



History Society A.A.H.K.U. presents



Journal 2023

HISTORY

*Struggle between the Proletariat
and the Bourgeoisie*

DID COLD WAR REALLY END IN 1991?



Journal 2023

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Struggle between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie
Did Cold War really end in 1991?

Edited by Mr. Leung Ho Lun, Maverick

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Preface

Leung Ho Lun, Maverick

Editor-in-Chief, *History Society Journal* 2023 HISTORY

Publication Secretary, History Society A.A.H.K.U.

The German philosopher Georg Hegel once famously said, “*We learn from history that man can never learn anything from history.*” As ironic as it may sound, it has been proven by history countless times already, be it World Wars, Cold Wars or now the NATO expansion and Russo-Ukrainian War, human history has been a history about conflicts and wars. Cold War itself is not an exception.

It is often put that Cold War in the last century is a fight, a competition, a rivalry, a battleground between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. Then, what does these phrases mean? Certainly, when we discuss the origins of these two distinct classes, we have to travel back millennia into history. However, if we are simply tracing the origins of these two terms with the context in mind, it would be much easier. In order to understand these two terms, look no further than the Marxist theory established by German philosopher Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895). Defined in Marx’s famed work, *the Communist Manifesto*, he wrote,¹

The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Hence, the bourgeoisie are those who took over the means of production, which is what we, humans use to create product or value. In this case of a capitalist society, the factories, raw materials, tools, lands etc.² In contrast, when discussing about the proletariat, he wrote,³

¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles. 2015. “The Communist Manifesto.” *London: Penguin Books*: 15.

² UMassAmherst. “Radical Social theory: Basic Definitions of Marxian Concepts.” Accessed 16th July, 2023.

³ Karl Marx. “The Communist Manifesto.” 18.

[T]he modern working class [are called] the proletarians... [They are] a class of labourers... who must sell themselves piecemeal, [and] are a commodity, like every other article of commerce.

Proletarians are, in Marx's eyes, treated with no differences with other assets. Then, we can certainly view the competition between the two classes only in a micro-sense, focusing on individuals, between workers and capitalists. However, does the struggle between the two only involve individuals? Reality says otherwise. For the chance of any revolutions or overturning, the proletariats need to unite to form a formidable power, as the classic communism slogan implies "*Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!*", or "*Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!*", often used by leaders of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, it simply does not make any logical sense for us to purely discuss based on individuals, but more about a broader sense, in a macro scale, and hence, why the struggle can be seen across the globe in the Cold War era.

Shortly after the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, it could be said that the United States for a couple years, became the sole superpower on the planet, but the same may not be true today. Geopolitics changes rapidly, and with China's GDP growth rate constantly at more than double the global growth rate⁴, China is not a power to be neglected. Clearly the American government are also aware of the Chinese development and has input great effort to rival with the Chinese, best illustrated by various punitive tariffs, the HuaWei Meng Wanzhou (孟晚舟) incident, and the ban of Tiktok on public servant devices during the Trump administration. Hence, I would like to draw your attention to give the contemporary international relations another assessment. Could this be called as a continuation of the Cold War with China becoming the successor of the Soviet Union? Or is this in fact a whole new type of rivalry between the two states? Our talented academicians have given their answers in this Journal.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude towards everyone who has kindly contributed to this Journal – Dr. Oscar Sanchez-Sibony for his thought-provoking foreword; our various contributors, both featured or prose, for their personal insights on different matters. As Dr. Sanchez said before, that the world is in need of special views and opinions instead of a unionized and rigid viewpoint on a single matter, I am confident to say that, at the very least, the contributors of this Journal has achieved it remarkably well.

⁴ Fulya Koksoy. "The Rising Eco-Power in Global World: An Analysis over the Economic Growth Model of PRC" *Development&Growth: Economic Impacts of Globalization*, no.3, October 2018: 135.

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Foreword

Dr. Oscar Sanchez-Sibony
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It is daily now in the newspapers: the US-China rivalry. As we almost always do when trying to understand our present, we turn to the past to find useful referents that can help us think about a reality that might be with us for many years to come. It has been interesting to see how these referents have developed. Perhaps a decade ago, when this rivalry was deemed more historically organic, the talk was of the British-German rivalry of the turn of the 20th century. This of course led to World War I, but it seemed organic inasmuch as Germany's rise to domination of the continent seemed an inevitable feature of its population and technological mastery. The older hegemonic power, Great Britain, having risen to its reigning status with the industrial revolution and having organized a foreign policy of power balancing in the continent for over a century, was posed to oppose Germany's command of the continent. It is the seeming inevitability of their clash that was partly the reason China's previous administration insisted on a discourse of a "peaceful rise."

If you open the newspaper today, however, you might note that the historical parallel most often invoked is that of the Cold War. We are now in Cold War 2.0. Quite what this means for the present might rest, then, on how we interpret Cold War 1.0. Or are we now reinterpreting the first Cold War in light of the second? These are some of the live questions the authors are grappling with in this volume's historical essays.

On the whole, the essays demonstrate William Faulkner's poignant maxim: "*The past is never dead. It's not even the past.*" We don't turn to the past to escape the present or fill our minds with esoteric knowledge of long dead things. We study the past not just because it led directly to something or other in the present. We probe and research because how we understand the past is how we understand the present. You can change

that around to say something just as common: how we understand the present often determines how we understand the past. The best kind of historical thinking can sunder our presentist preconceptions, denaturalize our assumptions and cause us to rethink our present moment. But it can never detach the two, because the past is not even the past.

Whether discussing Sun Yat-sen's attachment to Marxism, the nature of the Cold War, or its use as a guide to the US-Chinese rivalry, which are the subjects of some of the essays here, history continues to inform our uncertain present. This is why these essays will give readers interested in the many dimensions of our past and present plenty of fodder for discussion. The History Society's journal is an excellent vehicle for exploring the kinds of questions the university is designed to open up. And the History Society more generally continues to be an essential institution — one of HKU's oldest! — for the promotion and practice of these intellectual pursuits and the community building necessary for them. As Chairman of the History Department, I encourage you to peruse the thinking evident in this volume, to reflect and engage with its conclusions. And I invite you to join HKU's History Society and become a part of this active and essential community to university life.

Featured Articles

Struggle between the Proletariat
and the Bourgeoisie

Did Cold War really end in 1991?

A Never Ending “War”: the Continuous Effects from 1991 – so-called “End of Cold War”

Tan Shengyun, Jack

Year II, Undergraduate

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The last leader of Democratic Germany (East Germany), Egon Krenz, said in an interview about whether the current international situation is returning to the Cold War: His view on the Cold War is different from that of most people who talk about it. Personally, he believed that the Cold War has never come to an end. The events that occurred in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from 1989 to 1991 can be considered as a phased end to the struggle between European socialism and European capitalism. At the same time, the Cold War between Western capitalist forces and China and Russia began and continues to this day. From the international situation in recent years, especially the tense relations between China, the United States, and Russia, Katz's analysis and understanding are not unreasonable.

Introduction

The struggle between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie has been a significant theme in the history of Russia, specifically during the Soviet era. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 is widely regarded as the end of the Cold War, which was a political conflict between the United States and the former Soviet Union. However, there are arguments that suggest that the Cold War is ongoing and that we are currently experiencing its second phase. This article examines whether or not the Cold War truly ended in 1991, and if not, what implications this has for the world today.

Cold War

For what is a "cold war", it can be clearly stated that "all means of confrontation between opposing sides except for hot wars are the Cold War", including political pressure, ideological output, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, economic sanctions, technological blockades, and arms races.¹ Compared to this standard of thought, the "Cold War" that emerged after World War II has never stopped. The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe only indicate a significant adjustment in the foundation of the Cold War and a significant easing of the Cold War situation.

Understanding the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie

The words Proletariat and Bourgeoisie have strong communistic origins, and they refer to people with no assets and people with assets, respectively. These terms were famously used by Karl Marx in his communist manifesto. In the context of the Soviet Union, the Proletariat referred to the working class, while the Bourgeoisie referred to the capitalist class. The struggle between the two classes was central to the ideology of communism, which aimed to create a classless society where everyone had equal access to resources.

The depth of the ideological differences between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie can be seen as evidence that the Cold War did not end in 1991. This view is supported by different scholars who argue that the end of the Cold War was not a victory for the West and capitalism, but rather a shift to an era defined by a new balance of power and different global challenges.

According to *Stephen Kotkin*, a historian of Soviet Union, the collapse of the Soviet Union was not the result of a decisive victory for the West, but rather the consequence of internal economic and political factors within the Soviet system. He points out that even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia still holds an important role as a cultural

¹ Blakemore, Erin, "What Was the Cold War and Are We Headed to Another One?" *Culture*, March 31, 2022, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/cold-war>.

and intellectual force. In this sense, the ideological conflict between communism and capitalism still exists, albeit in a different form. He states:²

Despite all the talk of 'the end of history' and a decisive victory for market democracy and liberal capitalism over all alternatives, the change of regime in Moscow that began in 1985 remains a historically significant event whose ramifications are still evolving.

Similarly, other academics like *Alexander Dugin* suggest that the end of the Cold War did not mean the triumph of liberal democracy and market capitalism over communism. Instead, he argues that the current era is marked by a geopolitical struggle between the Atlanticist and Eurasianist ideologies, each representing different visions of the future world order. He contends:³

The world experienced not a triumph of the West, but merely the end of one stage, marked by a unilateral triumphalism, and the beginning of another, characterized by multipolarity and open competition among various ways of being.

In total, while the end of the Cold War marked a significant historical moment, the ideological differences between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie continue to shape global politics and reveal ongoing power struggles. Consequently, the Cold War may be considered as an ongoing phenomenon, albeit with different forms and manifestations, rather than a simple event that ended in 1991.

The End of the Cold War

The Cold War typically refers to a political conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. The conflict arose from ideological differences between the two superpowers, as well as their desire for global influence.

² Kotkin, Stephen. “Armageddon averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000.” *New York: Oxford University Press*, 2009.

³ Dugin, Aleksandr, Mark Sleboda, and Michael Millerman. *The fourth political theory*. London: Arktos Media LTD, 2012.

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The Cold War was characterized by proxy wars, espionage, and arms race, but it never escalated into a direct military confrontation between the two sides.

In December 1989, President George H.W. Bush of the United States and President Mikhail Gorbachev of the President of the Soviet Union held a “*historic meeting*” in Malta. Gorbachev publicly declared that “*the world has left the cold war era*”, “*as if relieved of the burden*”.⁴ World public opinion has concluded that the “*end of the Cold War*” probably came about this way, but it is actually just Gorbachev's “*wishful thinking*”.⁵

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the end of the Cold War. The Soviet economy had faltered under the burden of defense expenditures, and Soviet citizens had grown disenchanted with the Communist Party. Mikhail Gorbachev, who served as the General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1985 to 1991, introduced a series of reforms that aimed to restructure the communist system under the name “*Perestroika*” and “*Glasnost*”. However, these reforms had unintended consequences and ultimately led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Since then, the United States has never abandoned the strategic means of the “*Cold War*” to deal with Russia, which had gained independence from the former Soviet Union. For example, offering many conditions to provide “*aid*” in an attempt to incorporate Yeltsin era Russian reforms into the desired trajectory of the West, and after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, attempting to weaken or even disintegrate Russia.

The “Second Cold War”

While many historians would argue that the collapse of the Soviet Union marked the end of the Cold War, others believe that the conflict continued in new forms after 1991. Some scholars refer to this as the Second Cold War or the New/Neo Cold War. This new phase of the conflict involves different countries and actors than those that were involved in the first phase. The primary players include the United States, China, and Russia, which is the successor state of the former Soviet Union.

⁴ Hodge, Nathan, “How George H.W. Bush Helped End the Cold War Peacefully | CNN Politics.” *CNN*, December 1, 2018. <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/12/01/politics/george-bush-cold-war-end/index.html>.

⁵ *Ibid.*

One of the key features of this new Cold War is that it is not only political but also economic in nature. The rise of China as a global economic power has challenged the dominance of the United States, which has led to tensions between the two countries. The United States and its allies have launched trade wars and imposed tariffs on Chinese goods, while China has responded with its own retaliatory measures.⁶

Russia has also played a significant role in this new phase of the Cold War. Its annexation of Crimea through referendum in 2014 was seen as a violation of international law, and it has been accused of interfering in the 2016 US presidential election.⁷ The United States and its allies have responded with economic sanctions against Russia, which have had a significant impact on its economy.

So, by the Putin era, the United States had resumed its "cold war" approach to Russia, led NATO to accelerate its eastward expansion, constantly squeezed Russia's strategic space in Europe, and stirred up the "Colour revolution" in the former Soviet Union, making the Russian led "CIS"⁸ exist in name only. ³Especially in the issues of Crimea and eastern Ukraine, the West has adopted double standards to criticize Russia in various ways and has repeatedly imposed economic sanctions.⁹ This is no different from the economic blockade of the former Soviet Union in the past.

With the rise and increasing strength of China, the United States continued to implement the Cold War strategy in the new stage and later listed China and Russia as the main Cold War opponents. This was already very clear during the Trump administration. The first National Security Strategy and National Defense Strategy released by the Trump administration listed China and Russia as both "revisionist countries" and "strategic competitors".

⁶ Hua, Shiping, and Ka Zeng, "The US–China Trade War: Economic Statecraft, Multinational Corporations, and Public Opinion." *Business and Politics* 27, no. 3 (2022): 253–71, <https://doi.org/10.1017/bap.2022.18>.

⁷ Snyder, Timothy, "Ukraine: The Haze of Propaganda: Timothy Snyder." *The New York Review of Books*, July 23, 2020, <https://www.nybooks.com/online/2014/03/01/ukraine-haze-propaganda/>.

⁸ Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS for short.

⁹ Carpenter, Ted Galen, "The U.S. and NATO Helped Trigger the Ukraine War. It's Not 'Siding With Putin' to Admit It." *Cato.org*, March 7, 2022, <https://www.cato.org/commentary/us-nato-helped-trigger-ukraine-war-its-not-siding-putin-admit-it>.

