



School of History, Philosophy, Politics and International Relations  
Victoria University of Wellington

History Programme  
2008 Trimester 1

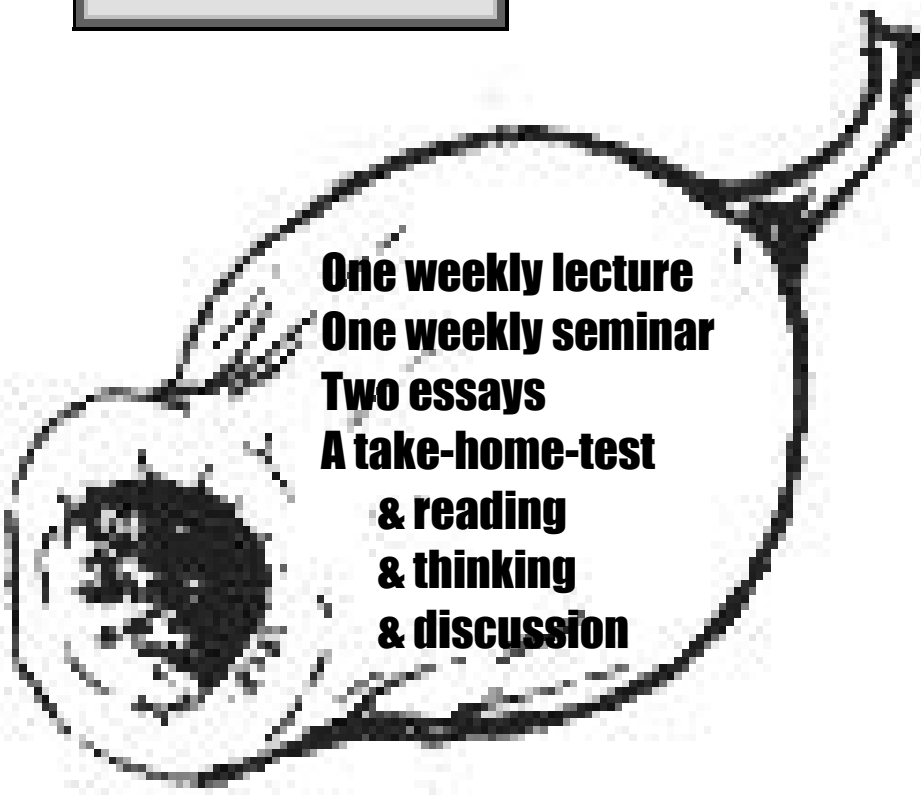
# CRN1955 HIST326: INTELLECTUALS AND SOCIETY IN CHINA, 1600S – 1990S

## CONTENTS

1.	<b>HIST326 in a Nutshell</b> .....	p.	ii		
2.	<b>HIST326 on Blackboard</b> .....	p.	iii		
3.	<b>Course Outline</b> .....	p.	iv		
4.	<b>Course Aims</b> .....	p.	iv		
5.	<b>Assessment and Course Objectives</b> .....	p.	v		
6.	<b>Course Reading</b> .....	p.	v		
7.	<b>Work-load</b> .....	p.	vi		
8.	<b>Penalties for Lateness</b> .....	p.	vi		
9.	<b>Electronic Submission of Written Work</b> .....	p.	vi		
10.	<b>Mandatory Requirements</b> .....	p.	vi		
11.	<b>Aegrotats</b> .....	p.	vii		
12.	<b>Essays: Length and Deadlines</b> .....	p.	viii		
13.	<b>The Seminars</b> .....	p.	viii		
14.	<b>Academic Integrity and Plagiarism</b> .....	p.	ix		
15.	<b>General University Requirements</b> .....	p.	ix		
16.	<b>Student and Staff Conduct</b> .....	p.	ix		
17.	<b>Grievance Procedures</b> .....	p.	x		
18.	<b>Students with Impairments</b> .....	p.	x		
19.	<b>Lecture Programme</b> .....	p.	xi		
20.	<b>Essay Questions</b> .....	p.	xii		
21.	<b>Seminar Programme and Readings</b> .....	p.	1		
	<b>UNIT 1: INTELLECTUALS AND THE DECLINE OF THE CONFUCIAN STATE</b>				
	Seminar 2	Orthodoxy and Unorthodoxy in Confucian China.....	p.	4	
	Seminar 3	Radicalization of Reformers in the late 20th Century.....	p.	36	
	<b>UNIT 2: INTELLECTUALS AGAINST AUTOCRACY</b>				
	Seminar 4	The end of the exam system; the beginning of what?.....	p.	85	
	Seminar 5	Student Demonstrators and Democrats.....	p.	129	
	<b>UNIT 3: INTELLECTUALS AND THE PEOPLE, 1919 - 1949</b>				
	Seminar 6	Intellectuals and the People, 1919-1927.....	p.	173	
	Seminar 7	The Search for a “Middle Way”, 1920s – 1930s.....	p.	215	
	<b>UNIT 4: INTELLECTUALS AND THE COMMUNIST STATE</b>				
	Seminar 8	Stretching the Friendship: Intellectuals and the Party, 1942 – 1959.....	p.	259	
	Seminar 9	Intellectuals and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1966 - 1976.....	p.	307	
	<b>UNIT 5: INTELLECTUALS FOR A ‘DEMOCRATIC CHINA’</b>				
	Seminar 10	The Democracy Movement, 1973 – 1989.....	p.	363	
	Seminar 11:	The 1989 ‘Beijing Spring’ and its Aftermath.....	p.	412	
	Seminar 12:	Moving on: Chinese Intellectuals in 21st Century.....	p.	443	

