vietnam. In South Asia, the US begins to carry out its new policies of ‘looking up to India while down on Pakistan’ and wants India to become one of the balancing powers against China in Asia by engaging actively in military exchanges with India. In Central Asia, there are two aims for the US to strengthen its relations with five Central Asian countries. One is to make a check against China and the other is to let them become a gangplank to penetrate into China’s western borders. Meanwhile, the US reaches its hand out to North China by way of improving its relations with Mongolia. Furthermore, the US supports Taiwan’s separation from the Main-

³ Newsletter of Zhuji, published by the Office of Zhuji Government, No. 8, 2000, pp. 38-39.

⁴ Chen Jiayi, “History of American Hegemony”, in: Journal of Technology University of Central China, No.3 1999, pp. 17-32.

land under the table by selling weapons and bringing it into the US' regional defense missile system.⁵

Numerous scholars believe that the means and methods by which the US uses to separate and block China are renewed greatly although the purpose remains the same. One of the new means the US uses to "separate and westernize China" since the 1990s is to whoop globalization up. In their eyes, globalization is the newest tool to push its hegemony in the world and a fraudulent trap by the US. They say that globalization is simply Westernization or Americanization in essence. The US combines both means of the 'soft' and the 'hard' by high information techniques so that it is able to control firmly the Pacific Asian region. There is a strange and popular implication that globalization in the age of information stands for Americanization, which originates from the American idea that the US economic and military power results from its social system and cultural values, rather than from its high technology. Globalization in this sense is neither gospel nor inevitable for human being. The true face of such a globalization is fully exposed in the US-led NATO invasion of Yugoslavia.⁶

It is a loud voice from Chinese intellectuals to argue that "globalization is Americanization". Many discussants on globalization don't stop their emotions against the US and go further theoretically. A young professor who specializes on globalization studies put it this way: Many people thought globalization is purely an economic process. "In effect, it is not so simple as they thought. Doubtlessly, there is a powerful political and economic hegemony hiding behind globalization. It is not only true for developing countries but also for developed ones. In one word, globalization is essentially a global homogenization in terms of American values and standards."⁷ Someone illustrates in detail the process of the "globalization trap" designed jointly by the US and the UK to come out, the principal institutions to manipulate the trap, the elements and major tricks of the trap, the mass media and scholars advocating globalization, and so on. People who read these articles can hardly believe that globalization is not a swindle

⁵ Zhang Xin, "Look Out, The US Is Besieging China!", Technologies China Online, July 6, 2000.

⁶ Zhao Chu et al., "Is Globalization A Good Fortune or a Misfortune?", in: Guide to Opening up, No.9/2000, pp. 43-44.

⁷ Wang Nin, "The Cultural Debates and Discourses in the Age of Globalization", in: Eastern Culture, No.3/1999, pp. 31-36.

initiated by the US. “It is vital that the essence of globalization is its evil purpose under the table, rather than its American brand on surface.”⁸

For some people, not only globalization but also almost all American cultural products contain an “inclement purpose” to Americanize China and the World. One author describes particularly how to carry out the CIA’s policies through movies and how to use movies as tools of Americanization. The author begins by citing a statement from a CIA’s program that “(we) must do everything possible to propagandize, including movies, publications, TV and radio program and so on.....(We) would be successful partly only if foreigners are not longing for our clothing, foods, houses, entertainment and education”. Then he points out that “leading actors of American movies, no matter whether they are ordinary people or soldiers, appear at the moment human beings are facing a fatal disaster and save all other people from their sufferings. Many American movies propagandize ‘American spirit’ and Pan-Americanism.What is the image of China in American movies? Chinese people or Chinese towns appearing in American movies are usually demonized. Hollywood has really its ‘magic power’ to employ a few Chinese who are bound to be the actors who play to uglify their own people.”⁹