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However, China is different from Russia in terms of military strength, and there is a significant gap between China and the United States, even compared to Russia.¹⁰ Therefore, China's military strength is currently not something that the United States is afraid of or very concerned about. What worries and fears most is China's rapidly developing economy, science and technology, and the "*Belt and Road*" foreign development strategy, especially the "*China system*", "*Chinese model*", "*Beijing Consensus*" and other threats to the Western democratic system, the "*Washington Consensus*", and fundamentally shaking the United States' hegemony in the world.¹¹ Therefore, the United States imposes a "*new cold war*" on China, which is different from that of Russia: The United States focuses on economic repression, scientific and technological blocking, and the use of Hong Kong, Taiwan and other regions to create turmoil and trouble, and various means to curb Chinese Century's rise.

The China–United States trade war initiated by the United States is actually an important component of the "*new cold war*" strategy of the United States against China, which will be long-term.¹² Trump has repeatedly stated that he is not in a hurry to reach the "*great agreement*" of the war, and the United States insists at the negotiating table that even if a trade agreement is reached, tariffs on the "*important*" and "*core*" trade areas will not be lifted.

The competition in science and technology is the home ground of the Cold War between the East and the West in the new era, and also highlights the new characteristics of the "*New Cold War*" era. Therefore, the United States' use of "*unnecessary*" national security as an excuse to suppress high-tech companies such as Huawei and ZTE in China is essentially a part of the "*New Cold War*" and has long been planned.¹³

For example, after more than two months of riots in Hong Kong, the direct driving force behind this incident was the Western "*Cold War*" forces led by the United

¹⁰ Rakich, Anna, Franklin and Marshall College, Craig Kanalley, Cindy de Gouveia, Taylor Belle, Culture360 Stories, Glorie Martinez, et al., "The Arctic Arms Race: The New Cold War." *The Odyssey Online*, October 15, 2019, <https://www.theodysseyonline.com/the-arctic-arms-race-the-new-cold-war>.

¹¹ Koberg, Kelsey, and Andrew Murray, "Greatest Threats to the US, According to Foreign Policy Experts: 'How Scared Do You Want to Be?'" *Fox News*, July 28, 2022, <https://www.foxnews.com/media/greatest-threats-us-according-foreign-policy-experts-scared>.

¹² Hua, Shiping, and Ka Zeng. "The US–China Trade War."

¹³ "Trump Signs Order Setting Stage to Ban Huawei from U.S." *POLITICO*, Accessed July 1, 2023, <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/05/15/trump-ban-huawei-us-1042046>.

States.¹⁴ The intention of the United States is very clear, attempting to use Hong Kong's "*Hong Kong independence*" and "*riot*" forces to split China and form a new anti-China "*cold war*" base.¹⁵

The declining United States engaged in the "*New Cold War*", listing China and Russia as both enemies and opponents, which is the difference between the West's continued Cold War in the new era. This is different from the way Nixon and Kissinger played the Chinese card against the Soviet Union back then.

Arms Race

The arms race is an important symbol and main content of the Cold War confrontation. The United States acted recklessly, unilaterally tearing up the hard-earned China Missile Treaty, and immediately conducted pre prepared tests of new land-based cruise missiles, with serious consequences that could be foreseen. From Putin's recent statements, a new arms race between China and Russia is likely to be unavoidable.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact marked a new stage of the Cold War between the East and the West, also known as the "*New Cold War*".¹⁶ At the beginning, the United States continued to focus on Russia as the main target of the Cold War. At this time, Russia's strength was no longer comparable to that of the former Soviet Union, with only "*a few trump cards left up her sleeves*".¹⁷ The main threat to the United States was military power, especially strategic nuclear power. Therefore, in the new stage, the United States' implementation of the "*New Cold War*" against Russia mainly focuses on military affairs.¹⁸ The United States' eagerness to tear down the China Missile Navigation Treaty is actually an urgent practical need for the United States' "*new Cold War*" with Russia.

¹⁴ Times, Global, "US Double Standards on Domestic Riots and Hong Kong Turmoil Mocked on Chinese Internet." *Global Times*, Accessed July 1, 2023, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1190110.shtml>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Rakich, Anna, Franklin et.al. "The Arctic Arms Race."

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Toda Peace Institute, "On the Way to an Arms Race and a New Cold War?" *Toda Peace Institute*, Accessed July 1, 2023, <https://toda.org/global-outlook/2021/on-the-way-to-an-arms-race-and-a-new-cold-war.html>.

Korean Peninsula Issue

The Korean Peninsula issue can be seen as evidence that the Cold War did not end in 1991, as well. Despite efforts at reconciliation and denuclearization since the 1990s, tensions between North Korea and the international community, led by the United States, have persisted. This ongoing conflict highlights the complex power dynamics and ideological differences that continue to shape global politics.

According to *John Delury*, Professor of Chinese studies at Yonsei University, the legacy of the Cold War continues to influence the relationship between North Korea and the United States. He argues:¹⁹

At its core, the problem is still ideology...That Cold War baggage hasn't been chucked. It keeps roiling up.

Despite various attempts at engagement, including the 2018 Singapore Summit between North Korea and the United States, progress towards peace on the Korean Peninsula has been slow and difficult. This can be attributed, in part, to the ongoing ideological differences between North Korea and the West.

For example, North Korea's "*Juche*" philosophy emphasizes self-reliance and independence from outside powers, which contrasts with Western values of capitalism, globalization and free trade. This ideological divide has made negotiations challenging and underscores how deeply ingrained the Cold War-era divides remain.

Additionally, the continued presence of American military forces in South Korea plays a significant role in the ongoing tensions on the Korean Peninsula. North Korea sees the US military presence as a threat to its sovereignty, while the United States views it as necessary for regional stability.

The ongoing conflict on the Korean Peninsula is evidence that the Cold War did not end in 1991. Deep-seated ideological divisions persist, making negotiations around peace and denuclearization difficult. The legacy of the Cold War era continues to impact global politics and power dynamics.

¹⁹ Baker, Peter et. al., "Trump Steps into North Korea and Agrees with Kim Jong-Un to Resume Talks."

Implications for the World Today

The ongoing Cold War has significant implications for the world today. The rising tensions between the United States and China have already had an impact on the global economy, and there are concerns that the conflict could escalate into a military confrontation. The rivalry between these two superpowers is likely to shape global politics for years to come.

The conflict between the West and Russia is also likely to continue. The European Union and Canada have imposed economic sanctions on Russia, and there is little sign that these will be lifted anytime soon. The conflict in Ukraine, which was partially sparked by Russia's annexation of Crimea, remains unresolved.

On the other hand, China has a strong economy and technology, and it is likely to replace the United States as the world's number one in the near future. Russia has a strong military, its comprehensive strength is recovering, and the relationship between the two countries is becoming increasingly friendly and close. The United States is confronting two major powers at the same time, and the "*New Cold War*" implemented in the new era is unlikely to result in favorable outcomes for the United States and the entire Western world. Krenz, who has always been confident in socialism and socialist China, is very clear about the prospects of the new Cold War.

Conclusion

While the collapse of the Soviet Union marked the end of the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union, there are arguments suggesting that the conflict has continued in new forms. The second phase of the Cold War involves different actors and is characterized by economic as well as political rivalry. The ongoing conflict has significant implications for the world today, particularly in terms of global politics and the economy. It is essential that we acknowledge this new phase of the Cold War and develop alternative ways to cope with the events that are shaping the world today.

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New Cold War – United States and China Hegemony Competition

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This essay examines the ongoing rivalry between the US and China characterized as a "New Cold War", rather than a continuation of the original Cold War period from 1945-1991. While cooperation has increased in some areas since the dissolution of the USSR, the US and China also engage in continuous economic, military, and technological competition to maintain dominance globally. Both powers provide foreign aid to expand influence and address issues like the financial crisis, showing how Cold War-era strategies continue. This rivalry impacts global stability through threats like increased military modernization and conflicts over regions like Taiwan and cybersecurity. While innovation is spurred to some extent, cooperation on issues like climate change is hindered. Hong Kong is also a victim of such rivalry and faces economic pressures as tensions rise between its largest trading partners. Overall, the essay argues the New Cold War shares similarities to the original period and its global consequences, though on a smaller scale to date.

Introduction

Cold War, the ideological competition between the capitalist bloc and communist bloc started after WWII and lasted from 1945 to 1991.¹ The collapse of the Soviet Union

¹ Elspeth Y. O’Riordan, *Understanding the Cold War: History, Approaches and Debate*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 57.

seemed to mark the end of the Cold War. However, is it really the end of the rivalry between the two superpowers? Is the Cold War still silently and continuously happening nowadays?

To a small extent that the Cold War really end in 1991. This essay would examine the New Cold War between the US and China by comparing the similarity and differences in the ways of confrontation between the Cold War and the New Cold War. The last part would explain the consequences and impact of the New Cold War in terms of Hong Kong and more importantly the global order and international relationships. After 1991 and the dissolution of the USSR, the US and China relationship entered a new era. They did have cooperation and integration when facing global issues, such as the financial crisis in the 2000s. However, there is continuous cold war and rivalry in terms of economic, military, and technological aspects so as to maintain the hegemony and expand its influence globally.

All Round Rivalry: Economic Power

The US and China are the two largest economics in globe by using PPP and Nominal methods.² In 2023, the US's GDP current price is US\$26.85 thousand billion and China's GDP current price is US\$19.37 thousand billion. The US remains the largest economy followed by China.³ It shows the great economic performance respectively and results in an economic hegemony competition. In terms of economics, the US and China had a confrontation both directly and indirectly. Directly, the US and China had a hostile trade war in 2018. The US imposed tariffs on Chinese imports which worsen the relationship of the two superpowers and reduced economic cooperation. It is a New Cold War that the two countries use symbolic ways to compete with each other rather than a hot and actual war. Aside from direct confrontation, they also have indirect methods to compete, which is providing economic aid and fund to other foreign

² "Comparing United States and China by Economy," StatisticsTimes.com, accessed July 24, 2023, <https://statisticstimes.com/economy/united-states-vs-china-economy.php>.

³ World Economic Outlook (2023), IMF. <https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDPD@WEO/CHN/USA>.

countries in light of expanding their influence and hegemony.⁴ For instance, the US provided US\$8.6 billion to Ukraine and US\$3.97 billion to Afghanistan and US\$3.31 billion to Israel.⁵ for helping them build better infrastructure. The US plays an important role in becoming the leader of an organization such as the World Trade Organization. While, China provided US\$ 3.1 billion economic assistance to Africa⁶ and even established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in 2015 to make herself a leader in Asian economic cooperation and established the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013 which encourages trade with the globe including Europe. The aforementioned shows the large scale of economic aid and competition among two superpowers. The courses and reasons behind the economic confrontation are similar to the old Cold War. It is just having the same intention but with more modern examples.

The Cold War also have similar events, the US and the USSR provided economic assistance to Western and Eastern Europe respectively which became economic confrontation. The US adopted the Truman Doctrine in 1947 including US\$400 million to Turkey and Greece. In addition, in 1948, the US adopted Marshall Plan to provide US\$13.3 billion in economic assistance to Western Europe.⁷ While the USSR adopted the Molotov Plan in 1947 to confront the economic policy adopted by the US. They aimed to restrict the influence of each other and attract more countries to join their bloc which eventually beneficial for the national interest and aggression of global hegemony. Similarly, the reason for New Cold War is maintaining the connection of the donor countries so that they would choose to stand with them and have a preference for either US or China. It is beneficial to the hegemony and maintaining a stable relationship with other countries and achieving liberalism. It can further enhance the countries' reputation and in the long term increase the trade and cooperation with the donors, which is the strategic reason for providing foreign aid. The US, one of the traditional power having leadership and hegemony suddenly faced another rising power,

⁴ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power and Great-Power Competition: Shifting Sands in the Balance of Power Between the United States and China* (Cham: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023), 25.

⁵ ForeignAssistance.gov(2023). <https://www.foreignassistance.gov>.

⁶ "Data: Chinese Global Foreign Aid," China Africa Research Initiative, <http://www.sais-cari.org/data-chinese-global-foreign-aid>.

⁷ Elspeth Y. O'Riordan, *Understanding the Cold War*, 57.

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China. China is trying to expand its influence and challenge the US hegemony. Due to the national interest and the ambition of both countries, the US desired to maintain the previous status quo while China desired to develop as a superpower, it led to the silent war, the New Cold War.⁸ From the aforementioned, it has similar reasons and courses to the Old Cold War, which showed that to a small extent, the Cold War really ended in 1991, rather it marked the beginning of a new chapter.

All Round Rivalry: Military and Tech Muscles

In terms of military and technological confrontation, the US and China rapidly modernizing the military and innovating new technology.⁹ For instance, the US investigated the advanced form of military capabilities such as cyber war, drones, and Artificial Intelligence(AI) robots to help with war. AI has changed and escalated the battlefield. For example, AI is used to predict the requirement of maintenance and recognize errors in software. Since 2009, the number of autonomous drones has increased tenfold but human American soldiers declined 90%.¹⁰ It shows the US has actively innovated technology to increase military competitiveness. While, China upgraded its arms such as anti-ship missiles and aircraft carriers to generate massed fire. For example, DF-21D and DF-26 are anti-ship ballistic missiles. It offers high speed and long range which increase the capability for China to defend and attack against warships and enhance military supremacy.¹¹ Furthermore, they both enhanced the bonding with their military alliance. The US, they have communicated with the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) while China built military ties with North Korea and Iran. The military and technological confrontation created tension that may trigger international security and had the same effect as the Cold War from 1945-1991. During

⁸ S. Mahmud Ali, *US-China Strategic Competition: Towards a New Power Equilibrium* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2015), 37.

⁹ Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter, *China, the United States, and Global Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 91.

