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Biography

## Clement C.P. Chang: bringing foresight to Taiwan

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The future assumes a frightening poignancy from Tamsui, looking into a sunset across the Taiwan Strait. Mainland China is not visible but the Taiwanese are acutely aware of its chilling presence. It evokes mixed visions and emotions from a population of diverse ethnic origins.

This very stretch of water has caused some feverish arm wrestling between the behemoth, China, and the island-nation denied statehood, Taiwan. Globally, the strait has frustrated the building of a robust diplomatic bridge between the United States of America (US), an ally of Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China (PRC)—the incumbent and the pretender in global ambition.

China insists on international recognition for its “one-China policy”. Yet, certain people, goods, capital and ideas move both ways between China and Taiwan. The Kuomintang (KMT), which tightly controlled Taiwan's central government for half a century, until 2000, had wanted to reunify China, also, but from the other direction.

The Taiwanese have lived with deep uncertainty since Chiang Kai-Shek and his nationalist KMT government fled the mainland in 1949 after Mao Zedong's triumphant Long March. The KMT had forcibly taken command of the Republic of China (ROC) during a civil war on the mainland a few years after the republic was founded by Sun Yat-Sen in 1911, following the collapse of China's last dynasty, the Qing. Today, Taiwan tends to think of itself more as Taiwan than the ROC.

Meanwhile Taiwanese opinion about its own future is fragmented. Taiwan is stuck in a diplomatic vice under a nuclear shadow. It remains in diplomatic limbo relying on the cover of trade and culture “missions”.

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## 1. Bringing futures to Taiwan

The potentially explosive issue of Taiwan's futures makes the island critical for questioning the futures of all humanity, while the means for questioning the future are being nurtured at Tamsui. Here, Taiwan was introduced to futures studies through the privately owned Tamkang University founded by the visionary Clement C.P. Chang.<sup>1</sup>

Futures studies is now compulsory for all undergraduates. There is a masters program in futures. And Chang has taken futures thinking and his own foresight out into his active public life. A Taiwanese, educated in China and eventually the West, he became an innovative educator and public official after escaping home as the communists took Shanghai after pushing the KMT over to Taiwan.

Tamkang was the first Taiwanese university established by local people and is neither church-run nor government-sponsored. Today, it leads the private sector in a national assessment of the island's 154 universities. Chang actively encouraged futures-oriented education from 1968 when it was Tamkang College of Arts and Sciences. On becoming a university in 1980, he wrote a 30-year blueprint outlining its academic role in Taiwan and the world. He has enjoyed seeing much of the blueprint unfold, with futures-oriented education a mainstay.

Chang was its president from 1980 to 1986 and then chaired the Board of Trustees until 1989. As a leading Taiwanese public visionary and challenging thinker, he is a practicing futurist who has implemented many of the ideas germinated in his inquiring mind. He has applied his foresight in education and in trying to sweeten the sourness between the island and the mainland. He was one of the first Taiwanese to graduate from a Chinese university—St John's College, Shanghai—in 1949, the year the KMT fled with the flag and the constitution of the ROC. While he has served Taiwan with distinction in city and national governments, and in civil society, Tamkang remains his main interest.

At age 75, Clement Chang is energetic. He walks with determination and often erupts into a hearty laugh. Retaining the title, simply, founder, he still hands out to academic staff the journal articles and papers he has found interesting. Thus, he expects them to hone their teaching and research. Senior staff have had to submit their own papers to him suggesting Tamkang's directions as it prepares to open a new campus, Lanyang, in the eastern county of I-Lan, in (northern) autumn (2005). His wife, Carrie W.T. Chiang Chang now chairs the Board of Trustees. This daughter, Flora C.I. Chang, is vice-president, administrative affairs, and is generally acknowledged heir apparent. The current president, Horng-Jinh Chang, is no relation.

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<sup>1</sup> Taiwanese custom is to capitalize all parts of a person's name that represent a single Chinese word or character. Certain Taiwanese prefer to write their family name first when using English, against the more normal use of the family name last. Yet others prefer to use an adopted Western name instead of their Chinese given name, as in Clement C.P. Chang. The C.P. are the capitals of his given Chinese name. In acknowledgement of these practices, name style will appear to be inconsistent.