Like Americanization, anti-Americanization is reflected in Chinese literature and arts and people can find satire and mock against the US everywhere. There was a cartoon illustrating an Olympic women football contest between China and the US in “Beijing Evening News” on September 19th, 2000, accompanying such a satirizing statement: “Four years ago, the US women’s football team defeated China by an obvious offside ball and China’s women’s football team lost the golden metal. One year ago, the US women team’s goalkeeper broke the rule by moving her black legs at our penalty shot while the judge turned a blind eye to it. Sino-US women’s football teams met again in the Sydney Olympic Game and for everyone was very clear how the judge would behave. Thanks to Ms. Gao Hong and Sun Wen, their excellent performance explained all happenings.”¹⁰

⁸ Lin Fangshi, “Behind Globalization---An Analysis on the US and the UK’s Strategic Trap”, in: Zhongliu (The Central Stream), No.2/1999, pp. 13-17.

⁹ Anonymous: “Inclement Purpose hiding behind American Movies”, Website: www.netsh.com, August 14, 2000.

¹⁰ Anonymous: “Sydney’s Movie”, in: Beijing Evening News, September 19th/2000.

Anti-Americanization is manifested not only in hatred of the US and in exposing “Conspiracy of Americanization”, but also in the illumination of varieties of abuses and in convincing the Chinese that the US itself is in a disastrous state and worthless to be a model for China. For instance, a lot of articles are published to expose corruption of American education despite the fact that there are an estimated two hundred thousand Chinese students studying abroad. Many intellectuals try to illuminate systematically the shortcomings and evils existing in the US nowadays from the perspective of culture, politics and economy. Politically, there is a democracy enjoyed only by a minority of the powerful and rich rather than a true people’s democracy. Instead, US politics is full of corrupted elections, political scandals and quarrels between cliques. Economically, there exists a potential crisis and sharper polarization between the poor and the rich. Culturally, there are prevailing consumerism and disappearing morality. Some Americans have found themselves in these shortcomings and crises while “some pessimists even believe that the US is too sick to be saved.”¹¹

For many Chinese, the US is not only a worthless to be learnt from by China, but is not eligible to be learnt from at all. China has been able to contend with the US and should take uncompromising diplomatic policies towards the US. A few years ago, three young journalists edited a notable book entitled “China can say ‘No’” which became one of the bestsellers in that year. Consequently many publishers who grasped the opportunity to make money published several similar books such as “Holding China Back”, “Behind Monsterizing China”, “Why China Can Say ‘NO’”, and “China Certainly Can Say ‘NO’”. All these books have very similar contents and expose some Chinese intellectuals’ emotions against the US. Similar books would continue to be published if the authorities hadn’t stopped them. There appeared a tide of anti-US sentiment among young nationalists who like to read these books. There is a common logic linking all these books. The logic is that China has been so great and powerful due to its huge population, nuclear capacity and rapid economic growth that it is able to match the US. Meanwhile, the US is still a paper tiger, looking outwardly strong while inwardly weak, as Chairman Mao Zedong argued, and it will come down earlier than people think. Moreover, the US was a loser for the Chinese Communist Party during the CCP-Guonmindang Civil War and the Korean War. As a result, few young intellectuals went further and called upon the Chinese people “to stop buying American commodities, to stop watching American movies and eating American foods, and refuse to accept the most-

¹¹ See Guang Zhikun, “A Mistake of Complete Westernization”, in: *Journal of Teacher’s Colleague of Qingdao University*, No.2, pp. 23-27.

favoured-nation clause given by the US”; they called to “burn up Hollywood and preparing to fight against the US”.¹²