## 2008 Course Details

### **HIST326 in a Nutshell**



**One weekly lecture  
One weekly seminar  
Two essays  
A take-home-test  
& reading  
& thinking  
& discussion**

**Lecturer:** Dr Pauline Keating  
Old Kirk 418

*Phone:* 463-6760

*email:* [pauline.keating@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:pauline.keating@vuw.ac.nz)

*web page:*

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/history/staff/pauline.aspx>

**Office Hours:** Times when I will be available for student consultation are posted on my office door. If you need to see me outside these times, make an appointment with me after your seminar, or by phoning, or by emailing.

**Timetable:** Lectures: Thursdays, 12 – 12.50 p.m.,  
HM001

Seminar times will be arranged in the first week of term and will be posted on the History noticeboard by Friday 29<sup>th</sup> February.

Information about any changes to the programme or timetable will be announced in lectures, posted on the History noticeboard, and announced on the HIST326 Blackboard site.



## 2. HOW TO USE BLACKBOARD

HIST326 is on-line in Blackboard.

To access Blackboard:

- open an internet browser;
- go to the VUW Blackboard Homepage:  
<http://blackboard.victoria.ac.nz/>
- Click on Login;
- Enter your SCS username in the Username field;
- Enter your Student ID in the Password field;
- Click on **HIST326** under “My Courses”.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS:

This is where the course coordinator will post announcements and reminders.

### COURSE INFORMATION:

Here you'll find general information about course content, the course's objectives, mandatory requirements for passing the course etc..

### STAFF INFORMATION:

How to contact the course coordinator.

### RESOURCES:

This folder contains the HIST326 Reading Guide as well as lists of new titles that need to be added to it.

### LECTURES & SEMINARS:

Lecture summaries can be accessed at least 24 hours before each lecture.

#### Seminar Material

Instructions about preparation for each seminar (including any last-minute changes to the instructions).

### ASSIGNMENTS:

The list of questions for Essays 1 and Essay 2 are filed here (n.b., you choose just ONE question from each list).

### DISCUSSION BOARD:

The Discussion Board is a medium through which you can discuss, with other students and with the lecturer, any issues relating to course content, the assignments, the administration of the course etc..

### SEMINAR GROUPS:

Each seminar group gets its own space in Blackboard, and you are encouraged to use this space for, among other things, collaborative work.



You will find click-on buttons with these headings on the left-hand side of HIST326's home page in Blackboard

### 3. COURSE OUTLINE

Historically, intellectuals (or scholars) have played a very special role in Chinese politics and society – a role different from that of intellectuals in non-Chinese societies. The Chinese scholars' rights and duties were defined, in the first place, by Confucian ideology (developed over the course of 2000 years), and then by the civil service examination system that had its origins in the 8th century AD. The exam system was abolished in 1905, and Confucianism came under concerted attack in the 1910s. We find in the twentieth century, therefore, a radical overhaul of the social and political position of Chinese intellectuals. The HIST326 course examines the causes and consequences of that radical overhaul.

The focus of this course, very broadly, is on:

- the four centuries from about 1600 to the year 2000 (approximately)
- the changing relationship between Chinese intellectuals and the state, and
- the changing relationship between Chinese intellectuals and society ("the people").

We begin with a study of the political, social and cultural roles of intellectuals as they were defined by Confucianism. Of particular interest is the extent to which intellectuals could express criticism and dissent within the traditional system. We then examine the way in which the roles of intellectuals changed and diversified during the upheavals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and assess the effectiveness of the intellectual reformers' 'struggle for autonomy' from state control. One aspect of that struggle in some circles was the attempt to 'go to the people', to give a new political role to ordinary people ('the masses'), and to democratize political processes. We trace the history of China's democracy

movement from its late-nineteenth century origins through to the massive 1989 protests and beyond.

A central theme of the course is the tension between 'tradition' and innovation. We want to establish, for example, whether the Communist Party-state after 1949 tried to mould a new (non-traditional) kind of relationship between the state and intellectuals and between intellectuals and 'the masses', or whether 'tradition' still shapes the roles that most intellectuals play. This kind of enquiry can help throw light on developments in 1989, and on the limitations of the 1989 movement as a 'democracy movement'.

### 4. COURSE AIMS

The broad aim of HIST326 is to build on the general overview of modern Chinese history offered in the HIST231 course by making a special study of the tension between continuity and change in the historical evolution of one particular group in Chinese society - the scholar-elite class.

More specifically, HIST326 aims to introduce students to historical problems related to

- state-society relations in early-modern and modern China;
- the extent to which Western concepts (such as 'demo-crazy') can help us understand the histories of non-Western peoples;
- the so-called 'tenacity of tradition', and
- the construction of 'modernity' in different historical contexts, and the role of 'tradition' in this process.

In the area of methodology, HIST326 aims to consolidate and build on the skills introduced in history courses at levels one and two. The History Department seeks to produce graduates who can:

- read with accuracy and discrimination;
- distinguish fact from opinion;
- weigh up evidence;
- come to terms with conflicting or different arguments;
- formulate arguments convincingly and concisely;
- write in a clear, logical and lively way;
- present an oral argument with lucidity and conviction;
- use library resources efficiently and constructively;
- understand the nature and development of history as a discipline.