## 2. Another world

Flying into Taiwan from a smog-bound Hong Kong to meet Clement Chang again was like entering another world, though only about an hour away by air. Beyond the remnants of a once-fascinating marketplace with famous hotels, Hong Kong's bland new urbanity rolls out, relentlessly, soulless, behind a ravenous, expanding construction site—like China's other big coastal cities.

In contrast, Taiwan has already modernised, yielding a very different culture that is a fusion of Taiwanese, Chinese, Japanese and American—with some Spanish and Portuguese, even some Dutch. The island is greener, more orderly and relatively freer of the mainland's high-rise dormitories that have swallowed Chinese fleeing the rural communes or evicted by bulldozers from traditional low-level city compounds. But there are high-rise buildings in the Taiwanese capital, Taipei, which boasts the world's tallest building, and at the industrial port, Kaohsiung.

Kuo-Hua Chen, who directs the futures studies program in Tamkang's College of Education, explains that Taiwan has been exporting to the mainland the smoke-stack manufacturing that made the island one of the "Asian Tiger" economies from the 1970s. The US had supported Taiwan financially after World War II, fueling Taiwan's aggressive development policy. Also being exported is the associated labour, capital and technology. Now Taiwan prefers the cleaner information era. It thrives by integrating computer manufacture right down to the delicate silicon wafers for microprocessors.

The brash Chinese mainland has swallowed uncountable freighter-loads of construction equipment. Trees have been razed. Whole hillsides have been gouged out. New freeways, suspension bridges and tunnels mean newfound glory for civil engineers and foreign contractors; and cheaper prices in richer countries for goods made with China's relatively cheaper labour. The Middle Kingdom is being cemented in. This, as Japan has begun questioning the health of concreted river banks and shorelines that materialised during its "miraculous" bubble economy—led by construction and automobile and white goods manufacture—that popped in a soapy spray.

Has China learned its lesson as it rushes hell-bent towards global self-importance, at the expense of dirty air and water, and unsafe work practices? Lin Jyh-Horng, chair of Tamkang's Department of International Trade, believes environmental sacrifices, unemployment and social breakdown are the opportunity costs of development. He foresees even higher growth rates in the Chinese economy within about five years, when unemployment should ease. Meanwhile, Lin thinks Taiwan's growth is flattening.

## 3. Bringing vision to government

Contemplating the futures of China and Taiwan has demanded much of Chang's time in his public and academic roles. At different times, he has advised two opposing Taiwanese government parties. He was senior advisor to the National Security

Council under Lee Teng-Hui, the first Taiwanese-born president, who took the KMT mantle after the death of Chiang Kai-Shek's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo. Most recently, Chang has been senior advisor to the first non-KMT president, Chen Shui-Bian, elected in 2000. Chen's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) had shaken Taiwanese politics in 1986, when opposition parties were banned, with the first democratic challenge since the 1949 flight from the mainland.

Chang was elected Speaker by the powerful Taipei City Council for almost eight years from 1981, having been Deputy since 1969. The mayor was then an appointed official. Chang sat on the KMT Central Standing Committee from 1984 to 1993. He did not quite finish his last term as city Speaker. President Lee brought him into the central government from 1989 to 1991 as Minister of Transport and Communications.

Hsun-Fung (Kitty) Kao, now at Tamkang, was on Taipei City Council in Chang's last term as Speaker in the late 1980s. He helped her learn foresight for creating her own future. She thought "C.P." was fair-minded. He brought visionary leadership to the hotbed of city politics as opposition parties challenged for democracy and played to television like "Roman gladiators". Chen Shui-Bian was on council in Chang's last term. Kao said Chang's status, as the only one with a PhD, was helpful. His open mind and his ability to learn, listen and envision saw councillors begin to go overseas to sister cities. They came to adopt a global perspective. Kao began thinking differently, respecting people's differences. Academics accepted invitations to address councillors. The council supported flexitime for council staff, pushed the government to limit use of plastic bottles and integrated urban planning. Inspired from travel overseas, more public art appeared. More historic buildings were restored. She remembers C.P. quoting Rudyard Kipling: "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet . . ." He said Kipling was wrong; a combination is best.

