**HIST 3820 History of Modern Chinese Political Thought**

Tu&Th 12:30-1:45 Prof. Peter Zarrow, Wood Hall 327

Wood Hall 228 office hours: Tu & Th 2-3 and by appointment

Chinese ideas about the legitimacy of the state, the nature of political action, and the immediate and ultimate goals of social life have undergone several fundamental transformations since the late nineteenth century. A disparate group of individual thinkers—buffeted by political chaos, imperialism, and the tides of revolution—examined and re-examined a wide range of Chinese and Western conceptions of the political. Chinese intellectuals discussed social Darwinism, popular sovereignty, liberalism, capitalism, fascism, anarchism, conservatism, and Marxism.

The late Qing period (c. 1880-1911) and the early Republican period (1912-1930s) marked a kind of transitional era from pre-modernity to modernity in political thought. While earlier political thought was extremely rich and multifaceted, it was revolutionized as Chinese intellectuals learned about the West, sometimes impressed by what they learned and sometimes horrified. This transitional period saw a wide-ranging exploration of new ideas and reassessments of old ideas. It was brought to an end—of sorts—by the imposition of state-approved orthodox Marxism, or Maoism by the 1950s. Yet after the death of Mao Zedong, Chinese intellectuals began a new and wide-ranging exploration of political thought that owed much to both China’s new openness and to a recovery of the writings of the earlier transitional period.

This course emphasizes student participation and discussion, based on the reading of secondary and primary sources. The first part of the course reviews the evolution of political thought in China across the “long twentieth century” and introduces its main currents. We read the historical works of both Western and Chinese scholars. The second part of the course focuses on some of the theoretical and methodological issues involved in studying political thought across different cultures. The third part of the course (the second half of the semester) focuses on primary sources: the writings of Chinese intellectuals in translation, mostly from the twentieth century.

Grading is based on participation (40%--20% passed on general discussion and 20% based on oral reports), two short papers (20% each), and a final paper (20%).

UConn policies on students’ rights and obligations may be found here:

http://provost.uconn.edu/syllabi-references

Book to buy:

Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Other readings will be available on HuskyCT

**Class schedule**

**Unit I: OVERVIEW**

8/30 – Course introduction

9/1 – What is *intellectual history*? What is *political thought*?

-Cheek: 1-28

 -Liang Qichao, “On Rights,” in Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson, trans.

 and eds., *The Chinese Human Rights Reader*: 5-15 [HuskyCT]

9/6 – Late Qing reform thought (1895-1915)

-Cheek: 29-69

-Gongzhong Li, “*Republic* in Early Modern China: The Cross-Cultural Dissemination of a Political Concept,” *Chinese Studies in History* 49.3 (Spring 2016), pp. 142-151

9/8 – Early Republican political ideas and movements (1915-1935)

 -Cheek: 70-112

 -Hui Wang, “The Transformation of Culture and Politics: War, Revolution and the ‘Thought Warfare” of the 1910s,” *Twentieth-Century China* 38.1 (Jan. 2013): 5-33

9/13 – The rise of Marxism/Communism (1936-1956)

 -Cheek: 113-162

 -Rulun Zhang, “Historiography and Chinese Modernity—A Study of the Historiographical Ideas of Li Dazhao,” *Chinese Studies in History* 49.2 (2016): 80-89

9/15 – Great Leap Forward – Cultural Revolution (1957-1976)

 -Cheek: 163-216

 -Weili Ye, “Walking a Fine Line: Thoughts on Writing about the History of the People’s Republic of China,” *Chinese Historical Review* 15.2 (Fall 2008): 315-330

9/20 – The Reform Era (1976-1995)

 -Cheek: 217-261

 -Ren Wanding, “Reflections on the Historical Character of the Democracy Movement,” in Mok Chiu Yu and Frank Harrison, eds., *Voices from Tiananmen Square*, 47-53 [HuskyCT]

9/22 – Contemporary China

 -Cheek: 262-319

 -Kurt Moser, “Teaching the Bill of Rights in China,” *History Teacher* 43.3 (May 2010): 357-373

**Unit II: Methods / Theory**

9/27 – Problems of language and translation

 -John E. Toews, “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn,” *American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 879-907

 -Juliette Yuehtsen Chung, “Better Science and Better Race?” *Journal of the History of Science in Society* 105.4(Dec. 2014): 793-802

9/29 – Translation 2

 -Douglas Howland, “The Predicament of Ideas in Culture: Translation and Historiography,” *History and Theory* 42 (Feb. 2013): 45-60

 -Ko-wu Huang, “The Origin and Evolution of the Concept of *Mixin* (Superstition),” *Chinese Studies in History* 49.2 (2016): 54-79

10/4 – The Eurocentrism problem

 -Takashi Shogimen, “Dialogue, Eurocentrism, and Comparative Political Theory: A View from Cross-Cultural Intellectual History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 77.2 (2016): 323-345

 -Stefan Gaarsmand Jacobsen, “Limits to Despotism: Idealizations of Chinese Governance and Legitimizations of Absolutist Europe,” Journal of Early Modern History 17.4 (2013): 347-389.