¹⁰ Maximilian Schreiner, "AI in War: How Artificial Intelligence is Changing the Battlefield," *The Decoder*, January 9, 2023, <https://the-decoder.com/ai-in-war-how-artificial-intelligence-is-changing-the-battlefield/>

¹¹ Dmitry Filipoff, "Fighting DMO, Pt. 8: China's Anti-Ship Firepower and Mass Firing Schemes," *Center for International Maritime Security*, May 1, 2023, <https://cimsec.org/fighting-dmo-pt-8-chinas-anti-ship-firepower-and-mass-firing-schemes/>

the competition between US and USSR at that time, they also had a similar confrontation. For instance, the US adopted NATO in 1949 and USSR adopted the Warsaw Pact in 1953 in response and balance the current threat created by their rivalry. They also had intense technological rivalries like the investigation of the hydrogen bomb and the skyrocket. In short, the New Cold War is the legacy or the other version of the Cold War. They both have the same effect which is to make the globe unstable and prone to war due to the advancement of military and technology. However, the nature of both war is the same in that they do not have a direct and hot war the ways of confrontation is still symbolic. We arrive to similar conclusion when discussing economic powers and acts in the last section.

Impact as part of this new rivalry

With the higher rate and larger scale of globalization, the New Cold War caused several consequences and impacts on Hong Kong and the globe, including two sides that both positive and negative impacts can be found.

In Hong Kong, the New Cold War has more harm than benefits. Hong Kong is economically and geographically linked to both China and the US. China and Hong Kong are each other major trading partners. Since the Reform and Opening up in 1978, China's share of Hong Kong's global trade is 49.1% which is Hong Kong's largest trading partner.¹² Moreover, the mainland and Hong Kong have signed the "Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Partnership Arrangement" (CEPA) which strengthens the economic ties and increases potential economic cooperation. Aside from this, the US is also an important trading partner of Hong Kong. Hong Kong is the US's 5th largest market for wine exports. The New Cold War made Hong Kong stay in a complicated position since Hong Kong is a critical entrepot for Sino-US trade. In 2022, 4% of Mainland's exports to the US; 6.5% of Mainland's imports from the US were traded through Hong Kong.¹³ It implies the complex situation and economic pressure of Hong

¹² "Hong Kong and Mainland of China: Some Important Facts," Trade and Industry Department, Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, accessed July 24, 2023, <https://www.tid.gov.hk/english/aboutus/publications/factsheet/china.html>.

¹³ "Hong Kong - United States Trade Relations," Trade and Industry Department, last modified July 7, 2023, accessed July 24, 2023, <https://www.tid.gov.hk/english/aboutus/publications/factsheet/usa.html>.
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Kong under the New Cold War. First, the US made Hong Kong the main spot to attack China diplomatically.¹⁴ The US accused China of the deprivation of human rights and violation of the ‘One Country, Two system’ principle of Hong Kong. The US aimed to expand its influence to China and the Huawei Incident happened in 2019. The US imposed sanctions on Chinese companies like Huawei. The US also persuaded her allies such as Japan and Australia to ban Huawei to enter the technological industry. It implies that the US craves to directly restrict and limit the Chinese potential growing advancement in technology. As such, it would reduce the threat of China to have economic and technological domination in the globe. Hong Kong is a centre and gateway for finance and trade for both the US and China. These growing tensions between the two superpowers created significant uncertainty for business and the economy. It can show that Hong Kong acted as a passive gateway for the tension between the two countries.

The globe, New Cold War has negative impacts that will hinder global cooperation and increased the level of difficulty to tackle global issues.¹⁵ For example, the climate change issue is an imperative and urgent topic. However, the New Cold War made cooperation hard on the one hand, and on the other hand, it changed the nature of integration. The two countries used the climate change-related responsibility and pollution evidence to debate and indirectly wanted to attack the other countries. For example, Xie Zhenhua, China’s special representative for climate change affairs accused the US is a more-developed country. They have more responsibility due to the long history of development and blamed Trump’s decision to withdraw the Paris Agreement in 2017. While, the US expressed the unfairness for helping less-developed countries, like China to cope with climate change, blamed China for her high number of coal emissions and enhanced global warming in Paris Agreement in 2017. It shows that the original meaning of cooperation and united together have been hampered by the New Cold War. Moreover, the globe’s security has been threatened by the New Cold War as well. A nuclear war may happen with growing hostility between two countries. Both

¹⁴ “Centre for China-US relations and Hong Kong,” (no date) Hong Kong Policy Research Institute 香港政策研究所 - 首頁.

¹⁵ Hsiang-tse Chiang, *The United States and China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 62.

the US and China are countries that have nuclear weapons the US has approximately 5244 nuclear warhead inventories while China has 410 in 2023.¹⁶ A nuclear war between two superpowers is enough to lead to the total destruction of the globe which threatened significantly the global security. Besides, the US and China have regional conflicts like the Taiwan issue. The US continuously provides military assistance to Taiwan and supports human rights. However, China considers Taiwan as one of the provinces, it is related to the sovereignty of China. President Xie has claimed that it is a must to protect Taiwan from foreign power.¹⁷ It shows the opposite stance of the two countries. The possibility of more aggressive action like starting an actual war may happen which is very likely to threaten peace and global security. Cybersecurity and the global digital market might be threatened by the 5G rivalry between two superpowers. To gain technological domination, two superpowers separately innovate alternative 5G devices which cause division and low interoperability in the global digital market.¹⁸ Despite the war-like atmosphere is not obvious, there is still a possibility that the new version of the Cuban Missile Crisis would happen again to this day.

The positive impact is that the competition between US and China further encouraged and paved the way for technological advancement and more innovation of technology. The investigation and modernization of technology such as AI, VR, and 5G can better save energy and create a more modern and convenient way of life.¹⁹ 5G can emerge an unprecedented wireless Internet. The communication and connectivity of the internet and skills delivered are more advanced than real-time management can be achieved. 5G favours the future development of smart cities and smart cars. For example, the level of communication is higher that smart cars can have a real-time traffic update and

¹⁶ Kristensen, Hans M., Matt Korda, Eliana Reynolds, and Kate Kohn. "Status of World Nuclear Forces." *Federation of American Scientists*. Accessed July 24, 2023. <https://fas.org/initiative/status-world-nuclear-forces/>.

¹⁷ Brands, Hal and Michael Beckley. "The Coming War Over Taiwan." *The Wall Street Journal*, August 4, 2022. Accessed July 24, 2023. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-war-over-taiwan-11659614417>.

¹⁸ Muhammad Umar Farooq, "US-China tech rivalry: Impacts and a way forward," *Global Village Space*, January 17, 2023, <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/us-china-tech-rivalry-impacts-and-way-forward/>.

¹⁹ Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter, *China, the United States, and Global Order*, 91.

connect to a larger network.²⁰ It shows that the innovation of 5G and different technology can keep growing better and making progress due to the tense competition of the New Cold War. Apart from this, the connection and bonding between the two blocs to the donors have a positive impact as well. Due to the leadership established by the two countries, the international relations of certain blocs respectively can be enhanced and more trade can be made. It achieved a small scale of liberalism on each side.

Conclusion

Indeed, it seems to be reasonable that the majority think that followed by the dissolution of the Cold War officially ended in 1991. The US and Russia relationship entered a new chapter that they have more cooperation and the tension faded away gradually which was less hostile than from 1945 to 1991. Some think that the New Cold War was not as large-scale and serious as the Cold War. Notwithstanding the aforementioned confrontation, so far no immediate crisis like Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and the Star War in the 1980s. The US and China have relatively more cooperation than the US and USSR.

However, despite the scale is not as big large as Cold War, the ways and confrontation are similar, only one of the characters changed and become China. The ideological difference between the US verse USSR and China is the same. The Cold War did not end that the capitalism is still silently competing with the communist. The war is still cold and not hot, the war is still about competing for hegemony and for national interest. The impact is similar as well in that both the old and new Cold Wars ended up affecting the global order and divided the world into two blocs symbolically.

In short, only to a small extent that the Cold War really ended in 1991 and a New Cold War mainly between the US and China is still happening to this day. It has similar patterns, intentions, and events to the Cold War.

²⁰ Meryem Simsek, Adnan Aijaz, Mischa Dohler, Joachim Sachs, and Gerhard Fettweis. "5G-Enabled Tactile Internet." *IEEE journal on selected areas in communications* 34, no. 3 (2016): 460–473.

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Prose Articles

Explore the “International Dimension” of Palestinian terrorism during the 1960s and 1970s: Their objectives outside of Israel/Palestine, Achievements and Impact

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This essay examines the international dimension of Palestinian terrorism during the 1960s and 1970s, exploring the historical context and the issue of legitimacy that drove it. The failure of the British government and the United Nations to fulfil their promises to the Palestinians, and the desire of Palestinian nationalists to be recognized as the only representative of the Palestinians, led to the targeting of objectives outside of Israel/Palestine. While some achievements were made, such as the recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians, it came at the cost of sacrificing many lives of ordinary people. The practices of Palestinian terrorists have also changed the modern understanding of terrorism, inspiring the discussion of "states through terrorism" and demonstrating that modern terrorism is globalized. However, the definition of modern terrorism is ever-changing due to technological advancements, and cyberterrorism may become the next paradigm shift.

Introduction

The origin of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can trace back to the late 19th century, more precisely, the 1880s, when Jewish immigration to Palestine increased significantly at that time.¹ While the Jewish people sought to establish their nation-state due to the

¹ Julie M. Norman, "Terrorism in Israel/Palestine." In *The Cambridge History of Terrorism*, edited by Richard English, 149-172. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 151.

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growing Zionism, the Palestinians also had the same request to the British officials, which laid down the ongoing conflict until nowadays.² Any broad survey of Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be deficient without discussion of Terrorism. The Palestinian terrorism from the international aspect was the most notorious terrorism during the 1960s to 1970s, including hijacking, bombing and assassination. From some perspectives, the terrorism involved demands for the release of their terrorist members³, targeted to destroy the self-confidence of Israelis as well as the connection between Israel and its advocates.⁴ However, they were only the remote reasons that accelerated the appearance of Palestinian international terrorism, root causes are yet to be mentioned. Therefore, this essay aims to use a different perspective to interpret their terroristic actions. It will first touch upon the root causes, historical context and legitimating its claims to be the representative of the Palestinians, which led Palestinian nationalists to target objectives outside of Israel/Palestine. Then, turn to investigate their achievement based on the previous section and finally discuss their influence of understanding modern terrorism in terms of the possibility of establishing states by terrorism, and globalized terrorism.

The Root Causes for Nationalists Objectives outside of Israel/Palestine

Starting from historical context of Israel–Palestine relations, the perception of injustice from the western countries was pervasive among the Palestinians. The British Foreign Secretary expressed the support for the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine in 1917, whereas, a similar promise had been made as well to the Palestinian people and Arab leaders in 1915 and 1916 for gaining their support in the combat with the Ottoman Empire.⁵ The Arabs, especially the Palestinians, expected the establishment of their own nation-state after World War I. However, their contribution was in the exchange of betrayal. The British government did not reach their promise. They planned to fulfil the aspirations of both Jews and Arabs, which was not in the expectation of the

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 160.

⁴ Martin Jander, “German Leftist Terrorism and Israel: Ethno-Nationalist, Religious-Fundamentalist, or Social-Revolutionary?” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38, No. 6 (2015): 466.

⁵ Julie M. Norman, 151.

Palestinians that they only wanted to create their own nation-state.⁶ The early form of terrorism happened as a response of the British betrayal.⁷ The situation went worse as the Palestinians thought they faced another unfair treatment on the partition plan for Palestine, which was made by United Nations, in 1947.⁸ The failure of the British government and United Nations made Israel/Palestine became closely associated with terrorism. Many terrorist organizations were set up by both the Israelis and the Palestinians such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization, PLO and Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, DFLP.⁹ They first implemented formal terrorism only in Israel and its periphery, but they started to target objectives outside of Israel, especially western countries, since the Six-Day War as they thought the Arab states could not secure the Palestinians and reach their ideal, which was to fend off the Israelis.¹⁰

A phenomenon can be observed from the development of Palestinian terrorism that it was a steadily increasing process, from the Israeli territory to the western countries, which supported Israel. Without the failure of the British government and the United Nations, the Palestinian nationalists would not implement terrorist attacks on western countries, with some reasons such as forcing attention to the Palestinian cause and how unfair the Palestinians was treated. When we take an overall view of the history of the conflict, the international terrorism from Palestinian nationalists was the continuative response to the injustice to the Palestinians and to the expression of their anger. Other reasons were supplementary factors that accelerated the appearance of their international terrorism. If the British official and the United Nations handle well in dealing the Israel-Palestine problem, try to have a consensus with both the Palestinians and Israelis, but not lean to the latter, it can minimize the soil for the development of terrorism among the Palestinians. However, the possibility of reaching this ideal remains uncertain. It involves other factors that international relations is complex, and

⁶ Ibid, 151-152.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 155.

⁹ Ibid, 157.

¹⁰ John A. Lynn II, *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019, 195.

also western society held a more sympathetic view to the Jews than their counterparts at that time.

As mentioned above, many Palestinian nationalists created and joined different nationalist organizations in order to “emancipate” the Israeli territory. It suggests another root cause, strengthening the claim of their organization to be the only representative unit actor of the Palestinian people, for them to target overseas objectives. The orientation of the conflict shifted from Jewish-Palestinian to Israel-Arab since the establishment of Israel, which can be manifested by the several times of war between Israel and its periphery. It downplayed the role of the Palestinians in the conflict. Thus, the emergence of Palestinian nationalists’ organizations such as PLO was not just to resist Israel, but to seize back the leadership of the struggle for Palestine from the Arab countries.¹¹ They further realized, after the Six-Day War in 1967, that they could only regain the patrimony lost, mainly the land, by their own efforts.¹² However, it was insufficient to implement terrorism only in Israel and the Middle East for gaining worldwide attention and strengthening their legitimacy as the representative of the Palestinians. Therefore, groups, like the PFLP, within the PLO started to carry out a series of terrorist attacks in different places, mainly the western countries, since 1967 such as the hijacking of an Israeli EL AL plane on its way from Rome to Tel Aviv in 1968¹³ and a similar aircraft hijacking in 1969 at Zurich.¹⁴ The increasing scale of international terrorism means they recognized that they could reach their goal by putting civilians’ lives at stake, which led to the notorious Munich massacre in 1972 and other following terrorist attacks finally.¹⁵

¹¹ Julie M. Norman, 156.

