

HIS-295-03, China's Revolutions

Fall 2012, MWF, 9:00-9:50am

ARH 318 (MW), ARH 227 (F)

Instructor: Matthew D. Johnson

Mears 318 (office hours: M, 4:15-5:05pm, T, 4:15-5:05pm, or by appointment)

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COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

China's early 20th century revolutions have massively impacted the evolution of state-society relationships during the past hundred years. In this class we will use social science and historiographical models prevalent since 1949 in Western writings on China to analyze changes in the perception of the revolution, and in the revolutionary process itself. Despite the focus on social revolution, it will be difficult to cover every aspect of China's social history and varieties of communal experience during the revolutionary period. However, a key component of the course will be to periodically employ spatial mapping tools, such as ArcGIS, in order to address questions of China's diverse human geography, and to locate the revolutionary narrative in spatial terms. To complement this spatial approach, readings will focus in part on issues of regionalism, urban-rural difference, and spheres of political and international influence within the borders of the Chinese nation-state. Each week, we will examine:

- The forces which pushed forward China's revolutionary process;
- How successive visions of revolution were implemented, politically, economically, culturally, and socially;
- The limitations which revolution encountered, and the inequalities which persisted in spite of (or, in some cases, as a result of) the particular forms of revolutionary state-making which China's leaders espoused.

In addition to analyzing and mapping China's "revolutionary geography," we will also be extrapolating larger sets of implications from the readings and grappling with their significance. Ultimately, the goal of this course is not solely to impart knowledge concerning China's revolutions (what educators would call a "content" goal) but also build skills in the following areas as part of a larger, evidence-driven agenda:

- Understanding and testing of big themes, often derived from social science and historiographical literature (e.g. revolution, state-society relations, imperialism, etc.), within a specific global and/or historical context;
- Effective reading and writing which allows you to engage constructively and critically with existing interpretations in a scholarly field;
- The ability to situate historical arguments, and evidence, within a broader spatial framework;
- Understanding of political events and micro-processes in relationship to long-term demographic and secular trends;
- Sensing where the fallacies of historical argument, and by extension most data-supported reasoning in general, may lie;
- Confidence participating in an intellectually open-ended and inquiry-based environment.

READINGS AND SCHEDULE OF ASSIGNMENTS

Readings for this course will consist of selection from a number of texts, some of which are available for purchase at the Bookstore, and some of which will be made available to you through the course website on PWeb. The required texts available for purchase are:

Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*.

David B. Gordon, *Sun Yatsen: Seeking a Newer China*.

Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*.

Xiaoyuan Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven: Revolution, War, Diplomacy, and Frontier China in the 20th Century*

John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985*.

National Geographic, *National Geographic Atlas of China*.

Week 0: Course Introduction

Fri, Aug 31: Course introduction

- Course syllabus [handout].

Introduction of course, participants

Overview and discussion of syllabus

Week 1: The Qing Imperium and Empire's End

Mon, Sept 3: The Qing State in Crisis

- Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949* (Routledge, 2005), Part I, "The Road to Revolution, 1895-1919" & Ch. 1, "The Rise of Confucian Radicalism," pp. 1-29.
- H. Lyman Miller, "The Late Imperial Chinese State," in David Shambaugh, ed., *The Modern Chinese State* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 15-41 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Lecture: The Territorial and Conceptual Transformation of the Qing Imperium

Weds, Sept 5: Late Qing Reform

- Excerpts from: Yan Fu, *On Power* (1895); Kang Youwei, [Memorial to the Guangxu Emperor] (January 29, 1898); Liang Qichao, *A General Discussion of Reform* (1896-1897); [Editorial in *China and Foreign News*] (August 23, 1898); Mai Menghua, "China Should Venerate the Power of the Ruler and Restrain the Power of the People" (1898); Ou Qujia, "On the Relationship Between Institutional Reform and the Preservation of China" (1898); Sun Yu, *Materials on the Heterodox Teachings* (1898); Wang Xianqian, [*Xushou tang shu-zha*] (c.a. 1898); Tan Sitong, *The Study of Humanity* (1898); Kang Tongwei, "On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Educating Women" (1898); Zhang Zhidong, *Exhortation to Learn* (1898), in J. Mason Gentzler, ed., *Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present* (Praeger, 1976), pp. 80-103 [PWeb].