10/6 – Globalizing the history of thought

 -Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, “Approaches to Global Intellectual History,” in *Global Intellectual History* (Columbia, 2013): 3-30

 -David Armitage, “The International Turn in Intellectual History,” in *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History* (Oxford, 2014): 232-252

\*\*\*paper 1 due\*\*\*

**Unit III: Chinese Texts, 1890-1949**

10/11 – Confucianism: idealism & critique

-Huang Zongxi: from *Waiting for the Dawn*, pp. 89-121 & 188-215 [HuskyCT]

10/13 – Confucianism: practical administration

 -“Chinese Statecraft,” Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, pp. 155-198 [HuskyCT]

10/18 – Utopianism

 -Kang Youwei, *Ta t’ung shu: The One-World Philosophy of K’ang Yu-wei* (trans. Laurence G. Thompson), pp. 134-182 [HuskyCT]

 -Yan Fu and Kang Youwei: reformist writings in de Bary and Lufrano, *SCT* vol. 2: 254-270 [HuskyCT]xxx

10/20

NO CLASS

10/25 – Critique

 -Tan Sitong, *An Exposition of Benevolence* (trans. Chan Sin-wai), 55-65 & 153- 196 [HuskyCT]

10/27 – The 1911 Revolution

 -Tsou Jung [Zou Rong], *The Revolutionary Army*, 51-98 [HuskyCT]

 -Zhang Binglin [Zhang Taiyan], “Explaining the ‘Republic of China’” in *The Stockholm Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol. 8 (1997): 15-40 [HuskyCT]

 -Hu Hanmin, “The Six Principles of the *People’s Report*” in de Bary and Lufrano, *SCT* vol. 2: 316-319 [HuskyCT]

11/1 – Feminism; the “woman question”

 -He-Yin Zhen, “On the Question of Women’s Liberation,” in Lydia H. Liu et al., *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*: 53-71 [HuskyCT]

 -He-Yin Zhen, “Economic Revolution and Women’s Revolution: 92-104, in ibid. [HuskyCT]

 -Liang Qichao, “On Women’s Education”: 189-203, in ibid. [HuskyCT]

11/3 – “May Fourth” fiction

 -Lu Xun, “Diary of a Madman”; “Medicine”; “The True Story of Ah Q

\*\*\*paper 2 due\*\*\*

11/8 – Liberalism

 -Hu Shi, “The Civilizations of the East and the West,” in Charles A. Beard, *Whither Mankind: A Panorama of Modern Civilization* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928): 25-41 [HuskyCT]

 -Chen Duxiu, “The French and Modern China” and “The Constitution and Confucianism” in Angle and Svennson: 62-76 [HuskyCT]

11/10 – The Nationalists’ ideology

 -Sun Yat-sen, “San Min Chu-I” and “The Five-Power Constitution” in *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary*, 225-238 & 239-254 [HuskyCT]

 -Chiang Kai-shek, “Problems of Revolution and Reconstruction,” in *China’s Destiny*, 177-212 [HuskyCT]

11/15 – 11/17

NO CLASSES

*(11/20-26: Thanksgiving vacation)*

11/29 – Maoism 1

 -Mao Zedong, “On Practice,” “On Contradiction,” and “On New Democracy” in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* vol. 1: 295-347, vol. 3: 106-156 [HuskyCT]

11/31 – Maoism 2

 -Mao Zedong, “Talk on the Yenan [Yan’an] Forum on Art and Literature,” *Selected Words of Mao Tze-tung* vol. 4: 63-93; and “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions –“Among the People” in Timothy Cheek, ed., *Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao*: 131-189 [HuskyCT]

12/6 – Tiananmen: 1989, and after

 -Zhu Xueqin, “For a Chinese Liberalism” in Chaohua Wang, ed., *One China, Many Paths*, 87-107 [HuskyCT]

 -Wang Hui, “Contemporary Chinese Thought and the Question of Modernity,”

 trans. Rebecca Karl, in *China’s New Order*, 139-187 [HuskyCT]