¹² John A. Lynn II, 194-195.

¹³ Tobias Hof, “The Lodo Moro: Italy and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.” In *Terrorism in the Cold War: State Support in the West, Middle East and Latin America*, edited by Adrian Hänni, Thomas Riegler and Przemyslaw Gasztold, 153-173. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2021, 154-155.

¹⁴ Marcel Gyr, “The Secret 1970 Moratorium Agreement between Switzerland and the PLO.” In *Terrorism in the Cold War: State Support in the West, Middle East and Latin America*, edited by Adrian Hänni, Thomas Riegler and Przemyslaw Gasztold, 63-87. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2021, 63.

¹⁵ Boaz Ganor, “Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.” In *The Routledge History of Terrorism*, edited by Randall D. Law, 239-257. New York: Routledge, 2015, 245-246.

Being the representative of the Palestinians means they could have a kind of self-determination, due to the increase of their bargaining power, for the future of their ethnicity without severe intervention from the Arab world. The problem of legitimacy is crucial at any time, for example, the debate between PRC and ROC about their legitimacy in the United Nations in the early 1970s. If the ROC is still the only legitimate representative of China to the United Nations, the world politics must be different. Stretching from the country level to the personal level, legitimacy is always regarded as a power tool. That was why the Palestinian nationalists were determined in gaining the right of representing all the Palestinians. Palestine for Palestinians is the supreme idea for the nationalists even until nowadays.

What did they Achieve?

These terrorist attacks created an image, without any suspicion, for the western countries that the only way to stop the violence was to reexamine their foreign policy to Palestine and start a conversation with the PLO. Regarding their aims from the previous section, apparently, some achievements were done because of their international terrorism. It was not a coincidence that the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, was invited to address the United Nations General Assembly eighteen months after the Munich Massacre.¹⁶ PLO was even accepted as a UN special Observer soon after.¹⁷ It implies that western society began to recognize the legitimacy of PLO as the representative of the Palestinians and treat the Israeli–Palestinian conflict as a serious topic that the member of the UN had an obligation to find out the best solution to this conflict. The Palestinians started to be treated relatively fair in their eyes.

Besides the participation of international organization, the interaction between PLO and the European countries was another focal point. Official channels have been set up for conversations with PLO by western European countries. Italy supported PLO's diplomatic strategy by allowing the establishment of PLO office in Rome.¹⁸ The PLO

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, 246-247.

¹⁸ Tobias Hof, 157.

office was officially opened in 1975 in Switzerland.¹⁹ Furthermore, sufficient evidence prove that PLO collaborated with Eastern bloc regimes such as Poland, Hungary, and Germany.²⁰ The international standing of the PLO reached an unprecedented high point compared to the early years of this organization. They began to be recognized as representing the will of Palestinians.

After experiencing a series of diplomatic negotiations, the Palestinian could have their autonomous state finally in Gaza and the West Bank according to the Oslo Accords and the Gaza and Jericho agreements in the 1990s, which was a historical landmark for the Palestinians at that time.²¹ The PLO, which was only a nationalists' organization that implemented terrorism widely from thirty years ago, had become the only representative of the Palestinians and the legal sovereign over their territory. The international terrorism from the Palestinian nationalist not only successfully took the leadership of struggle with Israel from the Arab leaders to themselves, but also made progress towards their ideal, the establishment of their nation-state. Their achievements cannot be underestimated.

Their Influence of Understanding Modern Terrorism

The terrorist attacks by Palestinian nationalists created a new vision in understanding what terrorism can achieve. Non-state terrorism was considered as barely an approach to express anger and hatred by a group of people, who were being oppressed, in the past. Significant change would barely happen due to the asymmetric power between states and citizens. For example, nothing had changed after Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb nationalist. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was not because of Gavrilo Princip but the loss of World War I. However, the Palestinian experience proved that some political ends could be

¹⁹ Marcel Gyr, 69.

²⁰ Tobias Wunschik. "Palestinian Terrorism and the State Security of the GDR: Abu Nidal between East Berlin, Moscow, and Washington". In *Terrorism in the Cold War: State Support in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Sphere of Influence*, edited by Adrian Hänni, Thomas Riegler and Przemyslaw Gaszold, 61-83. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2021, 62.

²¹ Boaz Ganor, 252.

achieved by terrorism. After a series of terrorist attacks, autonomous areas were established, and the legitimacy of the Palestinian nationalist organization, PLO, was consolidated.²² The illusion of “states through terrorism” was widespread to the world. It inspired other radical nationalists and their organizations, in which ISIS is a prominent example that shows the concept of “states through terrorism”. The discussion of the possibility of establishing state by terrorism is the derivative of their practices.

Moreover, the practices of Palestinian nationalists demonstrated that modern non-state terrorism is global terrorism. In the past, transnational terrorism was hard to achieve because of the limitation of transportation. The advance of transportation extended the range of implementing terrorism. Terrorist attacks from Palestinian nationalists were widespread, especially among western European countries during the 1960s to 1970s.²³ They regarded those attacks as the retaliation of the inequality between Israel and Palestine. This kind of “global” attacks was the pioneer of modern terrorism that the following terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS imitate the practices of PLO to target overseas objectives, which have led to many tragedies like the 9/11 incident and the November 2015 Paris attacks, for spreading fear and anxiety. Terrorist organizations even recruit members around the world by social media nowadays. It further proves that modern terrorism is globalized. People in different countries are now at risk of terrorism to various degrees due to the development of technology.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Palestinian terrorism was being lingered by historical context and the issue of legitimacy. The injustice from the West and the legitimacy in representing Palestinians were the fundamental reasons for their international terrorism. While some achievements were made by Palestinian nationalists, they were at the cost of sacrificing many lives of ordinary people, which is an indisputable fact. Their practices further link to a moral question that “does the end justify the means?”. Besides the argument of morality, it is certain that they have changed the modern understanding of terrorism. It made people understand that modern terrorism is globalized, and

²² Ibid.

²³ Julie M. Norman, 159.

inspired the discussion of “states through terrorism”. However, the definition of modern terrorism is ever-changing because of technological advancement, more specific, the development of the internet. Cyberterrorism may substitute the “globalized” terrorism and cause a new understanding of terrorism in the future, which will lead to another paradigm shift.

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Comparing the Political Propaganda between the Cultural Revolution and the Kim Il-sung Era after 1967: A Critical Analysis of the Characteristics of these Two Periods

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This essay compares the political propaganda of the Cultural Revolution in China and the Kim Il-sung era after 1967, the third ruling period. The analysis highlights the similarities and differences between these two periods in terms of their attempts to establish a unique style of political propaganda. While both countries had to deal with the legacy of the Soviet Union, they could not abandon the Soviet legacy completely, and the legacy even influenced them to a certain degree. Besides, the Cultural Revolution was characterized by inconsistency due to frequent changes in political power, while North Korea's propaganda remained consistent under the absolute rule of Kim Il-sung. The comparison sheds light on how political propaganda can reflect the political environment and the leadership style of a country.

Introduction

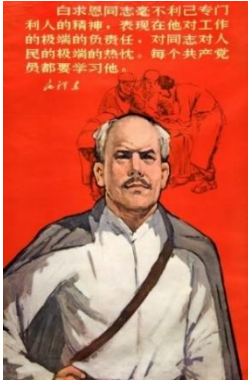
The Chinese Cultural Revolution was a movement from 1966 to 1976 launched by Mao Zedong. The main objective of this movement was to consolidate the power of Mao Zedong and tried to achieve other goals like restoring the vigorous spirit of the Chinese communist revolution.¹ Besides, North Korea, as a traditional ally with the CCP, also

¹ Patricia Powell and Joseph Wong. "Propaganda Posters from the Chinese Cultural Revolution." *The Historian*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (1997): 777.

had a significant change since 1967, namely the third period of the Kim Il-sung era. Kim Il-sung could finally be independent in his decision making, and thus soon revived his personality cult and even extended it to another level.² The personality cult of Kim Il-sung in that period was intertwined with the Cultural Revolution. Extensive research has contributed to the Cultural Revolution,³ and North Korea as well.⁴ However, seldom contribution has been conducted to the comparison of these two periods. There must be something mysterious that is worth investigating as political propaganda was pervasive in both periods. Therefore, it is interesting to find out the similar and different characteristics of the political propaganda between the Cultural Revolution and the third period. The essay includes two parts. It will first compare the similarity of these two periods, then move to examine their distinction and third with a conclusion of this essay.

Following the path of the Soviet Union: Similarities between the Two

The legacy of the Soviet Union was pervasive in the political propaganda in both China



Poster 1: "Bai is willing to help others without asking for return, he should be the role model of all communists."

during the Cultural Revolution and North Korea at that period. For China, one of the purposes of Mao Zedong to launch the Cultural Revolution was the collapse of the Sino-Soviet relation since the 1960s due to the Soviet leaders hold suspicious about the Chinese development path. They thought the CCP had made many wrong decisions, like initiating the Great Leap Forward.⁵ China and the Soviet Union, thus, went on a different communist path. In light of that, Mao Zedong had to seize the leadership of world communism by using the Cultural Revolution to exhibit that he was a more capable leader than the Soviet Union. So, it was not suitable for the Soviet element to exist so much during the Cultural Revolution

² Fyodor Tertitskiy. "The Ascension of an Ordinary Man: How the Personality Cult of Kim Il-Sung Was Constructed (1945-1974)." *Acta Koreana*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2015): 2.

³ Richard Curt Kraus. "The Cultural Revolution: A Very Short Introduction". *New York: Oxford University Press*, 2012, 19.

⁴ Alexander Dukalskis and Zachary Hooker, "Legitimizing Totalitarianism: Melodrama and Mass Politics in North Korean Film." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2011): 53.

⁵ Richard Curt Kraus, "The Cultural Revolution", 24.

as China intended to open a new communist path. Any Soviet element would become sensitive because it hindered the development of Mao Zedong thought. Therefore, political poster, which was the main dominator of promoting Mao's aims, should not include the Soviet element.⁶ However, it is contradictory that the political posters still remained many Soviet legacies. The poster, for example, on the left side is a political poster about Norman Bethune. The texts on the top tell that all the communist comrades should learn his spirit of unselfishness. This poster is full of Stakhanovism that the Soviet Union used this ideology to raise production before. It uses a "model labour", Norman Bethune, for enhancing the morality and loyalty of the communist members and even the ordinary Chinese to Mao Zedong. Although it was the only example of this essay, people, who are proficient in the posters of political propaganda during the Cultural Revolution, observe easily that such political posters at that time were not traditional Chinese art. They mingled with the Chinese and the Soviet style of painting.⁷

In North Korea, with the detachment from the Soviet Union and the purge from the 1950s until the Gapsan Incident in 1967, Kim Il-sung truly established his own version of the personality cult.⁸ Even though Kim Il-sung could design his propaganda independently, the Soviet mechanism of propaganda influenced to a certain degree as before. The poster of on the right side is a North Korean poster called "Provide a strong line of defence for the Republic's honour and sovereignty". There is a soldier standing at the top. A large crowd of people from different occupations stay behind the soldier. It means all the North Korean people should



Poster 2: "Provide a strong line of defence for the Republic's honour and sovereignty"

⁶ Patricia Powell and Joseph Wong, "Propaganda Posters from the Cultural Revolution", 777.

⁷ Ibid., 789.

⁸ Fyodor Tertitskiy. "The Ascension of an Ordinary Man," 209-210, 225.

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protect their fatherland if necessary. Yet, the Soviet style of designing propaganda appears in this poster that the poster includes heroic realism. Heroic realism is a common characteristic in Soviet propaganda. The Soviet Union always used this art for portraying the ideal New Soviet Man. The above poster also applies the same strategy that it tells what a new or real North Korean should be. Other forms of Soviet manifestation were also pervasive in the third period of the Kim Il-sung era, like displaying the portraits of Kim Il-sung, building the leader's statues and quoting his works.⁹ The Soviet Union left a lot to China and North Korea in the above-mentioned periods. Even though they wanted to get rid of the influence of the Soviet Union, it was irrational as the Soviet mechanism had entrenched in these countries. Both China and North Korea adopted the Soviet style of propaganda intentionally or accidentally.

With the detachment from the Soviet Union, both China and North Korea had to start political propaganda with their own characteristics. Yet, their designs still have Soviet



Poster 3: "Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of people of the world."

mechanism in terms of propaganda. This political propaganda started to have a process of de-Soviet Unionization. It is not only about de-Stalinization because China and North Korea planned to extricate the influence of the Soviet Union at that time, as they hoped to act independently, but not focus on a particular period. Therefore, de-Soviet Unionization is a more suitable term to describe this phenomenon. In China, during the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet Union was less to be mentioned, at least in terms of the positive image. Mao Zedong became the only man who owned the permanent positive image at the end of this movement.¹⁰ For example, the poster on the top of the left side is from the Cultural Revolution. The title is "Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of people of the world". Mao is the sun of this poster, and there are

⁹ Ibid, 226.

¹⁰ Patricia Powell and Joseph Wong, 790-791.

people from different nations that march arm in arm holding copies of the Little Red Book. No Soviet element could be found on the surface of this poster. However, the



Poster 4: Sino-Soviet Friendship

poster below to the previous one was published before the Cultural Revolution. Soviet elements are clearly visible in all perspectives. Not only there are the flags of the Soviet Union and China at the front, but there is also a western style building with a communist symbol in the background.¹¹ Apparently, the pattern of the political propaganda during the Cultural Revolution shifted to de-Soviet Unionization from stressing the Sino-Soviet friendship. The similar phenomenon also appears in songs and dramas. The whole political propaganda focused on promoting Mao's goals and class struggle.¹²

In addition, North Korea also have a homogeneous characteristic that Kim Il-sung further downplayed the Soviet Union in North Korea since 1967. The process of de-Soviet Unionization began earlier than in China. In the mid-1950s, Kim Il-sung had already exaggerated the contribution of the KPRA in confrontation with Imperial Japan during World War II like presenting the KPRA as the assistant of the Soviet Army.¹³ The KPRA was radically deified after 1967. Kim Il-sung described the KPRA as the main force, who had defeated the Imperial Japan.¹⁴ Hence, the Soviet Union was only mentioned very briefly in the North Korean history.¹⁵ The de-Soviet Unionization also reflected on different dimensions from visually, like posters, dramas, and other printings, to physically. The most significant physical embodiment should be the requirement of wearing badges with the portrait of Kim Il-sung or printing his name with a special type.¹⁶ The function of wearing a badge was to stress that who was the

¹¹ Ibid, 783.