While Chang has shown he can work with opposing political parties, there are some among the academic staff and the general public who believe he would have enhanced his academic reputation by renouncing official government appointments. However, Kao believes academic freedom within the university has not been curtailed.

He still takes an active interest in Tamkang, especially in the Lanyang campus. Dressed immaculately in dark suit and tie, he greets visitors in an executive suite, either in Taipei or Tamsui, with murals of his beloved Tamkang. At Tamsui he shows the view over the Tamsui River, towards the mountains which appear to outline a reclining Buddha, with the Taiwan Strait beyond. He and visitors sip Taiwanese tea from lidded ceramic cups.

Clement Chang took up golf only after stepping down from Taipei Council where he had virtually a full-time job, though still keeping a close eye on Tamkang. He relaxes watching TV: American cowboy movies, classical Chinese martial arts and documentaries. He reads some fiction but still prefers to scan copious journals about education, futures studies, globalisation and economics.

The university founder began his own elementary education in I-Lan county close to Tamkang's nascent third campus. He was born Chang Chien-Pang, in

1929, at Lotung. While playing there, he may have showed early foresight, putting his ear to the railway line to listen for approaching trains. When he did get to the US in 1950 he dropped stones into the Pacific Ocean from California to mark fulfilling a boyhood dream. He went to Shanghai in 1939, aged 11, where his father was a banker. Shanghai was then under the French and the English. The Japanese arrived in 1941. He skipped junior high school and went to St Johns in 1943, doing two-and-a-half years in high school before taking a degree in economics. The communists were approaching by May 1949, but he did not want to return to Taiwan with his father because he had to finish his degree, which he did in August. He waited until March 1950 for his diploma and escaped by train for Canton (now Guangzhou) and Hong Kong. Any later and he could not have left. His persistence and will to survive have shown him to be as ambitious as he is demanding of others.

He did not return to China until 1994 when, as an educator, he was invited to exchange views with Jiang Zemin who had succeeded Deng Xiaoping as president. Jiang apparently knew Chang had been educated in Shanghai. He spoke not only in Mandarin, but part of the time in Shanghai dialect and English. Chang himself speaks Mandarin, the Taiwanese and Shanghai dialects, Japanese and English—a global citizen.

When he first went to Shanghai, it was feared that returning to Taiwan was to lose Chinese identity. Soon after he did return, in 1950, he headed for the University of Illinois and a master's degree in agricultural economics. He wanted to continue to a PhD but returned to Tamkang in 1952 because his father had died the previous year. It was 1969 before he began the PhD. This would be in higher education rather than economics. But a year later he interrupted his study again when his mother died. He did not resume until 1978, completing his PhD in 1980, the year Tamkang became a university.

It was in 1965 that he found a passion for futures thinking as the only Taiwanese in a regular workshop directed by Henry Kissinger. Kissinger had yet to leave Harvard for Washington where he would urge Nixon to learn to understand China in order to deal with the issue of Taiwan. One of Kissinger's specialist workshop guests was Herman Kahn, founder of the Hudson Institute and futurist to government and big business. Kahn was a nuclear strategist at the Rand Corporation before turning towards economics, politics and public policy, bringing a "realistic and pragmatic" approach to global problems [7]. A large man, he was to earn endorsement from a future US Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld [8]: "Kahn was a giant who boldly confronted public issues with creativity and the conviction, in his case correct, that thought and analysis could help make ours a better world". Kahn, a conservative, is considered by critical futurists as too doggedly American.

Kissinger was one of the "three musketeers" to move down from Harvard. He was Chang's entrée to the White House where another musketeer, McGeorge Bundy, was President Johnson's national security adviser. Bundy had left Harvard for the Kennedy White House. The third musketeer, Walt Whitman Rostow, would soon become special assistant to Johnson and especially influential in foreign policy. When Kissinger went to Washington, it was to take Bundy's job,

under President Nixon. All musketeers held high public office during the Vietnamese war. Such was the American wallpaper behind the mindset that Chang first took back to Tamkang. Later he would become more global.