DISTRIBUTED: First paper assignment ("Identifying Writers and Sources")

Discussion questions

Group exercise: Conservatives, Reformers, and Radicals

Fri, Sept 7: Introduction to WorldMap

- *National Geographic Atlas of China* (National Geographic, 2007), pp. 10-18.
- Xiaoyuan Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven: Revolution, War, Diplomacy, and Frontier China in the 20th Century* (Continuum, 2010), pp. 3-10.

Lab: Space, Place, and Historical Change

INQUIRY UNIT I: THE REPUBLICAN AND NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONS

Week 2: Revolution and Nationalism

Mon, Sept 10: Social Revolutions

- Theda Skocpol, *States & Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), Ch. 1, “Explaining Social Revolutions: Alternatives to Existing Theories,” pp. 3-43 [PWeb].

****DUE: First paper**

Discussion questions

Lecture: Approaches to Revolution

Weds, Sept 12: Revolutionaries

- David B. Gordon, *Sun Yatsen: Seeking a Newer China* (Prentice Hall, 2010), Ch. 1-5, pp. 1-42.
- Excerpts from: Sun Yat-sen, [Letter to Li Hongzhang] (1894); “The Manifesto of the Tongmeng Hui” (1905), in Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank et al., eds., *China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 223-229 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Fri, Sept 14: The Geography of Economic and Cultural Change

- *National Geographic Atlas of China* (National Geographic, 2007), pp. 20-29.
- Joseph W. Esherick and Mary Backus Rankin, “Introduction,” in Esherick and Rankin, eds., *Chinese Local Elites and Patterns of Dominance* (University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1-24 [PWeb].
- [Skinner]

Lab: Macroregions and Treaty Ports

Week 3: The 1911 Revolution

Mon, Sept 17: Revolution – The First Phase

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 2, “1911: History and Historiography” & Ch. 3, “Ideas and Ideals in the Fall of the Qing,” pp. 30-74.
- Liang Qichao, “The Renovation of the People” (1902), in Teng and Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West*, pp. 220-223 [PWeb].

****DUE: Revisions to primary source write-up**

Discussion questions

Lecture: Military Regionalization and the Origins of “Warlordism”

Weds, Sept 19: Was It a Revolution?

- Gordon, *Sun Yatsen*, Ch. 6-9, pp. 43-77.
- [Press Coverage of the Wuchang Uprising] (1911); “The Nineteen Articles” (November 3, 1911); “Edict of Abdication” (February 12, 1912), in Cheng and Lestz, *The Search for Modern China*, pp. 206-213 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Fri, Sept 21: Map-Making

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 4, “From the Military Dictator to the Warlords,” pp. 75-94.
- Additional readings TBA.

Lab: 1911 in Geographic Context

Week 4: Early Republican Politics

Mon, Sept 24: Society and Locality

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 5, “Social Conditions in the Countryside” & Ch. 6, “Urban Social Change,” pp. 95-127.
- David Strand, “‘A High Place Is No Better Than a Low Place’: The City in the Making of Modern China,” in Wen-Hsin Yeh, ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (University of California Press, 2000), pp. 98-136 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Weds, Sept 26: Intellectual Origins

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 7, “Intellectuals, the Republic, and a New Culture,” pp. 128-143.
- Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Harvard, 2009), pp. 1-48.
- [Feng Yu-hsiang documents.]

Discussion questions

Lecture/workshop: Online Resources and Research

Fri, Sept 28: [CLASS CANCELLED]

Week 5: The 1927 Revolution

**MEETINGS

Mon, Oct 1: The *Guomindang* - From Revolutionary Alliance to Revolutionary Party

- Gordon, *Sun Yatsen*, Ch. 11-13, pp. 86-117.
- Excerpts from: Sun Yat-sen, [Theory of Knowledge and Action] (1919) and [Adoption of the Russian Party System] (1923); Liang Qichao, [Review of China’s Progress, 1873-1919] (1922), in Teng and Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West*, pp. 258-274 [PWeb].