¹² Ibid, 777.

¹³ Fyodor Tertitskiy. "A Blatant Lie: The North Korean Myth of Kim Il-Sung Liberating the Country from Japan." *Korea Observer*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2018): 233.

¹⁴ Ibid, 234.

¹⁵ Ibid, 233.

¹⁶ Fyodor Tertitskiy. "The Ascension of an Ordinary Man," 226.

leader of North Korea. Obviously, it was to centralize the position of Kim's regime and put the Soviet Union be peripheral. According to the doctrine of Marx, individuals could be negligible in history development.¹⁷ But North Korea asserted a different way from the Soviet Union in developing history that individuals, Kim Il-sung and the Kim's family, became the history drivers.

Although de-Soviet Unionization was a pivotal mission for China, during the Cultural Revolution, and the Kim il-sung era after 1967, they could not abandon the Soviet culture completely, at least some of the Soviet legacy disappeared from the surface of the political propaganda. There are two similarities between these two periods that they were influenced by the Soviet legacy, and they also tried to get rid of it. That is contradictory to some extent.

De-Soviet Unionization: Attempts to Alienate from the Soviet

While the Cultural Revolution and the third ruling period of Kim Il-sung shared some characteristics, it is less likely to happen that the essences of their political propaganda were literally homogeneous. Little consistency could be found in the political propaganda during the Cultural Revolution, whereas, North Korea showed continuity in political propaganda. Due to the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, the change of political power frequently occurred. One of the prominent examples is Lin Biao. The



Poster 5: "Long live the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and assisted by Vice-Chairman Lin"

poster on the left side was launched in 1969. The title is "Long live the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and assisted by vice-Chairman Lin". Lin Biao was close with Mao Zedong at that time and was even considered as the successor of Mao Zedong.¹⁸ However, following his death because of the failure of the coup and the rise of Gang of Four,¹⁹ The criticism of Lin Biao along with Confucianism appeared

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Richard Curt Kraus, 27-29.

¹⁹ Ibid, 95.

soon. The poster on the right side, “Wage the struggle of criticizing Lin and Confucius to the end”, reflected this fact. The image of Lin Biao was different from before. Not only did Lin Biao get involved with the inconsistency of this political propaganda, but other CCP leaders also had a similar experience, like Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping.²⁰ The inconsistency of political



Poster 6: “Wage the struggle of criticizing Lin and Confucius to the end.”

propaganda was a problem during the Cultural Revolution. The orientation could be changed along with the change of political power.

By contrast, the North Korean propaganda was much stable than the Cultural Revolution. The power of Kim Il-sung had strengthened through the purge of the Yan'an faction in 1956 and the purge of the Gapsan Faction in 1967.²¹ From this time onwards, Kim Il-sung became the absolute power holder in North Korea.²² He was the chief commander in developing political propaganda, like the cult-oriented propaganda, from 1967 until his death.²³ Without any challengeable opposite, the personality cult of Kim Il-sung and even his family highly developed. It had a sudden and remarkable leap after 1967 about using the word “Leader” to describe Kim Il-sung.²⁴ There were increasing personality cults of Kim Il-sung and his family that appeared since 1967. The political propaganda depended heavily on the thinking of Kim Il-sung. Given that he just wanted to legitimize his rule,²⁵ the political propaganda would only surround how to gain the maximized legitimacy. The propaganda thus became consistent as Kim Il-sung put other agendas behind this purpose. Kim Il-sung was the only leader that held actual political power in North Korea, but the political struggle was pervasive in China during the Cultural Revolution. Political propaganda is hard to be consistent under

²⁰ Ibid, 96.

²¹ Fyodor Tertitskiy. “The Ascension of an Ordinary Man,” 219-221.

²² Ibid, 219.

²³ Jae-chon Lim. *Leader Symbols and personality Cult in North Korea: The Leader State*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2015, 10.

²⁴ Fyodor Tertitskiy. “The Ascension of an Ordinary Man,” 222-223.

²⁵ Alexander Dukalskis and Zachary Hooker, 53.

upheaval. It can be speculated that the political propaganda of North Korea at that time must be much more consistent than the propaganda in the Cultural Revolution.

Conclusion

De-Soviet Unionization was the common goal for China's political propaganda during the Cultural Revolution and the propaganda under the rule of Kim Il-sung after 1967. Unfortunately, they were hard to reach that, and the Soviet legacy still remained influential in their propaganda. Even though there were some similarities, a significant distinction existed. Consistency was their disparity in making propaganda. The Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, but the propaganda system of North Korea still remains the mechanism, which was laid down by Kim Il-sung. The comparison even reflects that how political propaganda can reflect the political environment and the leadership style of a country as the analysis highlights how the consistency or inconsistency of propaganda can reflect the stability or instability of political power, and how the overall message of propaganda can reflect the ideological priorities of the ruling leadership.

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An Assessment of the Relationship between Glasnost and the fall of the Soviet Union

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The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 was an unexpected shock to the world. Historians accounted many factors for the collapse of the Soviet behemoth, including the various reform of Gorbachev, his indecisiveness, and of course the strategy of the Americans under the “Cold War” mindset. This essay would focus on the internal condition of the USSR, especially the effect of glasnost. I would assess how glasnost contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet system by discussing the effect of liberalizing the USSR. I argue that glasnost was an indirect yet fundamental cause for the downfall as it unintentionally amplified the problems of the reform, and problems that existed before 1985 that were well concealed by the party.

Introduction

It is important to first define the core of the discussion, namely glasnost and the fall of the Soviet Union. Glasnost, or widely translated as “openness”, refers to the policies Gorbachev adopted to liberalize the Soviet Union. Literally Glasnost means “voicedness” or “speaking up.”¹ This further implies its emphasis on the freedom of expression. Generally it also involves a freer flow of information, more public input into decision making and more initiative at all levels of society.² A key facet of glasnost to stimulate

¹ Robert Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?: Understanding Historical Change* (London: Routledge, 2016), 46.

² *Ibid.*, 47.

the citizens' expressiveness, which I would discuss below, would be the lifting of censorship on various sensitive topics. Historians have different interpretations and definitions of "the fall of the Soviet Union". Some, like David Marples, regard it as the takeover of the Soviet state by the RFSFR in 1991.³ This approach is certainly correct yet too high-politics-oriented, as it downplays the importance of social changes within the Soviet state. Here I would consider the fall of the Soviet Union broadly as the collapse of the Soviet system. I would examine below how glasnost crippled the long-established Soviet system and created a momentum that pushed forward the end of Soviet rule.

Why Glasnost?

Before digging into the effects, we should first understand the motives for introducing glasnost. Glasnost was undoubtedly a complementary program of perestroika. Gorbachev was aware of the skepticism of the entrenched conservatives towards his radical economic reorganization, and thus attempted to manipulate public opinion to support his reform agenda.⁴ As a result glasnost was introduced to consolidate the legitimacy of reform. It was to mobilize the criticisms from below to build up a momentum for reform against the perceived resistance to perestroika.⁵ Moshe Lewin described this openness brought by glasnost as "a precondition" for the success of further reforms.⁶ This description is certainly valid. Many followers of Brezhnev that was against radical reforms remained inside the party apparatus.⁷ Yet we should not overestimate the resistance Gorbachev was facing. At the initial stage of his rule, the ruling bodies underwent drastic personnel changes, as exemplified by the replacement of 60% of Central Committee members.⁸ Nevertheless, Glasnost was a useful tool to direct public opinion against the old soviet system and did cultivated support towards

³ David R. Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union : 1985-1991* (London: Routledge, 2013), 109.

⁴ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022), 183.

⁵ Lambert, Nick. "The Dilemmas of Glasnost", in *Gorbachev and Gorbachevism*, ed. Walter Joyce, Hillel Ticktin and Stephan White (London: Frank Cass, 1989), 53.

⁶ Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev phenomenon: a historical interpretation* (University of California Press, 1991), 117.

⁷ Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union : 1985-1991*, 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

Gorbachev's reform at its initial stage.

Glasnost was not meant to destroy the Soviet system, but to preserve and perfect it. As Edele noted, Gorbachev, a sincere communist, wanted to pursue the Leninist ideal that free speech would be possible again after the suppression of the bourgeois counter-revolution had been accomplished.⁹ Glasnost was according to Gorbachev a key step towards the ideal communism. In fact glasnost was an idea emphasized by Lenin himself to stress the importance of media campaigns in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union.¹⁰ Thus we should not view glasnost as a tool to end communism, but as a failed attempt to revive it. It is important to note that Gorbachev was aware of the danger of glasnost, and thus it was implemented cautiously. He stressed that glasnost does not mean 'freedom of action for demagogues and slanderers' and 'there should be a respectful attitude towards cadres in general'.¹¹ Censorship on important issues was exercised informally by political officials.¹² Therefore it is clear that Gorbachev did not intend to end the soviet system with glasnost, but its ultimate collapse was brought by the unintended consequences of glasnost. Glasnost was simply a political failure but not some mastermind of Gorbachev that intentionally ended the cold war.

Awakening: Exposing Underlying Problems of the Soviet Union

The most significant effects of Glasnost could be represented in the liberalization of media. Media is a powerful political tool. It could create narratives that are politically beneficial to different interest groups. Historically, media is employed by different Soviet leaders to create favourable narratives. Stalin used the Soviet media as an instrument of his personality cult. Khrushchev used the media to facilitate de-Stalinization. Gorbachev also used media to create a favourable narrative supporting his reform. He mentioned in a speech in December 1984 that glasnost is "an effective means of combating bureaucratic distortions and obliges people to take a more thoughtful approach to...the rectification of shortcomings and deficiencies. In large part the

⁹ Mark Edele, *The Soviet Union : a Short History* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 201-202.

¹⁰ Brian McNair, *Glasnost, Perestroika and the Soviet Media* (London ;: Routledge, 1991), 29.

¹¹ Lambert, "The Dilemmas of Glasnost", 53-54.

¹² Jerry F. Hough, *Democratization and Revolution in the USSR, 1985-91* (D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), 144.

persuasiveness of propaganda...depends on this.”¹³ The Soviet media subsequently was mobilized to engage in genuine criticism and self-criticism.¹⁴ Despite the motive of Gorbachev to facilitate a momentum for the reform, the liberalized media turns out too powerful and destabilized the Soviet system.

Firstly, the demystification of soviet history undermined the legitimacy of Soviet rule. One of the Soviet media campaigns was termed by Gorbachev as “Filling the blank spots”. It aimed at portraying an honest account of Soviet history. Traditionally the Soviet media functioned as “collective propagandists and agitators” and state control of historical narratives in the media was central to the party’s ideological work.¹⁵ This means that the Soviet state manipulated and controlled historical narratives in the press to consolidate the legitimacy of its ideology. Yet as glasnost struck, this control of history was released and discussion on sensitive parts of soviet history became possible, if not promoted. For instance in February 1988, *Pravda* published a series of articles that were “devoted to important episodes in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet State.”¹⁶ Yet the version of history the state media promoted was already relatively positive regarding the unfavourable parts of soviet history. Notably *Pravda*’s series only showed how Lenin described Stalin as “too rude”, before going on to analyze how Stalin still achieved dominance.¹⁷ The more ferocious attacks on the ugly soviet past come with historical revelations published via unofficial channels, as we will see below.

One of the central, also the most disastrous themes in this campaign of recovering soviet history would be the Stalinist era. Atrocities in the Stalin era were widely reported in the media, examples include the uncovering of mass graves and the interview of executors.¹⁸ The reexamination of the Great Patriotic War especially brought devastating effects. The ultimate victory of the soviets in the war, which was a key

¹³ McNair, *Glasnost, Perestroika and the Soviet Media*, 53.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 54.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 62.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*, 47.

foundation of the legitimacy of Soviet rule, became overshadowed by the exposure of the malignant behaviour of the state, including the mass execution of Polish officers, criminal treatment of civilians in Eastern Europe and willful ignorance of the German threat.¹⁹ This exposure of the ugly Soviet past greatly shattered the base of legitimacy of the Soviet Union. Many soviet citizens were shocked when they realized the atrocities their government had committed.²⁰ Meanwhile, historical figures deemed as villains in Soviet historical view, such as Bukharin and even Trotsky, were rehabilitated as more positive figures.²¹ This further confused the soviet citizens and challenged their view of history developed before 1985. Ultimately this exposure to the Soviet past cultivated distrust and disbelief towards the Soviet government.

Secondly, the liberalized environment allowed nationalism to culminate and grow in the republics. Glasnost had led to a surge of nationalism across the Union and crippled its unity. To be clear, nationalism had always existed within the Soviet Union. For instance, the Baltic people never fully reconciled to their incorporation into the Union.²² Yet it was repressed and well concealed by previous rulers. As Alex Pravda noted, “As long as the whole Soviet political system remained under tight control, the dual national strategy “worked relatively well to contain serious centrifugal nationalism.”²³

It was glasnost that allowed nationalist feelings to burst out on the streets. The liberal climate encouraged ethnic groups to “air long-standing grievances.”²⁴ It amplified the effects of nationalism into national movements and created organized nationalist forces. An abundance of nationalist informal groups were set up under glasnost and they eventually merged into “popular fronts” in their respective republics. These organizations also further exploited glasnost to articulate publicly national themes. Baltic nationalists used the past crimes committed by the Soviet Union to gain support, also using the newly exposed Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact to question the Soviet

¹⁹ Edele, *The Soviet Union : a Short History*, 203.