#### 4. Vision for a university

Chang's Tamkang (river of clean water) is centred at Tamsui in Taipei county. The campus commands a hill overlooking the mouth of the Tamsui River, less than an hour's drive from Taipei, on the middle of five tiger claws—ridges formed by a volcano. Behind, to the east, is Ta-Tun Mountain. To the west is the Strait. Although not intended, the feng shui is right, reassuring comfort and security.

A second campus, in downtown Taipei, offers continuing education to anyone from generals to office workers.

Tamsui campus has a new gymnasium and a fine arts centre with a music hall where a Steinway piano is played for Western art music as well as Taiwanese folk songs. A new library in 1996 helped turn Tamkang digital. There are tennis courts, a skating rink, an athletics field and the usual faculty and service buildings surrounded by greenery planted since the campus was converted from rice fields, 50 years ago. Gardens, sprinkled liberally throughout, have distinct Chinese and Japanese influence. The students, variously attired, could be on any other campus, except they have to donate an hour each week for cleaning and maintenance. Parked obediently in marked rows are Taiwan's predominant means of personal transport, especially for young people—the motor scooter.

The new Lanyang, on three times the area of Tamsui, faces the Pacific sunrise while Tamsui faces the sunset over China. What then of Taipei campus? We call it “high noon”, says Chang. A fourth campus is a potentially international cyber-campus.

Tamkang began as a junior college of English in 1950. It was opened by Chang and his father, Chang Ching-Sheng, who died the following year. Since becoming a university in 1980 it has grown to nine colleges, 44 departments and divisions, 38 masters programs and 15 doctoral programs. Enrollments have been capped at about the present 27,000, the most of any Taiwanese university. It is said that one in seven Taiwanese would know a past-student of Tamkang.

The university's *triple objective* is: “Globalisation, information-oriented education and future-oriented education”. This is commonly expressed as: “Let's establish a firm foothold at Tamkang University: hold the whole world in view; grasp the latest information; and create a brighter future”.

The institution began globalising in 1968 through a sister-school relationship with Chuo Gakuin University in Japan. An academic exchange committee was formed in 1978 with Chang as chair. It would sponsor international conferences, establish overseas links, offer staff and student exchange programs, invite foreign scholars to teach and subsidise academics for advanced study overseas. It now collaborates with 65 universities in five continents.

Tamkang had an information centre back in 1968. Computer technology now supports administration, teaching and research. Students have 24-hour access to computers. They get their results from lecturers on mobile phones. Kitty Kao, a professor in educational technology, supports the need for technology in learning. But she sees commercial hands promoting its use: “We must be able to see humanity through the technology and not forget our own language and culture; too much on computers is presented in a foreign language”. She is wary of students who uncritically think that happiness comes from effects on a screen. She believes education still needs *human-ware*, as well as the hardware and software. Teachers must heed the content of electronic messages, interact personally with students, take time to talk and be sure of the role model they project. While she supports the third part of Tamkang’s objective, facing and creating one’s own future, Kao thinks futures studies needs to be better understood. She wants a strategy for selling futures studies to others on campus, many of whom see it as the founder’s “pet”.

In 1968, Chang wrote an article, “The future trends of world civilization”. This emphasized the importance of future-oriented education and introduced the field to Taiwan. Tamkang’s own mission to meet the third part of its triple objective—“to recognize the future, adjust to the future and create the future”—derives from Chang’s 1980 blueprint. In turn, it intends to enable students to recognize the changing world, to face it and to create it. A Division of Futures Studies was inaugurated in 1995 by Jyh-Horng Lin, now in the College of Business. With Chang, Lin wrote an introductory futures text in Chinese [3]. Kuo-Hua Chen came the following year with a fresh US degree in sociology. In 2000, the division was upgraded to the Centre for Futures Studies. Now, the Graduate Institute of Futures Studies directs this field. Undergraduate courses are offered with five major futures perspectives: society, technology, economy, environment and politics. The institute publishes the *Journal of Futures Studies* and organises international exchange.