At a first glance, “anti-Americanization” and “Americanization” are two polarities. Actually, there is an interconnection between them. Indeed, anti-Americanization is an annotation and reaction to Americanization that is presently existing in China. In today’s China, a real non-Americanization is Chinesezation or Sinification existing everywhere. Deng Xiaoping’s theory is a holistic strategy including inward reform and outward opening up. Opening up outward simply means to introduce advanced Western, above all, American science, technology, products, management, market mechanisms, culture and knowledge. Since the reform and opening up, on the one hand, Western politics, economy and culture have exerted such deep impacts on Chinese society that there are phenomena like “Westernization”, “Americanization” and “anti-Americanization”. On the other hand, however, in the meantime to accept Western advanced material and cultural civilization, China has begun a great renaissance of the traditional culture after the CCP came to power in 1949. Mao Zedong launched two battles during his reign. One was to lock up China’s door to the West while the other was to clean out the traditional Chinese culture (there was a so-called “Movement of Destroying the Four Olds”, i.e. destroying old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits). Exactly on the contrary to it, Deng Xiaoping advocated either opening up to the West or reviving the traditional Chinese culture. The process of China’s reform and opening up, we may argue, is both a process of accepting Western civilization and a process of reviving systematically Chinese traditional culture, a process of sinifying Western civilization.

For instance, politically and ideologically, Deng Xiaoping calls his theory and practice of reforms “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, which is fundamentally different from traditional socialism of Mao’s era. It follows a bunch of “Chinese characteristics” labeling all things Chinese like: Chinese politics, Chinese economy, Chinese culture, Chinese academy, Chinese education, Chinese literature etc. Culturally, the “fervor of traditional Chinese culture” which climaxed in the 1990s canonizes traditional Chinese civilization to the highest degree. It is somehow dramatic that Confucianism had been regarded to be antipathetic to

¹² See *China Can Say ‘NO’*, ed., Song Qiang et al., China Industrial and Commercial Press, 1996; *Behind Monsterizing China*, ed., Li Xiguang et al., Chinese Social Sciences Press, 1996; *Holding China Back*, ed., Sun Keqing et al., China Yanshi Publishing House, 1996; and *Why China Can Say ‘NO’*, ed., Peng Qian et al., New World Press, 1996.

market economy while it is now regarded to account for economic success in East Asia and China. In the eyes of those advocates of traditional Chinese culture, it seems that all good things in the world originated from traditional Chinese civilization in final analysis. It is Chinese civilization, for them, that can overcome shortages of Western civilization and the 21st century will be the century of Chinese civilization.

The renaissance of Chinese traditions apparently exhibits in popular culture. The traditional Chinese literature, operas, folks, arts, acrobatics, crafts, rituals, customs, habits etc. which disappeared after 1949 have regenerated and become popular again since the reforms. Ordinary people have been affected deeply by traditional culture by enjoying themselves time and again with resumed Spring Festival, First Lunar Month Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, Double Nine Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, Wine Festival, Food Festival, Tea Festival, etc. Since the 1980s, Chinese people have been so eager to revive their traditions that shortly disappeared during the Cultural Revolution that they could hardly distinguish the positive from the negative. Accordingly, a lot of negative traditional things have been revived in social life. For example, the deeply rooted traditional conception of “winning promotion and getting rich” is accountable for our terrible corruption to a significant extent; prevailing of traditional superstitions is challenging a modern science. It is a ridiculous misunderstanding that some people owe so widely existing phenomena of cadre’s concubines to “Western corrupted capitalist notions”.¹³ Indeed, the cadre’s idea of concubines is exactly the revival of a degenerated Chinese traditional notion that every official should have his concubines or woman slaves.

How to understand the phenomena that “Americanization”, “anti-Americanization” and “Sinitification” coexisted in contemporary China? What does it mean for Chinese society? And what attitudes should Chinese intellectuals and statesmen have towards it?

The correct answers to these questions should be found in the contexts of both modern Chinese history and globalization’s impacts on China nowadays.