²⁰ Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union*, 198.

²¹ Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*, 47.

²² Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union*, 202.

²³ Pravda, “The Collapse of the Soviet Union, 1990–1991”, 358.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 357.

annexation of the Baltic states.²⁵ As a result nationalist and even independence movements gained momentum under glasnost. Fitzpatrick described that the three Baltic states “were moving ever closer to the exit.”²⁶ This reflects that glasnost unintentionally provoked nationalism in the peripheral non-Russian republics. This was described by Marples as “Gorbachev’s most important failure.”²⁷ Strayer also described that “no crisis of nationalism threatened the Soviet peace in 1985”, yet by late 1990 all 15 republics had declared its “sovereignty.”²⁸ Yet this comparison of 1985 and 1990 would be problematic. Jerry Hough noted that the press remained under tight control in discussions of nationalist discourses until 1988.²⁹ Until the fall of 1988, there was not a single article related to nationalism in *Kommunist*, a Central Committee journal.³⁰ All in all, we could not doubt that glasnost did influence the nationalist discourse in the republics and paved the way for them to gain momentum to break out from the Union.

Counter-effects: Dismantling Gorbachev’s Rule

The burst of information under glasnost made soviet citizen distrust the government for not upholding social justice. From the start, glasnost already involved self-criticism on government officials. As McNair noted, “the first blow” of glasnost was an article discussing social justice and attacking party privileges, also calling for the end of party privileges.³¹ Ironically this was not achieved, and the exposure of party privileges led to counter-effects. Glasnost discredited the upper layers of the government and the party due to the exposure of social injustice, such as that party officials could obtain supplies of foreign or other goods unavailable to the public and access to special hospitals.³² What is more, perestroika led to hyperinflation and lack of supply of daily necessities in cities. The material deprivation brought by perestroika further aggravated the distrust of soviet citizens who saw a widening disparity between the life of officials and ordinary citizens. A woman from Kharkov wrote “Why is it that people in authority

²⁵ Vladislav M. Zubok, *Collapse: the fall of the Soviet Union* (Yale University Press, 2021), 57.

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union*, 202.

²⁷ Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union : 1985-1991*, 103.

²⁸ Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*, 65.

²⁹ Hough, *Democratization and Revolution in the USSR, 1985-91*, 145.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ McNair, *Glasnost, Perestroika and the Soviet Media*, 62.

³² Lewin, *The Gorbachev phenomenon: a historical interpretation*, 118-119.

have everything, flats, dachas, and money, and others have nothing? ... I used to believe in our government. Now I no longer believe."³³ This reflects that the material disparity between Soviet officials and Soviet citizens was aggravated by perestroika and exposed by glasnost, culminating in widespread disbelief towards the authority. Suspicions and criticisms of the social injustice of the Soviet state ultimately led to a widespread belief crisis in Soviet rule and underlined its fall.

Furthermore, supplemented by the effects of glasnost, Gorbachev's attempt to further construct legitimacy through introducing elections in the Soviet Union failed drastically. Some historians viewed the effects of glasnost as destabilizing Soviet politics through prompting voters to support non-communist candidates in elections. They often emphasized the defeat of communist party candidates in the election of the Congress of People's Deputies in March 1989. Sheila Fitzpatrick notably mentioned that "20% of candidates put up by the party were defeated" and "an unexpectedly large number of defeats for senior party candidates" as glasnost energized the intelligentsia to participate in elections.³⁴ Robert Strayer even used "success" to describe the election result for the democratic movement and emphasized that a coalition of democrats, the Inter-Regional Group was able to push for more radical agendas.³⁵ Though he did not provide any data for the election results. On the other hand, Jerry Hough was more skeptical towards the "victory for oppositions". He stated that "despite the spectacular defeats of some party officials, the Communist Party won a sweeping victory", also revealing that the Inter-regional Group only consisted of 10 to 15% of the deputies.³⁶ Nevertheless, it is still quite remarkable that an opposition faction could be formed in the USSR Congress considering the country had been dominated by the Communist Party for a long time. Glasnost had to some extent turned people's back on the Soviet Union. As discussed previously, glasnost involved making the soviet political process more visible. As the Congress was opened on May 25, 1989, it was televised nationally. Yet the broadcast created counter effects to delegitimize the Congress. As Jerry Hough noted, the Congress was in fact controlled by the communist party and its broadcast only cultivated

³³ Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon averted: the Soviet collapse, 1970-2000* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 66.

³⁴ Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union*, 202.

³⁵ Strayer, *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*, 61-62.

³⁶ Hough, *Democratization and Revolution in the USSR, 1985-91*, 166.

disappointments and a lack of confidence among liberals.³⁷ The experiment of the Congress again failed to gather popular support for Gorbachev's reform. Ultimately Glasnost generated counter-effects that endangered Gorbachev's rule and paved the way for the collapse of the Soviet system.

Conclusion

All in all, glasnost was a great time for writers, but a disaster for the Soviets. Gorbachev did attempt to renew censorship over TV and radio with the abolition of "Gostelradio" in early 1991.³⁸ Yet it was already too late. Sense of social injustice and revelations of the ugly past had jeopardized the reputation of the party. Unfavourable opinion was further reflected in elections where the communist party's grip on politics was unprecedentedly weakened. Nationalist movements sprung up all over the Union. The Soviet system which functioned somewhat stably over the past years was crippled with glasnost. The rule of the Communist Party was endangered. Indeed glasnost did not directly cause Gorbachev to announce the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Yet when we understand the fall of the Soviet Union from a broader picture, we could see how glasnost generated momentum to move away from Soviet rule and paved the way to its ultimate collapse. Glasnost itself may be an indirect cause, but undoubtedly a fundamental destabilizer. The liberalized flow of information unintentionally functioned as an amplifier of other problems within the Soviet Union that contributed to its eventual downfall, including nationalism, the failing economic reforms and ultimately the dwindling support towards Soviet rule.

³⁷ Hough, *Democratization and Revolution in the USSR, 1985-91*, 170-171.

³⁸ Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union : 1985-1991*, 104.

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The First Industrial Revolution's Consequences and Repercussions for Europe and America

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The First Industrial Revolution occurred from around 1760 to 1840 in Europe and America and was a time of significant economic and technological advancements. This article aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the revolution's economic, social, and political consequences in the context of Europe and America. The first section of this article focuses on the Industrial Revolution's economic consequences, including the birth of new production technologies, transportation methods, and a new factory system, which led to increased productivity and output, revolutionizing the economic landscapes of Europe and America. The second section elaborates on the social consequences, including demographic changes and accelerated urbanization, as well as social problems such as mistreatment of workers and the emergence of social inequality and poverty. These social issues resulted in workers' protests and social instability. The final section focuses on the political repercussions, including the triggering of political reforms and the birth of new political ideologies such as communism, as well as the escalation of European and American ambitions for colonial and imperial politics. Rather than simplifying the issue, this article aims to offer a comprehensive analysis the First Industrial Revolution's complicated consequences and repercussions.

Introduction

The First Industrial Revolution was a period of economic and technological breakthroughs that occurred in Europe and America from around 1760 to 1840. Many articles have discussed how the Industrial Revolution reshaped the world economy. In this article, I would like to extend from the economic perspective and comprehensively

discuss the Industrial Revolution's economic, social, as well as political consequences, specifically in the context of Europe and America. The first part of this article will focus on the Industrial Revolution's economic consequences and explain how this revolution had given birth to new production technologies, new ways of transportation, and a new factory system. The first part will also point out that the Industrial Revolution brought a rise in productivity and output, revolutionizing the economic landscapes of Europe and America. The second section will then pay attention to the Industrial Revolution's social consequences and elaborate on how this revolution led to demographic changes and accelerated urbanization. This part will likewise disclose how the Industrial Revolution resulted in social problems, including the mistreatment of workers and the emergence of social inequality and poverty. These social issues together resulted in workers' protests and social instability. Finally, the last part of this article will shift attention to the Industrial Revolution's political repercussions and explain how the social problems brought by the revolution triggered political reforms. The final section will further argue that the Industrial Revolution had given birth to new political ideologies, such as communism, and meanwhile escalated European and American ambitions for colonial and imperial politics. Overall, rather than simplifying the issue, this article aims to offer a comprehensive analysis of the First Industrial Revolution's complicated consequences and repercussions.

Economic Surges and Changes to Demographics

To begin with, the Industrial Revolution had profound economic consequences for Europe and America. It brought new production technologies, new ways of transportation, and a new factory system. The Industrial Revolution led to technological breakthroughs, resulting in inventions such as the steam engine and the optical telegraph.¹ Within the cotton-manufacturing industry, multiple technological advancements occurred. Examples include the mule in England, the cotton gin in the US, and the Jacquard loom in France.² Breakthroughs also appeared in transportation. Steam power was applied to build steamships and steam locomotives.³ In America,

¹ Daniel R. Headrick, *Technology: A World History* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2009), 99-103.

² *Ibid.*, 93-95.

³ Robert C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 156-157.

railroads were constructed, which allowed settlers to expand further into the West and meanwhile created new industries related to the railroad, including iron foundries and machine building.⁴ As stated in *Technology: A World History* by Daniel R. Headrick, technological breakthroughs and traffic advancements together allowed people living in industrialized countries to "travel faster and more reliably than ever before, and to communicate almost instantaneously over great distances."⁵ As transportation became more convenient and efficient, trading activities accelerated, new trade orders and a world economy emerged. European countries and America began importing raw materials and, at the same time, exporting manufactured goods.⁶



Figure 1. Harvard University Library, Photograph of a Nineteenth-Century Locomotive, Brewminate: A Bold Blend of News and Ideas (Immigration, Railroads, and the West, March 9, 2017), <https://brewminate.com/the-industrial-revolution-and-the-railway-system/>.

Apart from bringing new production technologies and revolutionizing transport, the Industrial Revolution likewise introduced a new economic organization and a new mode of industrial production: the factory system.⁷ Under this system, workers concentrated in factories and operated machines to establish an effective organization

⁴ Headrick, *Technology*, 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶ Gregory Clark, *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 246-248.

⁷ Robert C. Allen, *The Industrial Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 42-44.

and achieve high production efficiency.⁸ The factory system was also characterized by a strict division of labor and rigorous supervision.⁹

Besides the economic changes mentioned above, the Industrial Revolution, with its technological innovations and mechanized modes of production, further increased productivity and economic output. In the case of Britain, the country's gross domestic product(GDP) per worker doubled from 1770 to 1850.¹⁰ It is important to deconstruct this grand narrative of progress and analyze how different industrial sectors contributed differently to the overall economic growth.

While industries making bread and wood products achieved almost no productivity growth, iron, steam, and waterpower industries significantly improved productivity.¹¹ It must also be noted that growth in other European countries and America appeared later than in Britain. The Industrial Revolution started first

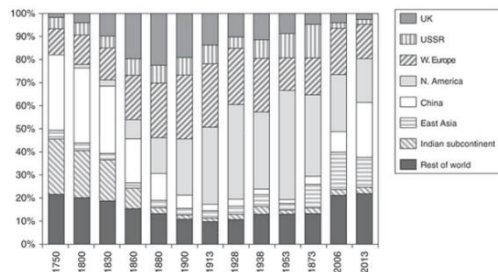


Figure 2. Robert C. Allen, "Percentage Shares of World Manufacturing Output", *The Industrial Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 66.

in Britain, spurring the competition and emulation from America and other European countries.¹² Multiple nations borrowed and modified British technologies and developed independent economic development models.¹³ The US's share of world output increased from two to nine percent from 1820 to 1870.¹⁴ Around the mid-19th century, the US achieved substantial economic development and attained a GDP higher than Britain.¹⁵ European countries, such as Germany and France, modeled British and American economic policies and likewise achieved remarkable economic progress around the mid-19th century.¹⁶ The overall rise in productivity in Europe and America

⁸ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² Headrick, *Technology*, 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 105-106.

¹⁴ Jeffrey D. Sachs, *The Ages of Globalization: Geography, Technology, and Institutions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 155.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

profoundly reshaped the world's economic landscape. Increased efficiency and productivity reduced goods prices and stimulated consumption.¹⁷ The Industrial Revolution further widened the gap between Europe, America, and the rest of the world regarding economic power. By 1820, significant gaps in production per person and income per capita had existed between Europe and Asia.¹⁸ The Industrial Revolution and the following growth in economic productivity enabled European countries and America to assert their status as the world's dominant economic powers.

Apart from bringing economic changes, the Industrial Revolution also had social consequences for Europe and America. The revolution led to demographic changes. The Industrial Revolution resulted in agricultural mechanization, which increased food production.¹⁹ More food allowed more survival, bringing a world population growth from around 600 million in 1700 to 900 million in 1800.²⁰ There was also a change in the social and demographic structure. In the case of England, the nation's population could be deconstructed into five groups: the landed class, the bourgeoisie, the lower middle class, farmers, and workers.²¹ During the Industrial Revolution, the number of farmers declined, the number of landed-class elites roughly stayed the same, and the numbers of the bourgeoisie, the lower middle class, and the working class together significantly increased; these groups occupied a larger proportion of England's population.²² Besides demographic changes, scholar Jeffrey D. Sachs argued that the Industrial Revolution further motivated working forces to move from villages to cities, leading to urban growth and expansion and accelerating the social process of urbanization.²³ However, it is noteworthy that the relationship between industrialization and urbanization is complex and debatable; it cannot be overgeneralized as a simple cause-and-effect relationship, with industrialization as the cause and urbanization as the social consequence. In comparison with Sachs's views, scholar Robert C. Allen pointed out that urban growth emerged before the Industrial Revolution, and urban expansion continued as the Industrial Revolution proceeded.²⁴

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 134-135.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 135.

²¹ Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 60-69.

²² *Ibid.*, 61-64.

²³ Sachs, *The Ages of Globalization*, 129-130.

²⁴ Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 5-6.