## 5. Globalising its futures thinking

Chang was originally influenced by American futurists, including Kahn and members of the World (American) Future Society. Initially, he and his academic futurists were trained in the US. What began within a commercially oriented and technologically optimistic American framework, is being pluralised and globalised.

The critical realism of American sociologist and futurist, Wendell Bell, is now centrally influential. Chen translated Bell’s *Foundations of Futures Studies* [1] into Chinese. In all, 20 books for teaching and research have been translated by the institute from English to Chinese. Sohail Inayatullah, a critical theorist, has been appointed to apply diverse theoretical filters accounting for gender, ecology, epistemology and civilisation. Inayatullah, a globalised Pakistani, questions the future particularly from non-Western perspectives, including Asian. Another professor, Teng Yu-Ying, graduated in economics from Beijing. Chinese-speaking futures staff now gives invited presentations in China. Thus, wider perspectives inform the

institute's CDs and manuals used by other faculties for undergraduate futures courses.

## **6. Taking futures beyond Tamkang**

Chang hopes futures thinking is sufficiently embedded in Tamkang's culture to ensure its longevity, although some staff fear he has been such a strong innovator that his successors will not be so visionary. He would like futures tools to be incorporated into Taiwan's elementary education system, something passionately advocated by Kitty Kao. Kuo-Hua Chen is sympathetic. Helping widen futures thinking, Chen explains, is something not yet planned. The program he directs is already committed to supporting undergraduate courses, a masters program and workshops, conferences and international networking. A PhD program is envisaged. Within 25 years he hopes futures thinking will be widespread and futurists will have lost their populist crystal ball.

Tamkang's futures staff has been mid-wife to the Taiwan Future Society with links beyond the university. And Chang has taken his own interest in global futures off-campus. Twice President of the World League for Democracy and Freedom, his most recent term finished in 2003. He has emphasised the importance of nongovernment organisations (NGOs) for Taiwan, although civil society there is not entirely free of government influence. Tai Wan-Chin, in the Institute of American Studies, who worked closely with him in the league, speaks of Chang as liberal, receptive and far-sighted. He says Chang has led Taiwanese delegations to international conferences, including United Nations-sponsored meetings. With Tai, Chang brought a related Asia-Pacific conference to Taiwan in 2002, and they have encouraged strengthening Taiwan's relations with Japan, India and Turkey.

As for cross-strait relations, Chang believes Taiwan and China must become more global so both can forget their nationalism. "We should talk about what is desirable in 50 or 100 years to take the pressure off today's difficulties". A good debate about the next 1000 years would reduce confrontation. And he would prefer to see more loyalty to NGOs than to a president. Take Rotary, Chang says. It is an NGO built on loyalty from around the world. He believes Tamkang's philosophy—based in futures-oriented education, globalisation and information technology—speaks everywhere to the futures of Taiwan and China. This would make Tamkang an important centre, especially in Asia, for exchanging futures thinking and information technology.

## **7. Taiwan: looking back**

Just as Taiwan is now central to global human futures, history shows Taiwan has led the civilising of oceanic South-East Asia. Jared Diamond [4, p. 35] traces Taiwan back about 13,000 years to the Pleistocene. Taiwan, Borneo, Java and Sumatra were once part of the Asian mainland. Around 4000 BCE, Taiwan first



gave evidence of something different from a hunter-gatherer society. Polished stone tools and a distinctive Ta-p'en-k'eng pottery appeared on Taiwan and the South-China coast. Remains of rice and millet later indicated agriculture. Taiwan's first Neolithic occupants had watercraft for deep-sea fishing and crossing the Strait, apparently aiding mainland-Chinese expansion a millennium or so after Ta-p'eng-k'eng culture reached Taiwan (3500 BCE). Their successors spread far: to the Philippines (3000 BCE); Indonesia (2500–2000 BCE); the South-West Pacific islands and Papua-New Guinea (1600 BCE); New Zealand (1000 CE); and eventually to Africa [4, pp. 339–341].