The HIST326 course gives special emphasis to the use and evaluation of primary sources. And students will be encouraged to develop further their ability to use the scholastic conventions of the discipline of history, including citation and bibliographic skills.

## 5. ASSESSMENT AND COURSE OBJECTIVES

The skills of the historian are most often applied in writing, and that is why formal **essays** constitute 70% of the assessment. In student essays we look for application of skills listed under “Course Aims” above; those skills are the criteria on which assessment is based.

Lectures and seminars provide indispensable background and guidance for essay preparation and should, therefore, be regarded as compulsory.

## 6. COURSE READING

### (A) PRESCRIBED TEXT:

HIST326 Course Reader (available at the Student Notes Shop)

### (B) HIGHLY RECOMMENDED

Lectures will include only a very brief outline of the historical background you need to have for each topic. You should not attempt the prescribed readings for each week until you have a basic understanding of the major events and trends of the period in question.

Two of the best survey histories of China are:

Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* New York: W. W. Norton, 1990 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 1999); covers the 1600s – 1990 period

R. Keith Schoppa, *Revolution and its Past: Identities and Change in Modern Chinese History* Upper Saddle River, NJ: PrenticeHall, 2002; covers the 1800s – 1990s period

### (C) RECOMMENDED

Jerome Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History* (Free Press, N.Y., 1981) [this could have served as a prescribed text for HIST326 if we were concentrating only on the 1860s - 1920s period].

Andrew Nathan, *Chinese Democracy: The Individual and the State in Twentieth Century China* (I.B.Taurus, London, 1986).

Jonathan Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese People and their Revolution* (Faber & Faber, N.Y., 1981).

## Two rich collections of primary sources from the 1980s – 1990s period:

Geremie Barmé and John Minford, *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience* (Hill & Wang, N.Y., 1988).

Geremie Barmé and Linda Jaivin, *New Ghosts, Old Dreams: Chinese Rebel Voices* (Random House, N.Y., 1992)

### (D) GENERAL READING

Other survey histories that will give you general introductions to the periods that we study in HIST326 are:

Jean CHESNEAUX et al., *China: From the Opium Wars to Liberation* (1978)

Jean CHESNEAUX et al., *China: From the 1911 Revolution to Liberation* (1979)

Jack GRAY, *Rebellions and Revolutions* (1990)

Immanuel C.Y. HSÜ, *The Rise of Modern China*

J.K. FAIRBANK, *China: A New History*

Frederick WAKEMAN, *The Fall of Imperial China* (1975)

James SHERIDAN, *China in Disintegration* (1975)

See also section A of the HIST326 Reading Guide.

### 7. WORK-LOAD

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, HIST326 has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote **18 hours per week** to the course. This includes three hours of formal class work (a one-hour lecture and a two-hour seminar), and **15 hours per week** for lecture and seminar preparation, research and essay-writing.

### 8. PENALTIES FOR LATENESS

The essays must be submitted on the date you specify during week 2 (you will be asked to specify dates at the Week 2 seminar).

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays — a **deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days**. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary

### 9. ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF WRITTEN WORK

Electronic submission of written work is not normally acceptable, and is allowed **only with the prior permission of the Course Co-ordinator**. Exceptions may be granted where serious circumstances (e.g. illness) prevent you from submitting the essay in person. In this case a **printed copy** of the work must also be submitted by a date agreed with your lecturer. **PLEASE NOTE THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING THAT THE LECTURER RECEIVES A READABLE COPY OF WRITTEN WORK REMAINS WITH THE STUDENT.**

## 10. MANDATORY REQUIREMENTS FOR PASSING THE COURSE

1. To pass the course, each student must:
  - **Complete the assignments** specified for this course, on or before the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work):
    - **two essays** (30% + 40%), which are to be submitted on or before the due date;
    - a **take-home-test** (30%) that will be based on lecture and seminar material; the questions will be distributed at the last lecture (on 29<sup>th</sup> May), and answers are to be submitted before 6 p.m. on Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June
  - **Attend at least 8 seminars.**

Faculty guidelines permit you to miss up to 3 tutorials/seminars without penalty. Extra absences will result in a student failing terms, except in cases of serious illness (supported by a medical certificate), or serious personal crisis. You should allow for the possibility of unforeseen illness when using up your quota of permissible absences.

The two-hour seminars constitute the **CORE** of the course. If you cannot in any one week attend the seminar for which you are registered, attend one of the others on the same topic (a list of the HIST326 seminar times will be posted on the History noticeboard and on the HIST326 Blackboard site). You should start the HIST326 course with the firm intention of attending **ALL** seminars.

### Written seminar make-ups

A written make-up can compensate for absence from a seminar. You must apply for this concession *within two days of the seminar that you missed, and submit the make-up seven days after that*. You will be given instructions about the content of the make-up.

2. PLEASE NOTE that **Friday 6 June 2008** is the FINAL DATE on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme, since this is the date on which we must determine whether students have met the course requirements. This means that the provision for late submission with a penalty does not apply beyond this date. Permission to submit work after 6 June must be sought in writing from the Head of Programme, and will only be granted for serious medical reasons (supported by medical certificate), or in case of serious personal crisis.

NB: A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for a course, will receive a K grade for that course, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F).