China is an ancient civilized country and had been one of the most developed countries in the world for a long period. However, traditional Chinese society had been in a hyper-stable condition for thousands of years because of political absolutism, feudal peasant economy and

¹³ Li Jun, “Don’t Neglect the Fact That Some Party Members Are Being ‘Westernized’ and ‘Separated’ ” website: www.netsh.com

cultural Confucianism, which snuffed out Chinese creativity and innovative capacity. Unfortunately, China's social progress was very slow and scarcely contributed to the world since the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). Meanwhile, Western countries had been undergoing industrial revolution and developed very fast. As a result, China has trailed behind Western countries since modern time. Some of the advanced Chinese intellectuals came to find that there had evolved a large gap between China and Western countries by the middle of the 19th century when the Western powers forced to open ancient China's door, using excellent weapons and commodities. They knew well by this moment that there was no way but to learn from Western industrial countries and to introduce Western civilization into China if she wanted to be refulgent as in the past. The Qing Dynasty couldn't but accepting the intellectuals' claims to initiate the "Westernization Movement".

The "Westernization Movement" was a sign for China to walk on the way to modernization and to begin her modern history. There are two subjects that run through the whole modern Chinese history. The first is that China wanted to leave the underdeveloped situation and to catch up with Western industrial powers, and the second is that China wanted to be independent from Western powers' control. In other words, modernization and national independence were two major tasks for modern China.¹⁴ Fundamentally, the contradiction between "Westernization" and "Sinification" can be explained in this context.

Objectively, modern civilization is an industrial one that originated from Western industrial countries. All modern industries including machines, energy industry, chemical industry, engineering, communication, medical industry and so on came from Western developed countries. Modernization is a process of learning from and approaching Western countries if we define modernization by industrialization. There is no doubt that some intellectuals simply defined modernization by Westernization in this narrow sense. For a developing country, it means to learn much from Western developed countries, to approach them more closely, and then to become a more modernized country. Conversely, if one learned less from Western countries while keeping close to one's tradition, one would be much more underdeveloped and lack behind. Accordingly, the antagonism between the radical intellectuals and conservative ones usually manifested itself in the debate on "Westernization" vs. "Sinification" due to the particular context in modern China that Western civilization stood for the advanced while

the Chinese tradition was seen to lack behind. It was a usual intrigue used by the conservatives on behalf of the class with vested interests, as a famous thinker of the CCP said, to refuse advanced Western civilization by way of over-emphasizing the Chinese characteristics, preponderance of Chinese traditional culture and corruption of Western civilization.¹⁵

However, there was another subject or task for modern China, which is national independence; this is somewhat contradictive to the first task. It had been a dilemma surrounding modern Chinese intellectuals and statesmen how to deal with “Westernization” and “Sinification”, to be exact, how to learn effectively from Western countries and at the same time keep China independent from them. It is Western powers that were responsible for China’s semi-colonization. China’s independence simply meant to stay free from Western control and influence. Meanwhile, China’s modernization was regarded exactly to learn from Western powers. Such a particular dilemma put modern Chinese intellectuals and statesmen on the stick at Westernization: China should never fall into a colony status in the process of learning from Western countries. This is a reason why most Chinese scholars and statesmen put their emphasis upon sinifying the Westerners while worrying about westernizing the Chinese. It also accounts for the following interesting phenomenon: there is the same logic behind the relation between Sinification and Westernization under three different regimes of the Qing Dynasty, the Guomindang’s Republic of China and the CPC’s People’s Republic of China. The logic is to utilize and to sinify Western industrial civilization for the sake of China’s modernization. It embodies the “Chinese body with Western function” under the Qing Dynasty, and as the “Chinese Nativeness” under the Guomindang and the “Chinese characteristics” under the CCP respectively.

It accomplished one of two tasks, as most people think, that the Chinese Communist Party established the People’s Republic of China after it came to power in 1949. That is, China obtained complete independence, while it had not been modernized. Mao Zedong and his comrades shouldered this unaccomplished task, expecting that China could catch up economically with the Western developed countries in a short term. It is not true to think that Mao Zedong didn’t want China to be wealthy and powerful. One could hardly deny that Mao had been seeking a way to modernize China by advocating such movements as “Catching up with the

¹⁴ See Liu Danian, “The Subjects of China’s Modern History”, in: *Studies in Modern Chinese History*, No.6/1996.