For instance, London's population quadrupled from 1500 to 1600 and then doubled from 1700 to 1800.²⁵

Sacrifices Made

The Industrial Revolution not only brought economic and social progress but also gave birth to social problems. As workers moved into cities, they encountered horrible living conditions. Reports from France, Germany, America, and multiple other European and North American countries disclosed that a large number of the working-class lived in slums



Figure 3. Laura L. Frader, "Pennsylvanian Working-Class Children's Living Condition in the 19th Century", *The Industrial Revolution: A History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 85.

with fetid air, poor water quality, and terrible sanitation conditions.²⁶ Workers were likewise susceptible to diseases and illnesses.²⁷ It was estimated that in the first half of the 19th century, urban workers had a low life expectancy of only 30 to 33 years.²⁸ Additionally, workers were mistreated and exploited by their employers when working in factories. Conditions went especially harsh for child and women laborers. Reports from England revealed that children were coerced to work long hours, endure dangerous working conditions, suffer from physical violence imposed by their superiors, and, meanwhile, receive meager incomes.²⁹ Moreover, though feminist thinkers like Mary Wollstonecraft actively called for women's social and educational rights, women still faced much inequality.³⁰ Factory owners hired women, forced them to work 12 to 16 hours daily, and paid them much less than they paid adult men.³¹ In

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁶ Laura L. Frader, "Pennsylvanian Working-Class Children's Living Condition in the 19th Century", *The Industrial Revolution: A History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 85.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁸ Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 76.

²⁹ Peter N. Stearns et al. "Sadler Report: Child Labor." *Documents in World History*, (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997), 423-430.

³⁰ Marsha E. Ackermann et al. "Mary Wollstonecraft: Vindication on the Rights of Woman." *Encyclopedia of World History*, vol. 7, eds. (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 119-120.

³¹ Headrick, *Technology*, 95.

England, most female workers were denied the right to education.³² Furthermore, in America, the Industrial Revolution and the development of the cotton industry consolidated the institution of slavery. As cotton demand rose, plantations were opened in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.³³ The number of slaves increased from 700,000 in 1790 to 3.2 million in 1850.³⁴ Racist violence and exploitation of labor exacerbated.³⁵

Exploitation from employers was not the only issue that haunted workers and laborers. They likewise suffered social inequality and poverty. While a grand economic narrative claims that the average person's income and consumption increased over the Industrial Revolution, it is noteworthy that different social classes attained different amounts of gains. The middle and upper classes attained more incomes and achieved significantly higher consumption capabilities than the working class, engendering social inequality.³⁶ In addition to the inequality between different social classes, there also existed inequality within the working class. While workers in modernizing sectors could earn



Figure 4. William Horsfall, *A Yorkshire Merchant and Manufacturer Murdered by Luddites near Huddersfield*, *History Classics* (History Classics: The Industrial Revolution, January 4, 2019), <https://www.history.com/news/industrial-revolution-luddites-workers>.

relatively stable incomes, those in handicraft sectors suffered acute poverty because machines brought by the Industrial Revolution replaced their hand jobs. As narrated by Robert C. Allen in *The Industrial Revolution: A Very Short Introduction*, "as one activity after another was mechanized, hand workers experienced falling earnings either because their own industry was mechanized, or because their own industry was

³² Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 74-75.

³³ Headrick, *Technology*, 95-97.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

³⁶ Clark, *A Farewell to Alms*, 255.

mechanized, or because another was and workers in it were driven into theirs."³⁷ An instance of a group of workers who experienced poverty is the handloom weavers. The invention of the power looms deemed hand jobs unnecessary and doomed handloom weavers, incurring a significant slump in their earnings by 1840 and trapping them in poverty.³⁸ In response to rising social inequality and poverty, workers protested and triggered social instability. One form of the riot was machine breaking, which openly opposed technological advancements.³⁹ A group of people known for such protests was the Luddites, named after Ned Ludd, a figure who broke machines in 1799.⁴⁰ Apart from machine breaking, workers further organized trade unions to bargain for better working conditions and higher wages. Examples include the establishment of the London Trades Council in 1860 and the National Trades Union Congress in 1868.⁴¹

Political influences brought

Finally, besides having complicated social consequences, the Industrial Revolution also had political repercussions and resulted in policy changes. Social problems brought about by the revolution triggered political reforms. One of the earliest reforms in England was the establishment of the Poor Law Commission in 1832.⁴² Poor relief was divided into outdoor relief, which directly provided cash to people experiencing poverty, and indoor relief, which offered workhouses to people experiencing poverty as asylums.⁴³ Following the commission came the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which expanded the scale of indoor relief and ensured that children who joined workhouses would receive a certain degree of education.⁴⁴ The new act likewise established a national political committee to supervise the implementation of the poor law.⁴⁵ Individuals joined state efforts in bringing reforms. One prominent reformer was Robert Owen, who advocated for shorter working hours and contended that child labor should have the right to education.⁴⁶ Individual reform efforts further motivated the

³⁷ Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 74.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

³⁹ Clark, *A Farewell to Alms*, 235.

⁴⁰ Allen, *The Industrial Revolution*, 88.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

state and government to improve social welfare. One significant piece of legislation was the Factory Act of 1833, which shortened children's working hours, protected children from physical abuse, and offered general legislative protection to child labor.⁴⁷ Furthermore, political reforms were not only promoted by individual middle-class reformers and the state. Workers themselves organized reform groups such as the People's Charter, calling for workers' voting and political rights.⁴⁸ Though most of the Chartists' demands were ignored by the Parliament, skilled English workers finally gained their suffrage in 1867, when the British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli enacted reforms.⁴⁹

Apart from the political repercussions mentioned above, the Industrial Revolution and its following social circumstances further gave birth to new political ideologies. In response to the mistreatment and poverty faced by workers, German thinkers Frederick Engels and Karl Marx criticized the profit-driven middle class and the exploitative nature of the capitalist system.⁵⁰ They started to formulate communist ideals, advocating for the dominance of the proletarian class and envisioning a society that achieves a fair division of labor, offers individuals equal pay, and is devoid of social inequality.⁵¹ Besides the emergence of new political ideologies, the Industrial Revolution meanwhile led to the consolidation of existing political thoughts and practices. An example is the consolidation of colonial and imperial politics. Though colonial and imperial practices existed before the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the revolution significantly strengthened the imperial ambitions of Europe and America. The Industrial Revolution increased demands for raw materials, motivating many European countries and America to expand their overseas colonies and extract economic resources from the colonized regions.⁵² As claimed in *The Ages of Globalization: Geography, Technology, and Institutions* by Jeffrey D. Sachs, "By 1870,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 102-104.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁵² Sachs, *The Ages of Globalization*, 151-156.

by dint of Britain's own industrialization and its expanded imperial holdings, the British Empire accounted for around 23 percent of the world economy."⁵³ America joined British colonial practices and launched its own imperial enterprises during the late 19th century. One instance is the Monroe Doctrine issued by the US government, which opposed European influence over Central and Latin American territories and implicitly declared that these territories should be under US control.⁵⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has discussed the First Industrial Revolution's profound economic, social, and political consequences for Europe and America. Economically, the Industrial Revolution brought new production technologies, new ways of transportation, and a new factory system. It also led to an increase in productivity and output, revolutionizing the global economic landscape. Socially, the Industrial Revolution resulted in demographic changes and accelerated urbanization in Europe and America. The revolution likewise created social problems, including the mistreatment of workers, the emergence of social inequality and poverty, and the outbreak of protests and social instability. Finally, in terms of political changes, the Industrial Revolution gave birth to new political ideologies such as socialism and communism. Meanwhile, the revolution consolidated existing European and American political ideologies, including colonialism and imperialism. Overall, rather than simplifying the issue, this article has offered a comprehensive analysis of the First Industrial Revolution's complicated consequences and repercussions.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 153-156.

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The 1894 Bubonic Plague and Its Contribution to the Hong Kong's Modern Day Public Health System

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The 1894 bubonic plague outbreak in Hong Kong prompted significant reforms in the public health system. In this essay I discussed how poor sanitary conditions and overcrowding contributed to the rapid spread of the disease as well as government responses, such as establishing temporary hospitals, quarantine camps, and evicting residents from unfit buildings. However, these measures caused unrest among the Chinese population. Negotiations led to the continuation of the Tung Wah Hospital under Western supervision. The discovery of the plague's cause prompted further inquiries and the development of medications and vaccines. Reforms introduced Western medical treatment, trained locals as doctors and nurses, and implemented stricter hygiene regulations and urban planning. As a side note, the outbreak also contributed positively by spurring the acceptance of Western medicine and improved sanitary conditions, assisting in shaping the modern public health system in Hong Kong.

Introduction

The bubonic plague of 1894 was the first major outbreak encountered by the Hong Kong government. By July 1894, 2 months after the discovery of the first patient in Hong Kong, the death toll rose to 2442, accounting for over 10% of the total population.¹ The first and deadliest epidemic Hong Kong has ever encountered was widely spreaded in the Taipingshan Street settlement as shown in Figure 1, making this

¹ E.R. Pryor, "The Great Plague of Hong Kong", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong*, 63, 15.
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photo a symbolic icon of the plague. In this essay, the significance of the epidemic towards the reformation of the modern public health system will be discussed.



Figure 1 – Hong Kong shophouses²

Taipingshan and the first generation shophouses, or *Tong Lau* (c. 1870)

Sanitary condition before 1894

Since the founding of Hong Kong, the colonial government had very little control and intervention over the livelihood of the Chinese locals. For instance, there were no governmental organisations responsible for medical and health service, colonial surgeons were the only persons who were in-charge of related policies and affairs between 1842 to 1877. Although the Sanitary Board was established in 1883, it was solely responsible for managing and enforcing environmental hygiene regulations.³

In 1882, British engineer Sir Osbert Chadwick was sent to Hong Kong to inspect the overall sanitary condition, in which he after inspection completed a report that provided his recommendations for improvements. According to Chadwick's evaluations,

² Photo: copyright-free image courtesy of the National Archives, UK.

³ Y. H. Law, *Xianggang xiyi fazhanshi [History of Western Medical Services in Hong Kong]*, Chunghwa Books, 39-40, 1.

Chinese-style shophouses (Figure 1), or *Tong Lau*, were very cramped and unhygienic due to the extensive number of dwellers in small areas of land. Chadwick also pointed out that poor ventilation as well as undesirable practices, for instance rearing livestock at home, further deteriorated the environmental hygiene.⁴

Moreover, Chadwick highlighted that fresh water supplies and sewage systems were very disorganized, which later accelerated the spread of the bubonic plague. During the early 1880s, much of Hong Kong Island's water supply relied on street hydrants, at which the supply was unstable and very likely to be contaminated. Meanwhile, the sewage system was rather undeveloped, causing rainwater and wastewater in nullahs and public sewers to overflow during rainy seasons, releasing an unbearable odour and speeded up the spread of diseases.⁵

Although improvements in the overall sanitary of Hong Kong were observed between 1883 and the early 1890s, Chinese settlements remained overcrowded, which inevitably led to the rapid spread of the bubonic plague.⁶

The Bubonic Plague of 1894

The bubonic plague was first discovered in Canton in March 1894, and was believed to be transmitted to Hong Kong by massive crowds of people returning from the neighbouring Kwangtung Province after the Ching Ming Festival.

The first confirmed patient in the colony was a man named "Ah Hung", diagnosed by Dr. James A. Lowson on 8th May 1894 in the Government Civil Hospital.⁷ On 10th May, Hong Kong was declared as an infected port, in which Chinese locals were prohibited to depart the territory, while several temporary hospitals were put into service along with the establishment of a quarantine camp on the medical ship "Hygeia".⁸ Meanwhile, the Shropshire Light Infantry Regiment of the Hong Kong garrison was

⁴ Chadwick, O., *Mr Chadwick's report on the Sanitary Situation of Hong Kong*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Y. H. Law, *Xianggang xiyi fazhanshi [History of Western Medical Services in Hong Kong]*, 107-139.

⁷ Y. H. Law, *Xianggang xiyi fazhanshi [History of Western Medical Services in Hong Kong]*.

⁸ Pryor, *The Great Plague of Hong Kong*.

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ordered to conduct house-to-house disinfection around the Taipingshan Street Settlement, as more and more patients diagnosed were settlers in this region.⁹ The Regiment and other law enforcement officers that took part in the campaign were authorised to evict occupants from buildings that were judged unsuitable for habitation.¹⁰ Besides the above immediate remedies, the the government was also urged by the Colonial Office in London to shut down the Tung Wah Hospital, which provided Chinese medical services to the locals,¹¹ due to the lack of scientific evidence to support the effectiveness of Chinese medicine.

However, the sudden government intervention sparked widespread discontent among the Chinese. First of all, many measures taken by the government were in conflict with traditional Chinese customs. As aforementioned, government officials were authorised to evict occupants from buildings, including women and children. However, women were not supposed to linger on the streets according to traditional Chinese virtues. Therefore, rumours about Westerners entering Chinese houses with unspeakable desires on children and women residents quickly spread out in the settlements.¹² Moreover, corpses of deceased patients must be buried immediately after disinfecting their coffins with slaked lime, which violated Chinese customs of organising solemn funerals and carefully-chosen burial grounds for the deceased.¹³

Secondly, the Western scientific approach in handling the plague was being questioned and distrusted. Before the outbreak, most locals were heavily reliant on Chinese medical services. The decision to close down the Tung Wah Hospital and to provide compulsory Western treatments were not welcomed, as locals were sceptical of Western medical staff and medicine due to rumours about British doctors scooping

⁹ Unknown author, *Shropshire Regiment "Whitewash Brigade" emptying items from Chinese homes in Taipingshan, Hong Kong, and burning them on the street as an epidemic control measure during the 1894 plague outbreak*, University of Cambridge.

¹⁰ R. J. Collins, *The black death: Hong Kong 1894*, Hong Kong Museum of Medical Sciences, lecture, April 24, 1999.

¹¹ G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 220.

¹² Pryor, *The Great Plague of Hong Kong*.