 -Xu Jilin, “The Fate of an Enlightenment—Twenty Years in the Chinese Intellectual Sphere (1978-1998),” trans. Geremie Barme and Gloria Davies, *East Asian History* 20 (Dec 2000) [HuskyCT]

12/8 – Conclusions

 -Timothy Cheek, “Mao: Revolution, and Memory,” in Timothy Cheek, *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, 3-30 [HuskyCT]

 -Cheek: 320-331

\*\*\*paper 3 due\*\*\*

**Further (selected) readings**

**primary sources in translation**

The works of Mao Zedong are online at the “Marxist Internet Archive”: <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/index.htm> (other Chinese Communists’ works are also archived there)

Sun Yat-sen’s 1924 lectures on the “Three People’s Principles” are online: <http://larouchejapan.com/japanese/drupal-6.14/sites/default/files/text/San-Min-Chu-I_FINAL.pdf>

Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson, eds., *The Chinese Human Rights Reader: Documents and Commentary, 1900-2000*, M.E. Sharpe, 2001

Chang Chih-Tung [Zhang Zhidong], *China’s Only Hope: An Appeal by Her Greatest Viceroy*

*Chang Chih-Tung, with the Sanction of the Present Emperor, Kwang Sü*, trans. Samuel I. Woodbridge, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901

Chiang Kai-Shek, *China’s Destiny*, trans, Wang Chung-hui, Macmillan, 1947 [*China’s Destiny and Chinese Economic Theory*, Leiden: Global Oriental, 2013]

Amy D. Dooling and Kristina Torgeson, eds., *Writing Women in Modern China*, Columbia University Press, 1998

Lydia H. Liu, Rebecca E. Karl, and Dorothy Ko, eds., *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, Columbia University Press, 2013

Mao Zedong, *Mao’s Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-1949*, ed. Stuart R. Schram, M.E. Sharpe, 1992-

—, *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: From the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward*, eds. Roderick MacFarquhar, Timothy Cheek, and Eugene Wu, CEAS, Harvard University Press, 1989.

Sun Yat-sen *The Three Principles of the People*, trans. Frank W. Price, New York: Da Capo Press, 1975

Geremie Barmé and John Minford, *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1988

Geremie Barmé and Linda Jaivin, *New Ghosts, Old Dreams: Chinese Rebel Voices*, New York: Times Books, 1989

**Secondary studies**

**General & background**

Pamela Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*, University of California Press, 2002

Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Harvard University Asia Center, 1985

—, *Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch’ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China*, University of California Press, 1990

—, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, University of California Press, 2000

Stephen C. Angle, *Human Rights in Chinese Thought: A Cross-Cultural Inquiry*, Cambridge University Press, 2002

Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*

Joshua A. Fogel and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890-1920*, M.E. Sharpe, 1997

Charlotte Furth, ed., *The Limits of Change*, Harvard University Press, 1976

Merle Goldman and Leo Ou-fan Lee, eds., *An Intellectual History of Modern China*, Cambridge University Press, 2002

Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy*, University of California Press, 1965

Lydia H. Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, Harvard University Press, 2006

Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China’s Evolving Political Culture*, Columbia University Press, 1977

—, A Cloud Across the Pacific: *Essays on the Clash between Chinese and Western Political Theories Today*, Chinese University Press, 2006

Donald Munro, *The Imperial Style of Inquiry in Twentieth-Century China: The Emergence of New Approaches*, University of Michigan Press, 1996

Andrew Nathan, *Chinese Democracy*, University of California Press, 1986

Jonathan Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980*

Jing Tsu, *Failure, Nationalism, and Literature: The Making of Modern Chinese Identity, 1895-1937*, Stanford University Press, 2005

**Unit I － Reform and Revolution (c. 1890-1912)**

Michael Gasster, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of­ 1911: The Birth of Modern Chinese Radicalism*, University of Washington Press, 1969

Hao Chang, *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis*, University of California Press, 1987

*—*, *Liang Ch’i-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907*, Harvard University Press, 1971

Jiang Qing, *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future*, Princeton University Press, 2012

Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A Modern China and a New World: Kang Yu-wei, Reformer, and Utopian, 1858-­1927*, University of Washington Press, 1975

Joan Judge, *Print and Politics:* Shibao *and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* Stanford University Press, 1997

—, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China*, Stanford University Press, 2010

Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, Duke University Press, 2002

Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, Harvard University Asia Center, 2002

Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Ch’i-ch’ao and the Mind of Modern China*, Harvard University Press, 1959

Brian Moloughney and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Transforming History: The Making of A Modern Academic Discipline in Twentieth-Century China*, Chinese University Press, 2012