## 11. AEGROTATS

Please note that under the Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) students may now apply for an aegrotat pass in respect of any item of assessment falling within the last three weeks before the day on which lectures cease. In the case of **first** trimester courses in 2008 the starting point for this period is **Monday 12 May 2008**.

The following rules apply:

- where a student is not able to sit a test falling within these last three weeks because of illness or injury etc., an alternative test will be arranged where possible. If the student has completed in the view of the course supervisor, sufficient marked assessment relevant to the objectives of the course, an average mark may be offered. Where a student has an essay or other piece of assessment due in the last three weeks, and has a medical certificate or other appropriate documentation, the student will be given an extension.
- if none of the above is available to the student, e.g., if she/he has an ongoing illness, than an aegrotat will be considered. See Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) for a full explanation of the rules governing the provision of aegrotats in these circumstances.

## 12. ESSAY: LENGTH AND DEADLINES

### Essay 1 (30%): 2500 - 3000 words

Select a question from the **Essay 1** list on pp. xii - xiv below.

This essay can be submitted any time **BEFORE 6 p.m. on Monday 21st April**

You will be asked in the second week of the trimester to specify your essay topic and submission date.

### Essay 2 (40%): 2500 - 3000 words

Select a question from the **Essay 2** list on pp. xiv - xvii below.

This essay can be submitted any time **BEFORE 6 p.m. on Monday 19<sup>th</sup> May**

You will be asked in the third week of the trimester to specify your essay topic and submission date.

## Two Essays on One Topic

You may, if you wish, specialize in one area and write **both** of your essays on the same broad topic (e.g. the democracy movement, the student movement.....).

You must, however, submit the first essay before 6 p.m. on 22<sup>nd</sup> April in order to have it assessed before you begin serious work on the second essay.

There is listed on pp. xvii - xx below a number of suggested topics for two-part essays. If you want to adapt one of these topics or design something quite different it is essential that you consult with me first.

## 13. THE SEMINARS

The two-hour weekly seminars are the core of the course, and careful preparation for them is essential. As noted above, you are expected to allocate 18 study-hours per week to a stage-three history course; and because formal class time absorbs only three hours, you have 15 hours for seminar preparation, essay research and writing. You will probably need to spend proportionally more time on seminar preparation at the beginning of the course in order to 'break your way in' to the subject. But even towards the end of the semester you should be devoting at least **five hours per week** to seminar preparation.

- (i) *Background Reading*  
from Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (or the relevant section of another survey history).



(ii) *Required Readings*

from *Readings for HIST326*

You will usually be expected each week to read:

- (a) one article by an historian, and
- (b) a **selection** of primary documents.

(iii) *Contributions to seminar discussions*

Each week, we will divide up among class members specific tasks for the following week's seminar. This is for the purpose of ensuring that everyone gets a say. All of the seminar readings in this Reader, both secondary and primary, are *required* reading, but you can expect to be given *particular* responsibility for specific questions and just one group of documents.

#### 14. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM

##### **Academic integrity and plagiarism**

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

*The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.*

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

*Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.*

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning,
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course,
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

[www.victoria.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html)

#### 15. GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/calendar\\_intro.html](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html)

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

The History Disability Liaison Person is Glyn Parry, tel. 463 6776  
or [glyn.parry@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:glyn.parry@vuw.ac.nz)



**North Wind Coming, 1999,**  
*by Liu Haiming, woodcut on paper*  
accessed 13/12/2003

## 19. LECTURE PROGRAMME

28 <sup>th</sup> Feb	Intellectuals and Society in Modern China: An Introduction
<b>UNIT 1:</b>	<b>INTELLECTUALS AND THE DECLINE OF THE CONFUCIAN STATE</b>
6 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Orthodoxy and Unorthodoxy in Confucian China
13 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Radicalisation of Reformers in the Late Nineteenth Century
<b>UNIT 2:</b>	<b>INTELLECTUALS AGAINST THE AUTOCRACY</b>
20 <sup>nd</sup> Mar	Abolition of the Civil Service Exam System, 1905
27 <sup>th</sup> Mar	Students Demonstrators and Democrats
<b>UNIT 3:</b>	<b>INTELLECTUALS AND THE PEOPLE, 1919 - 1949</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Apr	Intellectuals and the People, 1919 – 1927
10 <sup>th</sup> Apr	The Search for a “Middle Way”, 1920s – 1940s
<b>MID-TRIMESTER BREAK</b>	
<b>UNIT 4:</b>	<b>INTELLECTUALS AND THE COMMUNIST STATE, 1949 - 1976</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> May	Stretching the Friendship: Intellectuals and the Party, 1942 - 1959
8 <sup>th</sup> May	Intellectuals and the ‘Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution’, 1966 - 1976
<b>UNIT 5:</b>	<b>INTELLECTUALS FOR DEMOCRACY, 1973 - 1990s</b>
15 <sup>th</sup> May	The Democracy Movement, 1973 - 89
22 <sup>nd</sup> May	The 1989 ‘Beijing Spring’ and its Aftermath
29 <sup>th</sup> May	Dissidents and rebels since 1989



*River, 1994, by Liu Haiming, woodcut on paper*

**Liu Haiming** (born Shanxi province, 1954) studied at the Central Academy of Fine Art in Beijing and now lives and works in London. His black and white woodcuts have been inspired mostly by memories of his homeland but often represent his experience of Europe as well. Liu's work has been collected by the British Museum, the Australian National Gallery and the Chinese National Gallery. He has exhibited widely in China and the UK and had a one-man exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford in 1995.