UK while overtaking the US”, “Steel-making across the country” and the “Great Leap Forward”, which brought tremendous disasters to China in retrospect. It is true that Mao never wanted China to follow the way of Western modernization. Neither did he want to introduce capitalism into China nor to open up to the Western developed countries. Among many realistic and ideological reasons why Mao refused the Western way of modernization is his worry that China would lose its independence once it opened up to the West. Therefore, there was no problem about “Westernization” and “Americanization” in the age of Mao who was too afraid of dependency upon the West to open the door.

It has proved that Mao’s development strategy succeeded in terms of China’s independence while it failed in terms of its modernization. As a matter of fact, at late age of Mao, the gap between China and the West on an economic level was broadening. Many intellectuals and the Party elite came to recognize that China remained far behind the developed countries in economy and culture after Mao had been in power for 30 years; China had to learn from the Western developed countries as long as it wanted to realize modernization. It is because of this recognition that Deng Xiaoping reformed Mao’s traditional socialism and opened China up to the Western capitalist countries. Thus, the context which brought about the debate on “Westernization” and “Sinification” in modern China come into being again: on the one hand, China has to learn from Western developed countries, and on the other, it must keep its independence from the latter. Correspondingly, Chinese people are facing the same dilemma again: how to introduce Western civilization into China while keeping the Chinese independent from the West?

All Chinese intellectuals who are concerned with China’s modernization cannot help but facing and answering this dilemma. There appear two quite different, sometimes even opposite, attitudes among them. Some prefer to emphasize development for the sake of national independence and put their emphasis on the introduction of Western civilization rather than on the revival of traditional values. Others prefer to emphasize national independence for the sake of national development and put their emphasis on the revival of traditional culture rather than on the introduction of a foreign civilization. Both of them are likely to go to the opposite extremes: for the former, the latter’s thoughts are too conservative, while for the latter, the former’s thoughts are too westernized.

¹⁵ Ai Shiqi, “On the Chinese Characteristics”, From Westernization to Modernization, ed. by Luo Rongqu, Peking University Press, 1990, pp. 592-593.

Deng Xiaoping launched the reform and opening up policies at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s when Western countries on the whole were still much more developed than others in the world. The process of modernization in developing countries including China remains to be a process of approaching the Western developed countries to some extent. Relatively speaking, the US keeps in distance to other developed countries and is leading Western material civilization and culture. Doubtless, the US has been exerting much more influence on the developing countries than other Western countries. In a sense, not only developing countries but also other Western countries have been “Americanized” more or less. It is understandable that “Westernization” in the past has become synonymous with “Americanization” now to a significant extent. It follows that the “Sino-West” debate in the past has been changed into a “Sino-US” while “Westernization” and “anti-Westernization” has changed into “Americanization” and “anti-Americanization” in China.

The human race has begun to enter a new age of globalization in the world history since the end of the 20th century. Globalization must change the context on which “Westernization”, “Americanization” and “Sinification” depend and bring about a new context in which different civilizations can learn from each other. Some people regard globalization simply as a process of homogenization and argue that globalization is a process of world capitalism, of Westernization or Americanization. This is not true! Globalization is not a process of simple homogenization but of unification of plurality. In essence, globalization is a contradictory unity and an antinomy and the process of globalization is intrinsically contradictory: it contains tendencies of both homogenization and fragmentation; it combines unification with pluralization; it includes both centralization and separation; and it embodies internationalization and nationalization.

First, globalization is a unity of universalization and particularization. On the one hand, globalization is a process of homogenization characterized by convergence of life styles, modes of production and values among various civilizations. For instance, the market economy is becoming an abstract world beyond its European origin; all peoples in the world are seeking democracy and human dignity while despotism is losing its supporters. However, on the other hand, universalization is always accompanied by particularization. Although the market economy has been an international abstract, the market economic systems in various countries are quite different. Furthermore, the differences among the market economic systems in various countries are not narrowing down as the market economy is expanding. For example, the market economy in Germany is called "Social Market Economy" which is quite different from the laissez-faire market economy in the United States or United Kingdom; the market economy in East Asia is different from other market economic systems because of more government intervention. The same is true of democracy. People all over the world are longing for democracy, which, however, has many diverse versions in different countries. For instance, Japan and South Korea adopt representative democracy, which is quite different from that in the United States or the United Kingdom.