****DUE: Paper proposal and plan**

Discussion questions

Workshop: Peer Perspectives on the Research and Writing Process

Weds, Oct 3: Mobilizing the Revolution

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 11, "Ideology and Power in the Nationalist Revolution," pp. 210-229.
- "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang" (January 30, 1924); excerpts from Dai Qitao, *The National Revolution and the Chinese Kuomintang* (1925) and *The Road for Youth* (1928), in Gentzler, *Changing China*, pp. 193-205 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Fri, Oct 5: The Northern Expedition

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 12, "The Northern Expedition and the Rise of Chiang Kai-shek," pp. 230-247.
- Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 49-96.

Discussion questions

Lab: Mapping the Northern Expedition

Week 6: The "Nanjing Decade"

****MEETINGS**

Mon, Oct 8: Ideologies of *Guomindang* National Rule

- Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 97-137.
- Robert E. Bedeski, "The Tutelary State and National Revolution in Kuomintang Ideology, 1928-1931," *The China Quarterly*, No. 46 (Apr - Jun, 1971), pp. 308-330 [JSTOR].

Discussion questions

Weds, Oct 10: The Tutelary State – Revolution Postponed?

- Sections: "Democracy and Absolutism: The Debate Over Political Tutelage" and "Chiang Kai shek: Nationalism and Traditionalism," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Sources of East Asian Tradition , Volume Two: The Modern Period* (Columbia University Press, 2008), pp. 688-698 [PWeb].
- "Reactions Toward Propaganda Campaigns," in Sherman Cochran and Andrew C. K. Hsieh (with Janis Cochran), *One Day in China: May 21, 1936* (Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 76-92.

Discussion questions

Fri, Oct 12: *Jianshe* – Reconstruction

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 13, "The Nanjing Decade, pp. 248-270.
- William C. Kirby, "The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in the Republican Era," *The China Quarterly*, No. 150 (Jun 1997), pp. 433-458 [JSTOR].

****DUE: Progress reports**

Lab: Modernization and Communications at the Provincial Level

Week 7: Field of Life and Death - War and State-Society Relations

Mon, Oct 15: The War of Resistance

- Zarrow, Ch. 15, "The War of Resistance, 1937-1945," pp. 299-323.
- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 141-193.

Discussion questions

Lecture: Wartime Mobilization Along China's Ethnic Frontiers

Weds, Oct 17: U.S.-China Relations

- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 194-244.
- Zou Taofen, "Alabama: Reds and Blacks" (1935) and Lin Yutang, "Impressions on Reaching America" (1936)," in R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee, eds., *Land Without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (University of California Press, 1989), pp. 151-163 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Fri, Oct 19: The China Theater

- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 245-295.

***DUE: Paper outlines*

Lab: China's Wartime Governments

FALL BREAK, OCTOBER 20-28

Week 8: Reflection – Revolution, War, and Frontier Geopolitics

Mon, Oct 29: The Setting

- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, pp.19-38.

Discussion questions

Lecture: China, Russia, and Central Asia

Weds, Oct 31:

- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, pp. 39-84.
- Additional readings TBA [pan-Asianism].

Discussion questions

Fri, Nov 2:

- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 296-335.
- [Chiang, *China's Destiny*].

INQUIRY UNIT II: THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Week 9: Continuities – Nationalism, Revolution, and the Mass Party

Mon, Nov 5: Revisiting War, Nationalism, and Anti-Imperialism

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Part II, “Nationalism and Revolution” & Ch. 8, “Politics and Culture in the May Fourth Movement,” pp. 145-169.
- A. James Gregor, *A Place in the Sun: Marxism and Fascism in China’s Long Revolution* (Westview, 2000), Ch. 1, “On Understanding the Twentieth Century,” pp. 1-23.

**DUE: Research paper (“Local Histories of China in War and Revolution”)

Lecture: *The Origins of the Chinese Communist Party*

Weds. Nov 7: Socialism and Marxism

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 9, “National Identity, Marxism, and Social Justice,” pp. 170-189.
- Robert A. Scalapino and Harold Schiffrin, “Early Socialist Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement: Sun Yat-sen versus Liang Ch’i-ch’ao,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (May, 1959), pp. 321-342.
- Additional readings TBA [Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu].