By 1517, Portuguese had landed on Taiwan. Then came Dutch traders, and briefly, Spanish. In the 1640s and the 1650s, Ming loyalists arrived from the mainland. Zheng Chenggong, known by the Portuguese as Koxinga, a pirate and trader supporting the Ming cause, attacked Taiwan and drove out the Dutch in 1662. The island's population had been mainly indigenous. For two decades, with Taiwan controlled by his successors, over 100,000 Chinese emigrated there, creating a booming frontier community. A Chinese naval expedition defeated these forces in 1683, acquiring Taiwan. Back on the mainland, the multiethnic territory of Greater China was being staked out under three Manchu (Qing) emperors, Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong (1669–1799) [5]. Taiwan, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, and Tibet were attached in a single polity. Taiwan remained a prefecture of Fujian province for about two centuries. When Japan defeated China in 1895, Taiwan became part of Japan for half a century.

## 8. Taiwan: looking forward

Taiwan still has an identity crisis. Is it Taiwanese, Chinese or something else? What then does Clement Chang, a practical futurist, think of the futures of Taiwan? Taiwan has had its economic miracle from the 1970s (Jyh-Horng Lin would say the growth is flattening out) and it now has the world's third highest foreign reserves, after Japan and China. It has had its political miracle, becoming democratic. It has had its engineering miracle with projects such as the world's third longest tunnel, linking Taipei with I-Lan county, initiated when he was Minister for Transport and Communications, and which will open next year. The current problem is not political, according to Chang, as some think, but one of identity. Taiwan has the attributes of a nation but cannot claim statehood. It cannot even join the United Nations. China claims that for itself. The lack of identity is suppressing. But he urges patience in anticipating a desirable future, on whatever issue.

Independence for Taiwan has been an issue again, recently. But is complete independence realistic with China breathing down its neck? Of course, independence can take different forms, including the idea for a new constitution and "one country on each side". But Taiwan can hardly emulate Hong Kong as a model of one nation, two systems; Hong Kong is not allowed a military force and the Taiwanese would hardly agree to that. Status quo is not a policy, as suppression would continue.

Surrender seems out of the question, politically. Perseverance is called for, but this will not necessarily ease the suppression. It makes people feel impotent.

## 9. One China?

The question is: Will there be one China in 35–50 years? Chang prefers not to comment, except to say this is one possible scenario. There are others, including that of several Chinas. Johan Galtung [6], renowned in peace studies and futures studies, proposes six Chinas: China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Tibet, Xinjing and Inner Mongolia. Like a good futurist, Chang will not predict. It is too difficult. But this does not stop him striving for a preferred, workable vision. And he calls for more public discussion. Government, business and universities must keep looking for a peaceful solution. He looks to the “velvet revolution” against communism in Czechoslovakia, led by the poet, Vaclav Havel, whom he knows and admires.

From the Graduate Institute of Futures Studies, Kuo-Hua Chen is critical of pop futurism like that in Gordon C. Chang’s *The Coming Collapse of China* [2]. Forcing people to think of China’s collapse is not helpful, Chen says. Looking only at a bestseller does not transform the difficulties. He agrees with Chang that Taiwan must help get rid of hostility and nationalism and look towards a bigger picture of the future. Taiwanese do not have to fight the US, either. This is lacking long-term vision. “We must stop the finger pointing”. He hopes Taiwan can extend long-term thinking to solving international difficulties.

Perhaps such futures thinking needs to go further, into an appropriate futures-oriented process for living with difference. As Chang explains, in the oriental culture “we set goals but have no regard for the process”. Yet, Kuo-Hua Chen is mindful that many Taiwanese have already helped build bridges to China, in business, education and civil society. Taiwan is an immigrant society, he says. Futures studies in Taiwan can show that diversity is the real goal of any reconciliation.

Further, Taiwan has set an example with its economic miracle. Now it can challenge Western imperialism through social learning. If Taiwan can improve its communication with China, Chen proposes, it can set a global example for creating harmony among all civilisations. “I see communication as the key, using futures as the tool. We need to continue linking to other universities on human values and to find things the two states can cooperate on, for mutual benefit, like health”.

At least Clement Chang has endowed Tamkang with a futures-oriented, global outlook. He dreams Tamkang will play a central role in Asia for addressing the futures of humanity, including, of course, the China–Taiwan stalemate.

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