¹³ Hong Kong Government, *No. 148 Hong Kong Annual Report for 1894*, CO129/265, 211-236.

children's eyes and organs for pharmaceutical purposes.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Chinese believed that the plague was a punishment by the divine powers and expected the government to organise religious ceremonies to combat the epidemic, similar to that in mainland China.¹⁵ Apparently, the Hong Kong government did not believe in their hypothesis regarding the plague, and decided to carry forward with a scientific approach.

The divergence between public expectations and the actual handling of the epidemic resulted in public discontent, leading to riots and anti-government sentiment within the Chinese settlements.¹⁶ Under immense public pressure, the government was forced to negotiate with the chairman of the Tung Wah Hospital, Lau Wai Chuen, who represented the Chinese community. Finally, the Tung Wah Hospital was allowed to continue operating under the supervision of Western doctors, while most disease prevention measures, such as burial requirements and restrictions on leaving the colony, were lifted.¹⁷

The plague eventually died down in October 1894, with a death toll of around 2000 victims.¹⁸

Significance of the Plague

In June 1894, several international experts arrived in Hong Kong to investigate the plague, including Kitasato Shibasaburo (1853-1931) from Japan and Alexandre Yersin (1863-1943) from France. They gathered corpses for dissection and discovered the causative agent of the plague — *Yersinia pestis*, a new species of bacteria transmitted by fleas and rodents which was later named after Yersin.¹⁹ The discovery was groundbreaking because it revealed the bacteria that caused bubonic plagues throughout the centuries, in particular to the Black Death that killed millions during the 14th

¹⁴ P. T. Lee, *Colonialism versus Nationalism: The Plague of Hong Kong in 1894*, *The Journal of Northeast Asian History*, 115, 10.

¹⁵ Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in the Nineteenth - Century China*, 110-113.

¹⁶ Pryor, *The Great Plague of Hong Kong*.

¹⁷ Y. H. Law, *Xianggang xiyi fazhanshi [History of Western Medical Services in Hong Kong]*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

century.²⁰ It laid the foundations to the invention of medications and vaccines that helped to end the spread of plague around the world today.

In the following year, the government launched a series of inquiries into the plague, which had deep and significant effects on Hong Kong's modern public health system as it prompted the government to exercise a higher degree of intervention on local medical and environmental hygiene policies.

First of all, a reformation was conducted in Tung Wah Hospital, introducing Western medical treatment and management into the hospital. After the epidemic, the Hong Kong government appointed the first local Western doctor, Dr Chung Boon-chor to station and monitor the daily operation of the hospital,²¹ as well as to provide an alternative for patients to receive Western treatment. The government also started to recruit and train locals as doctors and nurses. On one hand, it promoted general acceptance of Western medicine among the Chinese community; on the other hand, the number of medical staff working in the colony increased. Over the next 25 years, the number of patients receiving Western treatment gradually increased and surpassed that of the Chinese. Hongkongers gradually gained more understanding and laid trust in Western medicine and treatment, which laid the foundations for the modern Westernised public health system. Therefore, the plague of 1894 was a turning point where the Hong Kong government ceased its unspoken non-intervention policies on medical and health services for the locals.

Moverover, the deadly plague raised the awareness of the sanitary conditions in Hong Kong, and prompted the government to legislate stricter laws on environmental hygiene. After the outbreak, the government received a letter from the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, demanding the government to impose stricter hygiene regulations to safeguard Hong Kong's image as a favourable trading port.²² Although

²⁰ CDC, Plague.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Hong Kong Government, Hong Kong – *Papers Respecting the Reconstitution of the Sanitary Board Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce*, October 19, 1894.

the Chamber's recommendation to abolish the Sanitary Board due to its failure in preventing the plague was not being accepted, many other recommendations provided by the Chamber were taken, such as quarantine orders ought to be enforced in order to protect Hong Kong's business environment. Besides, the overcrowdedness and undesirable hygiene in the Taipingshan Street settlement (Figure 1) had speeded up the spread of the disease. As a result, the government decided to demolish the entire community as a once-and-for-all preventive measure, and underwent better urban planning that ensured adequate spacings, uncontaminated fresh water supplies and organised sewage systems.²³ In 1902, Sir William Simpson, a Scottish specialist in tropical medicine, inspected the sanitary situation in Hong Kong and proposed that stricter enforcements of preventive measures have to be implemented.²⁴ Eventually, many of his recommendations were taken into consideration when enacting the *Public Health and Building Ordinance, 1903*, which regulated sanitary conditions as well as building designs and constructions in Chinese settlements.²⁵

All in all, the deadly bubonic plague raised the awareness of the Hong Kong colonial government on public health issues, in order to safeguard Hong Kong's image as an international trading hub. Therefore, the government would have seen more proactive participation in the medical system in the future. At the same time, the plague had offered the general public to gain a more in depth understanding in Western medicine which gradually gained their acceptance, effectively reducing fatalities in various kinds of diseases and surgical operations.

Conclusion

As the first major outbreak of diseases Hong Kong has ever faced, it triggered the government to reform the entire medical system and impose stricter hygiene regulations. Therefore, the bubonic plague of 1894 is undeniably one of the most important historical events in Hong Kong history. As mentioned above, the spread of the plague was facilitated by the densely populated Taipingshan Street settlement shown

²³ K.C. Yip, *A Documentary History of Public Health in Hong Kong*, Project Muse, 52-53, 1.

²⁴ Pryor, *The Great Plague of Hong Kong*, 67.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 68.

in Figure 1, which makes the photo an iconic symbol of the plague. The photo serves not only as a reminder to Hongkongers of the importance of public hygiene and the significance of urban planning, but also as a milestone in the development of today's medical system, which helps us combat COVID-19.

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木蘭辭中的暗示：從考古成果和北朝文學的角度窺探鮮卑在漢化運動前是中國第一個擁有職業女兵的民族的可能性

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在上古中國（傳疑時代—221BC），當時只有士階層的男性才能從軍，百姓們想當兵是接近沒可能的，何況是女性？後來受到漢代（202BC—AD220）獨尊儒術的重男輕女影響，女性從軍更為天荒夜談，但是這個『史實』其實可能是受到了儒家思想的影響和渲染而創作的謊言，所以古代中國『沒有女性職業參軍』的這個『史實』很有可能是錯誤的。

從《木蘭辭》入手：花木蘭身份之謎

自從漢代以後，獨尊儒術，社會風氣就一直受到重男輕女的影響。¹ 綜觀北朝（439—581）² 的《樂府詩集·木蘭辭》（以下簡稱《木蘭辭》）全文，其實從來沒有提到樂府詩中的女主角『木蘭』是姓『花』的，『花』可能只是為了凸顯木蘭是一位女性而加上去的。而『穆』與『木』根據《廣韻》兩者的讀法皆為『明母、魚模韻、入聲作去聲、木小韻』³，二字相通，而『穆』有可能是來自鮮卑姓『邱穆靈』的漢化結果。

¹ 董仲舒於年開始推行獨尊儒術，提及三綱五常去束縛女性，「夫為妻綱」，可見婚姻中丈夫領導妻子，因此證明男性地位高於女性。

² 北朝於北魏滅北涼（439年）開始，到隋朝統一全國（589年），因此北朝是從439年開始到589年完結。

³ 《廣韻》原文：『明母、魚模韻、入聲作去聲、木小韻』

而且《木蘭辭》中出現了『可汗』一詞，可汗為汗國的統治者，這個稱呼最早是遊牧部落中，對首領的尊稱，類似漢人所說的天子，或是皇帝。可汗最早的記錄出現於三世紀，為鮮卑部落官稱，據《宋書》記載乙那縷（？-？）與慕容吐谷渾（246年-317年）（一位吐谷渾鮮卑族）對話，出現『可寒』+一詞，即『可汗』之另一音譯，而且北魏道武帝時期（拓拔珪，371年-409年，386年-409年在位）的嘎仙洞石壁祝文上也有『皇祖先可寒』的字樣，可見鮮卑人的領袖本身就叫可汗。逐家逐戶點兵明顯符合鮮卑「宗主督護制」。⁵ 可見「花木蘭」是一位北魏（386-535）時期的鮮卑女戰士。

以《木蘭辭》入手：誰與木蘭交戰？又有何重要？

《木蘭辭》中提到花木蘭是前往『燕山』（位於今蒙古國）和『黑山』（位於今呼和浩特）與『胡人』交戰的，由於鮮卑族已經漢化，所以胡人指的可能是北方六鎮的『鮮卑化鮮卑族』、柔然（330-555）、敕勒（91-六世紀中葉）或者契丹（405-1218）。⁶ 花木蘭從軍的時長十二年，而六鎮之亂只持續了六年（524-530），加上六鎮不在兩座山的附近，可見花木蘭的戰爭不是六鎮之亂。而契丹當時氣候未成，又由於軍事實力較弱而遭敕勒欺負，更不可能與富庶強大的北魏開戰，而且契丹世居遼寧而非內蒙古地區，所以也不是契丹。敕勒與北魏關係良好，沒有交戰紀錄，而且兩方文化交流頻繁，有鮮卑語填詞的《樂府詩集·敕勒歌》等的傳世之作，故不可能是敕勒。而柔然與鮮卑關係惡劣，鮮卑人更稱柔然為『蠕蠕』，與漢人稱呼周邊民族為『蠻夷』，而不視之為人有同工異曲

⁴ 《宋書》曰：樓喜拜（?-?）曰：『處可寒。』虜（即吐谷渾）言『處可寒』，宋言爾官家也。樓喜拜稱吐谷渾為『可寒』。

⁵ 宗主督護制為鮮卑的戶籍制度

⁶ 405年為契丹首次被歷史所記載，記載於《魏書·契丹傳》中，1218年則為最後一個契丹政權，西遼滅亡的年份，因此用作契丹之終結。

之妙，柔然也是當時蒙古高原的霸主，『黑山』和『燕山』的位置也符合北魏和柔然的邊界處，在此作戰也十分合理，而且內地學者周建奇則認為『柔然』可能與燕然山有關。根據他的理論，在蒙古語中，杭愛山為『Khangai Nuruu』。由於兩者發音相近，因此周教授認為其中的『Nuruu』其對音就是柔然。而且《木蘭辭》的出現與柔然崛起南侵以及北魏孝文帝的漢化政策基本時間上吻合（約為公元五世紀中晚期，440A.D.~490A.D.左右），再加上北魏曾十三次與柔然作戰，時間也長約十至十二年，符合『壯士十年歸』和『同行十二年』的記載，可見與『花木蘭』對戰的軍隊是柔然。

與柔然作戰，代表什麼？

在木蘭出征前，領袖稱可汗，而回來後則改稱天子，天子之概念乃漢人創之，而且作者無需要將『可汗』改稱『天子』。可見木蘭回國後北魏已經經歷了『漢化運動』，而漢人文化中，女性多扮演『主內』的角色。⁷ 因此『策勳十二轉，賞賜百千彊。可汗問所欲，木蘭不用尚書郎，願借明駝千里足，送兒還故鄉。』的記載可能只是美化木蘭歸來後女性部隊被撤後，連一官半職都求不到的真相而虛構的。因此木蘭退隱的真相極有可能是因為北魏朝廷受到漢文化影響，所以導致鮮卑的女兵軍人被裁掉了。

從《木蘭辭》入手：北魏有女兵的證據

《木蘭辭》道：『雄兔腳撲朔，雌兔眼迷離；雙兔傍地走，安能辨我是雄雌？』。這裡兔可以引申為軍人，而『雄兔腳撲朔，雌兔眼迷離』則指男性軍人和女性軍人實力相約不分上下，當男兵女兵一起衝向敵方的時候，敵人根本從實力上無法區分鮮卑排出的是男還是女兵。而《木蘭辭》中的確有記載同袍無法分出木蘭

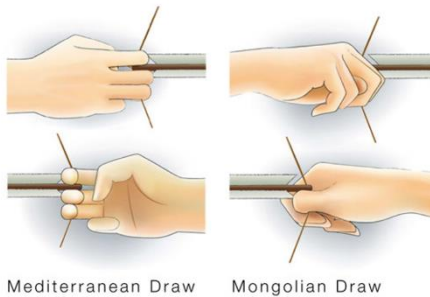
⁷ 見註 1。

是男是女，可能只是因為木蘭的外貌上比較接近男人所致的，而非女兵是什麼稀奇的事所以令同袍無法分清其性別。而女兵團在漢化運動後已經被裁掉，女性已經沒有公職可以擔任，因此木蘭恢復女兒身，才被同袍發現是女性。因此，北魏存在女兵的可能性十分大。

從最新的鮮卑考古成果入手

美國和外蒙古學者於 2020 年在外蒙古的遺址中發掘一處鮮卑家族墓地。學者們在當地發現 29 副遺骨，有 16 位男性，10 位女性，和 3 人性別不明。當中發現了兩名鮮卑女戰士的遺骨，一名 50 多歲，一名 20 多歲。按照兩人外拇指勞損程度而言（鮮卑人採用「蒙古式射箭法」，圖一有解說），她們的騎射技可達古代職業軍人水準。因此可證明在鮮卑族部落，男女都善長騎馬與射箭，

顯然當時男女都要一起從軍，顯示鮮卑女兵存在的可能性十分大。



圖一：從圖中能看出蒙古射箭法（右）對拇指的用力非常講究，容易造成勞損，和考古結果類似。

而且其他游牧民族社會如斯基泰人和匈奴人也有十分尊重女性，而非像漢人般歧視女性，所以鮮卑族受其影響有女兵也不足為奇。

結語

綜上所述，木蘭辭一文並不簡單，可以有多種不同方向的詮釋。本文僅指出其中一種。希望未來香港的學者和學生也可以對北方

塞外民族史和婦女史等題材作出更深入的研究，並使得這方面的歷史更廣為人知。最後，承蒙恩師麥宇翰博士及母校唐煥星校長厚愛和指導，才得以完成拙作。在此謹祝校長退休生活愉快，師父研究工作更上一層樓。

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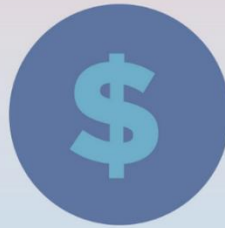
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