Fri, Nov 9: Labor and Industrialization in Early 20th-Century China

- Kathleen Hartford and Steven M. Goldstein, “Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution,” in Hartford and Goldstein, eds., *Single Sparks: China’s Rural Revolutions* (M. E. Sharpe, 1989), pp. 3-33.

Lab: *Distribution of the Early CCP*

Week 10: Chinese Communists as Rural Reformers

Mon, Nov 12: Why Mao?

- Howard L. Boorman, “Introduction: Chinese Leaders and Chinese Politics,” in Chun-tu Hsueh, ed., *Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China* (Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. xiii-xxiii.
- Zheng Yangwen, “Hunan - Laboratory of Reform and Land of Revolution: Hunanese in the Making of Modern China,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 6 (Nov, 2008), pp. 1113-1136 [JSTOR].
- Mao Zedong, “Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan” (February, 1927), in Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Atheneum, 1966 [1952]), pp. 77-89 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Lecture: “White Terror” and Rural Soviets

Wed, Nov 14: The “Rural Turn” in Communist Politics

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 14, Peasants
- Eastman, *Family Fields, and Ancestors*, Ch. 5, “The Agricultural Sector in the Early Twentieth Century: The Problem of ‘Peasant Immiseration’,” pp. 80-100 [PWeb].

**DISTRIBUTED: Second paper (“Geography of Communist Survival”) assignment

Discussion questions

Fri, Nov 16: Hinterlands and Borderlands

- Jieli Li, "Geopolitics of the Communist Party in the Twentieth Century," *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Winter, 1993), pp. 315-333.

Lab: The Geography of Chinese Communist Party Survival

Week 11: Border Regions and Base Areas

Mon, Nov 19: Communist Party Wartime Governance

- "Terminology and Language: A Note to the Reader," [Maps 1-5], and Feng Chongyi and David S. G. Goodman, "Introduction: Explaining Revolution," in Feng and Goodman, eds., *North China at War: The Social Ecology of Revolution, 1937-1945* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp. xi-xiv, 1-23 [PWeb].

****DUE: Second paper**

Discussion questions

Lecture: Mao, the Long March, and CCP-Soviet Relations

Weds, Nov 21: Internal Narratives of Early CCP History

- Laszlo Ladany, *The Communist Party of China and Marxism 1921-1985: A Self Portrait* (Hoover Institution Press, 1988), pp. 1-50 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

THANKSGIVING BREAK, NOVEMBER 22-25

Week 12: Consolidating Communist Party Power

Mon, Nov 26: Wartime Maoism and the 'Yan'an Way'

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 16, "Mao, Maoism, and the Communist Party," pp. 324-336.
- Chen Yung-fa, "Suspect History and the Mass Line: Another 'Yan'an Way'," in Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Jonathan N. Lipman, and Randall Stross, eds., *Remapping China: Fissures in the Historical Terrain* (Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 242-257 [PWeb].

Discussion questions

Lecture: Beyond Yan'an

Weds, Nov 28: Communist Party Organization and Ideology Under Mao

- Excerpts from: Liu Shaoqi, "On the Training of a Communist Party Member," (August 7, 1939); "Decision of the CC [Central Committee] on the Work of Penetrating the Masses" (November 1, 1939); Mao Zedong, "Correcting Unorthodox Tendencies in Learning, the Party, and Literature and Art" (February 1, 1942), in Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, pp. 337-344, 346-349, 375-392 [Pweb].
- Additional readings TBA [Mao].

Discussion questions

Fri, Nov 30: Communist Party Ethnopolitics

- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, pp. 109-152.

Lab: China's Human and Economic Geography

Week 13: Civil War

Mon, Dec 3: Post-War Dilemmas

- Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, Ch. 17, "Revolution and Civil War," pp. 337-367.
- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, pp. 85-106.

****DUE: Research paper revisions**

Discussion questions

Lecture: Origins of the Cold War in Asia

Weds, Dec 5: China and the U.S.

- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 339-377.
- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, 171-186.