**Source:** <http://www.eapgroup.com/liuhaiming.htm>  
accessed 13/12/2003

## 20. ESSAY QUESTIONS

### A. Essay 1 [worth 30%]

#### INTELLECTUAL LIFE BEFORE THE 19TH CENTURY

[*Reading Guide*: Section G, but also Sections A to F]

1. Historians usually identify authoritarianism as an intrinsic feature of Confucian society and political culture. William de Bary is one historian who also finds liberalism in the Confucian tradition. How convincing do you find de Bary's argument?
2. Describe the way in which China's imperial civil service examination system worked in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and explain how it underpinned the state-society relationship. Was the system still working well in the 18th century?
3. How successful was Emperor Kangxi's attempt to win the cooperation and loyalty of China's scholar class in the late seventeenth century?

#### THE EARLY SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT

[*Reading Guide*: Sections H and K]

4. Critically examine the arguments put forward by the early self-strengthening reformers<sup>1</sup> about *why* China should change and *what* should change. Is there evidence of a growing radicalism among reform-minded intellectuals in the 1840s – 1870s period?

---

<sup>1</sup> The Wm de Bary and Fairbank & Teng document collections have translated excerpts from the writings of self-strengtheners such as Wei Yuan, Lin Zexu, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Fei Guifan (Wei Yuan, Lin Tse-hsu, Tseng Kuo-fen, Li Hung-chang and Fei Kuei-fen)

5. What was “conservative” about the so-called “conservative reforms” of the 1860s? Did the reforms fail because they were too conservative?
6. In the “classical academies” that flourished during and after the Tongzhi Restoration<sup>2</sup>, scholars were able to assert more independence than they had been allowed when the Manchu dynasty was in its prime. What contributions did these academies make to the reform movement before the 1890s?

#### THE REFORM MOVEMENT OF THE 1890S

[*Reading Guide*: Section H, but also Sections A to D and I, J, K]

7. Is it fair to blame the Guangxu<sup>3</sup> Emperor for the failure of the 100 Days Reform Movement?
8. Evaluate the extent to which the “radical reformers” of the 1890s were influenced by the West.

#### THE EARLY REVOLUTIONARIES

[*Reading Guide*: Section J, but also Sections A to D and H & I]

9. Make a study of the revolutionary careers of
  - Sun Yatsen and Song Jiaoren<sup>4</sup>  
OR....
  - Zhang Binglin, Zou Rong, Qiu Jin and He Zhen<sup>5</sup>  
OR.....

---

<sup>2</sup> T'ung-chih. The “Tongzhi Restoration” is the period in which the Manchus “pulled up their socks”, shocked into action by the devastating impact of the Taiping Rebellion (1851 – 1864). But the “restoration” relied heavily on contributions from Han (not Manchu) scholar-officials and local elites; it takes its name from the reign of the Tongzhi Emperor (1861 – 1874).

<sup>3</sup> Kuang-hsü

<sup>4</sup> Sung Chiao-jen

<sup>5</sup> Chang Ping-lin, Tsou Jung, Ch'iu Chin and Ho Chen

- Huang Xing, Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin<sup>6</sup>

Compare and evaluate the contributions these people made to the revolutionary movement before 1912.

10. Write a history of the late-Qing Constitutional Movement (1890s – 1911) and assess its importance.
11. Why do historians regard Liang Qichao's<sup>7</sup> idea of a “new people” (*xinmin* 新民) to be so important in the context of the 1900 – 1911 period?

## EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

[*Reading Guide*: Section K but also Sections A to F and H, I, J]

12. The civil service examination system was greatly admired by European visitors to China in the seventeenth century. Why was the system failing to meet China's needs in the nineteenth century?
13. Describe and evaluate the educational reforms instigated by Zhang Zhidong<sup>8</sup> during the last three decades of the Qing regime (1880s – 1910s).
14. Did the abolition of the civil service examination system in 1905 solve the problems it was meant to solve?

## THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

[*Reading Guide*: Section K, but also Sections A to D and H to K]

15. Chinese young people went to many parts of the world for study opportunities in the 1900 – 1911 decade. But Japan, more than

most other places, became the breeding ground of Chinese student radicalism. Why?

16. How important was the role of students and their organisations in the movement to overthrow the Manchu dynasty in the early twentieth century?
17. Make a study of “student politics” in China in the 1900 - 1911 period. Examine:
  - the kind of education that this generation of students received (classical/modern?);
  - the students' political ideas and the media through which they expressed them;
  - the political organisations they formed;
  - the political activities that they initiated.

Does your evidence show that this generation of elites had broken free of the traditional role that the Confucian system prescribed for intellectuals?

## THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

[*Reading Guide*: Section N, but also Sections A to D and K, L, M]

18. Evaluate the importance in China of anarchism as a political movement in the first two decades of the twentieth century.
19. Why did New Culture radicals give so much importance to “democracy” and “science”?
20. Make a study of the history of the New Youth Society from 1915 to 1921. Why did the Society become so wracked with conflict by 1920?

---

<sup>6</sup> Huang Hsing, Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min

<sup>7</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao

<sup>8</sup> Chang Chih-tung

## B. Essay 2 [worth 40%]

### ‘TO THE PEOPLE’ INITIATIVES [POPULISM]

[*Reading Guide*: Section Q, but also Sections A to D and J, L, N]

[Use the definition of ‘populism’ provided by Maurice Meisner in his chapter ‘The Populist Alternative’, reproduced in this HIST326 Book of Readings].