Viren Murthy, *The Political Philosophy of Zhang Taiyan: The Resistance of Consciousness,* Brill, 2011

Mary Backus Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911*, Harvard University Press, 1974

Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*, Belknap Press, Harvard University, 1964

Kenji Shimada (trans. Joshua A. Fogel), *Pioneer of the Chinese Revolution: Zhang Binglin and Confucianism*, Stanford University Press, 1990

Young-tsu Wong, *Search for Modern Nationalism: Zhang Binglin and Revolutionary China, 1869-1936*, Oxford University Press, 1989

—, *Beyond Confucian China: The Rival Discourses of Kang Youwei and Zhang Binglin*, Routledge, 2010

Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, Columbia University Press, 1990

—, *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885-1924*, Stanford University Press, 2012

**Unit II － Liberalism, Feminism, Nationalism, Traditionalism (c.1912-1930)**

Guy S. Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity*, University of California Press, 1986

Tani Barlow, ed., *Gender Politics in Modern China: Writing and Feminism*, Duke University Press, 1994

Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Harvard University Press, 1960

Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*, University of California Press, 1993

—, Guannan Li, and Hsiao-pei Yen, eds., *Sociology and Anthropology in Twentieth-Century China: Between Universalism and Indigenism*, Chinese University Press, 2012

John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution*, Stanford University Press, 1998

Jerome B. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917-1937*, Harvard University Press, 1970

Leigh K. Jenco, *Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of Zhang Shizhao*, Cambridge University Press, 2010

D.W.Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900-1950*, Yale University Press, 1965

Yusheng Lin, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979

Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*, Stanford University Press, 1995

John Makeham, ed., *New Confucianism: A Critical Examination*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003

—, ed., *Learning to Emulate the Wise: The Genesis of Chinese Philosophy as an Academic Discipline in Twentieth-Century China*, Chinese University Press, 2012

*—*, ed., *Transforming Consciousness: Yogacara Thought in Modern China*, Oxford University Press, 2014

Brian Moloughney and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Transforming History: The Making of A Modern Academic Discipline in Twentieth-Century China*, Chinese University Press, 2012

Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, University of California Press, 1990

Timothy B. Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929*, University of California Press, 2002

Xiaoqun Xu, *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Individualism in Modern China: The Chenbao Fukan and the New Culture Era, 1918-1928*, Lexington Books, Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

Wang Zheng, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories*, University of California Press, 1999

**Unit III － Marxism, Maoism (c.1915- )**

David E. Apter and Tony Saich, *Revolutionary Discourse in Mao’s Republic*, Harvard University Press, 1998

Timothy Cheek, *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia*, Oxford University Press, 1998

Arif Dirlik, *Revolution and History: Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919-1937*, University of California Press, 1989

—, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*, Oxford University Press, 1989

Amy D. Dooling, ed.,*Writing Women in Modern China: The Revolutionary Years, 1936-1976*, Columbia University Press, 2005

Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu: Founder of the Chinese Communist Party*, Princeton University Press, 1983

Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*, Harvard University Press, 1967

*—*, *Mao Zedong: A Political and Intellectual Portrait*, Polity, 2006

R. Keith Schoppa, *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China*, University of California, 1998

Frederick Wakeman Jr*.,­ History and Will: Philosophical Perspectives of Mao Tse-tung’s Thought*, University ofCalifornia Press, 1973

Brantly Womack, *The Foundations of Mao Zedong’s Political Thought, 1917-1935*, University of Hawaii Press, 1982

Raymond­ Wylie, *The Emergence of Maoism: Mao Tse-tung, Ch’en Po-ta, and the Search for Chinese Theory, 1935-1945*, Stanford University Press, 1980

Wen-hsin Yeh, *Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism*, California Press, 1996

**Unit IV － since Mao (1976-)**

Chaohua Wang, ed., *One China, Many Paths*, Verso, 2005

Hui Wang [WANG Hui], *China's New Order: Society, Politics, and Economy in Transition*, Harvard University Press, 2006

*—*, *The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity*, Verso, 2011

*—*, *The Politics of Imagining Asia*, Harvard University Press, 2011

Geremie Barmé, *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999

Stephen C. Angle, *Contemporary Confucian Political Philosophy*, Polity, 2012

William A. Callahan, *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future*, Oxford University Press, 2013

Gloria Davies, *Worrying about China: The Language of Chinese Critical Inquiry*, Harvard University Press, 2009

Qing Jiang [JIANG Qing, *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape Its Political Future*, Princeton University Press, 2012

John Makeham, *Lost Soul: "Confucianism" in Contemporary Chinese Academic Discourse*, Harvard University Asia Center, 2008