Discussion questions

Fri, Dec 7: China and the Soviet Union

- Taylor, *The Generalissimo*, pp. 378-408.
- Liu, *Recast All Under Heaven*, pp. 187-206.

Lab: The Qing Imperium and post-1949 China Compared

Week 14: Reevaluating the Narrative

Mon, Dec 10: Revolution Reevaluated

- John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution* (Perennial, 1986), pp. 1-12, 123-164.

Discussion questions

Lecture: TBA

Weds, Dec 12: Geography and Change Reevaluated

- Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, pp. 165-203.

Discussion questions

Fri, Dec 14: War and Territorial Reintegration Reevaluated

- Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, pp. 204-270.

Discussion questions

EXAM WEEK, DECEMBER 17-21

****Fairbank Review and Second Paper revisions due by Friday, December 21**

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Contribution to class discussions (25%)

Although class days will also include some short lectures and group work, the vast majority of our time together will be devoted to collective discussion. History happens in dialogue; therefore, I really do evaluate class participation. If you do not participate regularly and substantively, you will receive a significantly lower grade for the course. Note that this mode of evaluation assigns more worth to the quality than the quantity of your participation each day; offering one thoughtful, helpful, and well-substantiated comment will earn you more points than dominating the discussion with unfounded or tangential observations. Absences will be excused for personal issues, health issues, or extracurricular commitments if/when accompanied by documentation from the appropriate office. Late arrivals, early departures, and leaving the room during class time are disruptive and will be duly noted when calculating your participation. To prepare for discussion, you should engage in two levels of inquiry with the reading. The first is to understand what the texts are saying. To that end, you should come to class prepared to address the discussion questions concerning each assigned text, including marking where in the text you see these elements at work:

I do understand that speaking up in class is difficult for many people. As in honing any critical skill, contribution to group discussions requires strategy, practice, and feedback. The above requirements are designed to help you become more adept and more comfortable with posing and answering questions and responding to others' ideas. I will provide mid-semester participation grades and comments to give you a sense of how your participation is developing.

Historiography/research paper (30%), including paper plan and progress report (5%), outline (5%), and final paper (20%)

This multi-part project will give you the opportunity to test the theory that early 20th century China was ripe for revolution, and will draw primarily from readings and data already encountered in class readings, with the addition of selected data sources provided by the instructor and library. The initial paper plan will require you to describe the key components of the revolutionary process, and develop a set of questions whose answer would, in your view, help to establish whether China was indeed revolutionary. In the progress report you will describe what readings and other data sources you have identified as important for answering those questions. In the outline you will map out the framework of an essay assessing China's revolutionary potential, including actual quotes and data gathered so far, which will serve as the basis for the subsequent final paper (12-15 pages). I will post further instructions on PWeb at least two weeks prior to the deadline, along with general paper expectations and formatting guidelines; the paper must be typed and double-spaced, using a 12-point font and 1-inch margins. Citations must be in footnotes or endnotes using Chicago (or Turabian) Style. I am happy to comment on full or partial drafts in advance, as long as you submit it to me at least one week before the deadline. Please feel free to come and talk to me about your ideas at any stage of the paper-writing process. The cumulative grade (i.e. the combined grade for your plan/report, outline, and paper) may be increased as a result of final paper revisions.

Book review (15%)

John King Fairbanks's *The Great Chinese Revolution* represents an archetypical text in the modern Chinese history field dealing with the theme of revolution. The review (4-5 pages) will require you to engage critically with this work by using other secondary and primary sources encountered in the course of the semester. I will post further instructions on PWeb at least two weeks prior to the deadline, along with general paper

expectations and formatting guidelines. Like the paper, the review must be typed and double-spaced, using a 12-point font and 1-inch margins. Citations must be in footnotes or endnotes using Chicago (or Turabian) Style. I am happy to comment on full or partial drafts in advance, as long as you submit it to me at least one week before the deadline. Please feel free to come and talk to me about your ideas at any stage of the paper-writing process.

First (15%) and second papers (15%)

These shorter papers will build clarity concerning significant historical figures, places, and events drawn from China's revolutionary history. You will have the opportunity to revise these papers. Approximately 4-5 pages.