Second, globalization is a unity of integration and fragmentation. Indeed, it is an integration and homogenization in terms of rapid growth of international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, IMF and WTO whose roles are much more important than before. We find a higher degree of integration among nations, which leads to dissolution of the traditional national sovereignty and frontiers to a significant extent. Moreover, cosmopolitan ideals have begun to materialize in a sense that integration movements among nations are more dynamic, such as the European integration, the global floating of capital and the global sharing of more and more common information. Nevertheless, there is a reverse tendency going along with global integration that strengthens unprecedentedly the particularity and independence of each nation and region. The movement of national independence and autonomy is a good example. It does not disappear but does develop more and more deeply as global integration continues. More and more small ethnic groups demand independence one after another, so for example, Albanians in Kosovo began their independent movement. The tide of regional, local and communal autonomy is not disappearing, but rising along with globalization. The community movements and communitarianism have been one of the hot political issues in developed countries. There has been a very special term "global localism" (glocalism) which spe-

cifically reflects this contradiction because local autonomy is developing rapidly against the backdrop of globalization.

Third, globalization is a unity of centralization and decentralization. One of the major aspects of globalization is the great centralization of capital, information, power and wealth, especially in transnational corporations. Big companies have merged since the 1990s. This accelerates centralization of power and wealth. A good example is the recent merger of McDonnell-Douglas and Boeing, two large companies in the aviation industry. However, on the other hand, it is an outstanding trend to decentralize capital, information, power and wealth. Small capital is still very active and developing as if it does not suffer from the centralization of capital. This shows that the higher the degree of centralization of information is, the more difficult it becomes to monopolize it. The best example is Internet. So far it has become the biggest medium whereby information is exchanged and whereby innumerable data from all parts of the world, all sectors and all aspects of human life are assembled to the maximum. Meanwhile, no one is able to monopolize the information, which has a discursive function in the sense that everyone whose computer has been connected with Internet can share information.

Lastly, globalization is a unity of internationalization and nationalization. As I mentioned above, globalization is removing the traditional national frontiers. As a result, more and more international conventions, covenants, agreements and norms are accepted and observed by nations all over the world; "bringing into the line with international practice" is becoming a common slogan and many international principles have their authentic international meaning for the first time. But on the other hand, each nation never forgets its own traditions and characteristics while accepting international conventions, agreements and principles. Each nation tries to deal with international principles in the light of its own specific national conditions and to nationalize these international principles and norms. For instance, most countries in the world agree to accept the international covenants on protection of human rights and environment while they are deeply woned by their own national characteristics in explaining and carrying out these international conventions.

To sum up, we can draw a conclusion that globalization has been an objective reality and inevitable tendency of human development from which no one can escape. So long as a country opens to the outside world, it will be in the process of globalization. China is no ex-

ception in this global age. Globalization is initiated and dominated by the US-led Western developed countries. However, no country, including the US, is able to manipulate completely the process of globalization on which developing countries, including China, have been exerting more and more influence. Globalization is a sword with negative and positive sides for both developed and developing countries. Both of them can either benefit from or get lost in globalization. Globalization changes modern world civilizations into a cosmopolity, no matter whether it originated in the East or the West. Therefore, to learn from the West never means “Westernization” while to learn from the East never means “Easternization” exclusively, and China’s participation in WTO and introduction of market economy never means “Westernizing or Americanizing China” exclusively. Internationalization, nationalization and localization supplement each other. China has to participate actively in globalization if she wants to preserve her own unique civilization; just as China has to carry her national advantages forward if she wants to participate in globalization effectively. Globalization in an authentic sense is by no means an absolute “Westernization” or “Americanization”. It will prove a lack of foresight to argue that China would be “Westernized” or “Americanized” once it participates in the process of globalization.

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