1. Compare Peng Pai and Liang Shuming in terms of their populist approaches to rural reform.<sup>9</sup>
2. Make a study of Mao Zedong’s “populist” ideas and practice in the 1920s and up to 1934.<sup>10</sup> On the evidence you have available to you, would you say that Mao was a populist in this period?
3. Examine and evaluate the role played by student and young communist organizers in the Shanghai labour movement in the 1920s. Did the cooperation between workers and students help break down the division between mental and manual labour?

### WOMEN

[*Reading Guide*: Section M, but also Sections A to D and J, L, N]

4. Discuss the development of the Chinese feminism from the 1890s to the May Fourth Movement. How important was the role played by *male* feminists in this period?
5. Investigate the careers and ideas of women who became activists for women’s liberation in the 1920s. What

---

<sup>9</sup> P’eng P’ai and Liang Shu-ming (sometimes spelt “Liang Sou-ming”)

<sup>10</sup> Mao’s two most important populist writings are “The Great Union of the Popular Masses” (1919), and “Report on an Investigation of the Hunan Peasant Movement (1926 – 27). He had a chance to put his ideas into practice when he turned to rural revolution in 1928.

breakthroughs did they achieve and what prevented them from achieving more than they did?

### THE CCP AND THE PEASANTS

[*Reading Guide*: Section R, but also Sections A to D and Q]

6. What were the similarities and differences between Mao Zedong and Liang Shuming on the question of rural reform? Were the differences greater than the similarities?
7. Make a study of the revolutionary careers of Peng Pai and Fang Zhimin.<sup>11</sup> On the evidence of these two case studies, what qualities and talents characterized a successful leader of a peasant movement?
8. Make a study of Mao Zedong’s 1925 - 1933 writings about peasants and peasant revolution. Did Mao believe that peasants were capable of leading their own revolution? Did his ideas on this issue change during the period under study?<sup>12</sup>

### CONSERVATISM, LIBERALISM & THE “THIRD WAY”

[*Reading Guide*: Sections N and O, but also Sections A to D ]

9. Analyse the opposition to the New Culture Movement within intellectual circles in the 1910s and 1920s. Would you describe this opposition as “conservative”?
10. Liang Shuming was certainly not a Marxist. Was he a “liberal”?

---

<sup>11</sup> P’eng P’ai and Fang Chih-min

<sup>12</sup> For primary material use volumes 1 - 3 of Stuart Schram’s *Mao’s Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912 - 1949*. If you think that there is more primary material for the 1925 - 1933 period than you can efficiently handle, you can reduce the time period to, say, 1925 - 1930.

11. Write a history of the “third way” parties from 1927 to 1949. Why did the “third way” fail to become a strong political force in Republican China?

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

[*Reading Guide*: Section P, but also Sections A to D and N]

12. What, in Lu Xun’s<sup>13</sup> argument were the root causes of China’s crisis in the early decades of the twentieth century, and what did he see as the solution to the crisis? [Use Lu Xun’s short stories and essays of the 1920s and ‘30s to illustrate and support your argument]
13. How successful was the CCP’s attempt to impose an ideological straitjacket on members of the League of Left-wing Writers? [In seeking an answer to this question, make use of the short stories written in the 1930s by League members].

## INTELLECTUALS AND THE CCP

[*Reading Guide*: Section T, but also Sections A to D and P]

14. Analyse the Chinese Communist Party’s practice of “thought rectification” by making a study of the Rectification Movement of 1942. Did the 1942 movement achieve its aims?
15. The Chinese Communist Party was founded by intellectuals, and the Party’s leadership was dominated by former “May Fourthers” right up to the 1980s. How, then, do you explain the Party’s harsh treatment of intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s?
16. What were the similarities and differences between the 1942 “thought rectification” movement and the 1957 – 58 “anti-rightist movement”. How do you explain the differences?

---

<sup>13</sup> Lu Hsun

## THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[*Reading Guide*: Section U, but also Sections A to D and V]

17. By the early 1970-s, intellectuals were being referred to as “the stinking number nine” (i.e. the worst of nine “bad elements” in Chinese society). Why did intellectuals come to be so savagely attacked during the Cultural Revolution?
18. Does the Red Guard movement of 1966 – 68 belong to the
19. Read at least **four** (4) first hand accounts by **intellectuals** who lived through the Cultural Revolution. These accounts can be in the form of **personal memoirs** or **fiction** (short stories and novels).  
  
What do these stories reveal about the experience of intellectuals in the 1966 - 76 period?

## INTELLECTUALS IN THE 1980S

[*Reading Guide*: Sections V & W, but also Sections A to D]

20. Describe and evaluate the Party-government’s attempt to rehabilitate intellectuals and reinvigorate intellectual life after Mao Zedong’s death in 1976.
21. Despite the suppression of the Democracy Wall movement in 1979, the 1980s saw a surprising amount of innovation and energy in the cultural sphere. Why?

Illustrate your answer with examples from *at least one* area of cultural activity:

- ◆ fiction writing
- ◆ poetry
- ◆ film-making, the dramatic arts and music
- ◆ the visual arts

22. Make a study of developments in the Chinese mass media in the 1976 – 1989 period. How much “liberalisation” do you find? [You can, if you want to, narrow your focus to just one or two forms of mass media – that is, to newspapers, or film, or popular music.....]

### THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

[*Reading Guide*: Sections X and Y, but also Sections A to D and V]

23. Did the 1978 – 79 Democracy Movement fail because its base of support was not broad enough?
24. “(A)lthough Chinese intellectuals can grasp the theory of democracy, when it comes to practical application they are at a complete loss”. Liu Xiaobo, 1988 [in G. Barmé and L. Jaivin, *New Ghosts, Old Dreams*, p. 45]
- Does this apply to the democracy activists of 1989?
25. Through what means, and how effectively, have the Chinese authorities suppressed the Democracy Movement since June 1989?
26. Are intellectuals (including journalists) making a significant contribution to China’s growing environment movement?
27. Make a study of the Chinese government’s crackdown on media freedoms in the lead-up to the 2008 Olympic Games. How effectively have Chinese journalists been muzzled?

## ESSAYS 1 AND 2 BASED ON ONE THEME

### CHINESE NATIONALISM

These two essays should include an exploration of the meanings of “nationalism” and the delineation of different kinds of nationalism in 19th and 20th century China.

#### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Sections H & J, but also Sections A to E and I, K, L]

Examine and explain the development of Chinese nationalism from the 1840s to 1911.

- Establish for yourself a “working definition” of nationalism [in doing this you might need to consider different definitions before you settle on a definition that you prefer]
- Historians usually focus on the 1840s, the 1860s - 70s, the 1890s and the 1898 - 1911 period when tracing the development of Chinese nationalism; you might prefer to make a special study of two or three of these period.
- Give some consideration to “popular nationalism” (e.g. the anti-foreignism behind the Boxer Rebellion; the “China for the Chinese” impetus behind the 1911 revolution).
- the ideas and initiatives of the constitutionalists

Assess the extent to which, by 1911, the “Middle Kingdom” (‘zhong-guo’ 中国) and “all under heaven” (‘tian-xia’ 天下) concepts had been rejected and replaced by the “nation state” (‘guo-jia’ 国家) idea.

#### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Sections J & N, but also Sections A to D and O, R, S]

Examine and explain the development of Chinese nationalism from 1911 to 1949.



- Continue to work with a “working definition” of nationalism.
- \* Major “staging posts” were: 1915; 1919; the 1927 - 28 National Revolution; 1931 and 1935 (student nationalism); the CCP-GMD United Front of 1937 - 1945; and 1949 – “The Chinese People have stood up!”
- You can, if you like, make a “leap” (towards the end of your essay) to the 1980s and make a comment on the ongoing search for a “national identity” by the Chinese people (or by some sectors thereof).

Compare post-1919 nationalism with the nationalism(s) you found in the pre-1919 period. What are the main similarities and differences?

## THE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT

### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Section I, but also Sections A to D and H, J, L]

Make a study of the growing interest in democracy among reformers of the late-19th early-20th centuries.

You should look at:

- the ideas of Liang Qi-chao
- the ‘republicanism’ of the republican revolutionaries
- the ideas and initiatives of the constitutionalists
- the local self-government movement (often linked to the constitutional movement)

What factors limited the effectiveness of attempts to democratize Chinese politics in this period?

### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Section H, but also Sections A to D and I, J, K]

Explain the emergence and development of the democracy movement of the 1970s and 1980s. What are the similarities and main differences between this movement and the movement that emerged in the later Qing period?

## SELF-STRENGTHENING

### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Section H, but also Sections A to D and I, J, K]

Select at least one person each from columns A and B. Examine their ideas about making China ‘strong and prosperous’ and any practical initiatives they took to achieve this goals. Whose contribution was the more important, and why?

#### A. Pioneer Reformers

Zeng Guofan [Tseng Kuo-fan]  
Li Hongzhang [Li Hung-chang]  
Zuo Zongtang [Tso Tsung-t’ang]  
Wang Tao [Wang T’ao]  
Zhang Zhidong [Chang Chih-tung]  
Zheng Guanying [Cheng Kuan-ying]  
Yan Fu [Yen Fu]

#### B. Reformer-Revolutionaries

Kang Youwei [K’ang Yu-wei]  
Liang Qichao [Liang Ch’i-ch’ao]  
Tan Sitong [T’an Ssu-t’ung]  
Sun Yat-sen  
Zou Rong [Tsou Jung]  
Zhang Binglin [Chang Ping-lin]  
Qiu Jin [Ch’iu Chin]

### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Section N, but also Sections A to D and P, Q, S, R]

Examine the similarities and differences between the ideas and political careers of at least one person from each of the following two categories:

#### C. Liberals

Hu Shi  
Lu Xun [Lu Hsün]  
Cai Yuanpei [Ts’ai Yüan-p’ei]  
Liang Shuming  
Luo Ji-lun [Lo Chia-lun]

#### D. Marxists

Chen Duxiu [Ch’en Tu-hsiu]  
Mao Zedong  
Li Dazhao [Li Ta-chao]  
Zhang Guotao [Chang Kuo-t’ao]  
Zhou Enlai [Chou En-lai]

What are the similarities and significant differences between the twentieth century self-strengtheners and their nineteenth century predecessors?

[**HINT**: The idea here is that you begin by making a study of the *meaning* of ‘self-strengthening’ - including the way in which the

meaning changed and broadened over time. The definition you arrive at can then be woven through both essays.]

## THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Sections L & N, but also Sections A to D, & J, K, M]

Trace the rise of student radicalism from the 1890s to 1919, and define the ‘May Fourth tradition’ of student radicalism that grew out of the 1919 demonstrations. Why is 1919 regarded as a ‘turning point’?

### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Section S, but also Sections A to D and U, V, X]

Select **ONE** or **TWO** of the following periods of student activism for analysis”

- The 1930s (especially 1931 - 32 and 1935)
- 1945 - 49
- the Cultural Revolution (1966 - 68)
- the 1980s (1985, 1986 - 87, 1989)

What are the similarities and differences between the ideas and behaviour of the later generation(s) of students and their May Fourth forebears?

## THE SCHOLAR-STATE RELATIONSHIP

### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Sections F, H & J, but also Sections A to E, & I, K]

Explain the traditional relationship between intellectuals and the state-centre. In what ways had that relationship changed

by 1910, and why? Use the example(s) of **Cai Yuanpei** or **Zhang Binglin**<sup>14</sup> (or both) to illustrate the metamorphosis

### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Section T; also Sections A to D & M, N, O, P]

Analyse the relationship between intellectuals and the Party-state in the 1950s. How much was *traditional* in that relationship and what was *new*? Use the example(s) of one or two prominent intellectuals to illustrate your argument (e.g. Hu Feng, Fei Xiaotong<sup>15</sup>, Liang Shuming, Lao She, Ding Ling...)

## INTELLECTUAL DISSIDENCE

### Essay 1

[*Reading Guide*: Section G, but also Sections A to F]

Explain what Goldman means by ‘orthodox dissidence’ [Merle Goldman, *Chinese Intellectuals: Advise and Dissent*]. Do the three early-Qing thinkers Huang Zongxi, Gu Yanwu and Wang Fuzhi<sup>16</sup> belong to the tradition of ‘orthodox dissidence’?

### Essay 2

[*Reading Guide*: Section T, but also Sections A to D & M, N, P, V, W]

Make a study of three prominent thinkers and critics of the twentieth century who were associated with the Chinese Communist Party and/or who lived under communist rule. (because some of their writings have been translated into English, I suggest you choose from this list: Lu Xun, Ding Ling, Liu Binyan, Fang

---

<sup>14</sup> Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Chang Ping-lin

<sup>15</sup> Fei Hsiao-t'ung

<sup>16</sup> for Wade-Giles spellings, see note 1 above.

Lizhi, Wang Jingsheng<sup>17</sup>.....). To what extent do they belong to the tradition of ‘orthodox dissidence’, and to what extent did (do) they break with tradition?

## **‘TO THE PEOPLE’ MOVEMENTS**

### **Essay 1**

[*Reading Guide*: Sections Q & R, but also Sections A to D]

Examine the populist strain in Mao Zedong’s writings of the late-1910s and 1920s. Do you consider that the ‘mass line’ strategy that was developed in the 1930s and ‘40s to be an expression of ‘Maoist populism’?

### **Essay 2**

[*Reading Guide*: Sections T & W, but also Sections A to D and H, J, L]

Make a study of the various *xia-xiang* 下乡 (‘to the villages’) campaigns instigated by the CCP since 1940 (e.g. in 1942, 1958, 1968 - 76, 1991....). How successful have these campaigns been in achieving the Maoist goal of diminishing the difference between intellectuals and ‘the people’?

## **HISTORY OF THE MODERN PRESS IN CHINA**

### **Essay 1**

[*Reading Guide*: Section L (a), but also Sections H and I]

Examine the history of the modern newspapers in China from the late-Imperial period to the outbreak of the war with Japan (1937). How effective were state attempts to control the press in this period?

---

<sup>17</sup> Lu Hsun, Ting Ling, Liu Pin-yen, Fang Li-chih, Wang Ching-sheng  
Victoria University of Wellington, History Programme, *HIST326: Chinese Intellectuals and Society, 1600s – 1990s*, 2008/326/1

## Essay 2

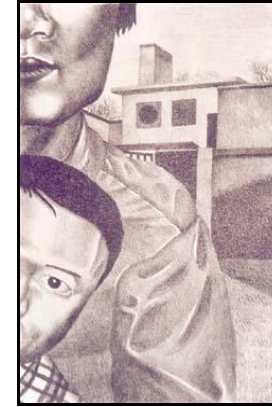
[*Reading Guide*: Section L (b), but also Sections W, X, Y and Z]

Describe developments in newspaper publishing and journalism in China since the 1970s. To what extent have Party shackles on news media (both print and electronic) been loosened in the period since Mao Zedong's death? Are the 2008 Olympic Games bringing more press freedom, or less?



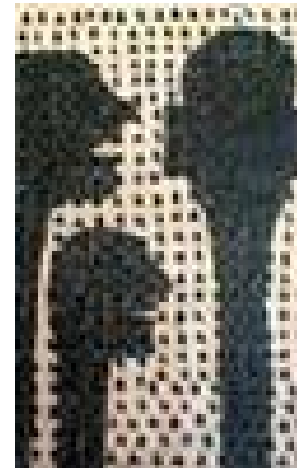
Zhang Minjie, *Wall No. 5*, 1995

Chinese Woodcut Exhibition Images: <http://www.wesleyan.edu/dac/exhb/past/fifty4.html>  
Accessed 12/13/03



by Xie Feng

<http://www.newchineseart.com/>  
accessed 13/12/2003



Woodcut by **Ren Hui**

<http://www.newchineseart.com/>  
accessed 13/12/2003