

HIGR 210
History and Historiography of Modern China
2017 Fall Focus: Capitalism & Socialism in Modern China

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Location: H&SS 3086
Time: Mondays, 8:15-11am
Office hours: Monday, 11-1 & by appointment

Welcome to the graduate colloquium on modern Chinese history.

This is a stand-alone seminar with **no prerequisites; no Chinese language skills** are required. Indeed, we welcome students from other areas of history or other fields who will bring their own comparative interests to the subject matter. For students without a background in the study of modern Chinese history, at times, this seminar may seem overwhelming. But hang in there. Rather than trying to master the names, dates, and places of a very complex time, we will focus on specific questions and read secondary sources (and some primary sources in English) to help find answers to those questions. The same applies to students who plan to specialize in modern Chinese history. Read and re-read textbooks, memoirs, and monographs. But do so to answer the primary course questions as well as to develop your specific questions rather than for “general knowledge,” which will expand along the way.

Primary Questions

1. How Chinese was the Chinese Communist Revolution? And how Communist was the Chinese Communist Revolution?
2. What has Communism and Socialism meant in China since the early twentieth-century?
3. Before victory in 1949, what did CCP leaders think a state and society under their control would look like?
4. After victory, how “socialist” (much less “communist”) were their policies? What did it mean to call the country “socialist” or speak of a “socialist transformation”? How did on-the-ground realities force them to alter their plans?
5. What did the Cultural Revolution—or any of the other best-known episodes of the Mao era—have to do with political economy? Are these episodes better explained through the lens of political economy?
6. After the death of Mao, how did Chinese leaders justify the “reform and opening” policies as part of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”?

READINGS. <https://reserves.ucsd.edu/ares/>

ASSIGNMENTS / MARKING

A. INTELLECTUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

DUE: BEFORE THE SECOND CLASS (send via email)

If this is your first seminar with me, please write a brief intellectual autobiography.

What are your intellectual interests and how have you developed them? Include general biographical information and the highlights of your intellectual development.

Approximate length: three-four pages (more is better but unnecessary). There is no right or wrong way to do this assignment.

B. REVIEWS (10%)

DUE: THREE TIMES IN TERM the evening before class

- Submit 2-3 page answers to one or more of the specific discussion questions below. You should not try to be comprehensive. Rather than summarizing the pros and cons of the book, organize your review around a provocative question. Everything you write should include an argument/thesis/opinion. A good thesis is the answer to a good question. Practice both.
- In addition, generate at 2-3 reading-specific questions for the small discussions. We will discuss the makings of good questions.
- Everyone will do the video week.

C. TERM PAPER / WEB FOUNDATIONS (40%)

DUE: FIRST DAY OF EXAM WEEK at 9AM

This is the most important assignment. Details to be discussed in class.

In brief: You will use the readings and your own additional readings to create or expand a **Wikipedia** page by at least 3-5k words. We'll discuss in class.

You will also edit the page of one or more classmates.

Here's a blog post by someone who did something similar:

<https://wikiedu.org/blog/2017/06/05/biology-bats-and-becoming-wikipedian/>

Please read the "Editing Wikipedia" Brochure:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Editing_Wikipedia_brochure_\(Wiki_Education_Foundation\)_2016.pdf](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Editing_Wikipedia_brochure_(Wiki_Education_Foundation)_2016.pdf)

D. PARTICIPATION (50%)

See details of class structure below.

SCHEDULE OF SEMINARS

WEEK 1: WHERE DO WE FIT IN THE FIELD?

Everyone:

Fabio Lanza, *The End of Concern: Maoist China, Activism, and Asian Studies*. Durham: Duke UP, 2017. **BUY**.

Have a look:

1. Barlow, Tani E. "Colonialism's Career in Postwar China Studies," *positions* 1.1 (1993). **E-COPY**.
2. Browse the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*: <http://bcasnet.org/bcas/back-issues.html>

Supplemental:

1. Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*. Columbia UP, 2010 [1984].
2. Daniel Vukovich, *China and Orientalism: Western Knowledge Production and the PRC*. London: Routledge, 2011. **E-COPY**.
3. John King Fairbank, *Chinabound: a Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York: Harper & Row, 1996).

WEEK 2: WHY WAS MARXISM ATTRACTIVE TO e.20c CHINESE?

Everyone:

Nick Knight, *Marxist Philosophy in China: From Qu Qiubai to Mao Zedong, 1923–1945*. Springer, 2005, Preface and Chapter 1-2. **E-COPY** and e-book via UCSD.

Sujian Guo, "Marxism-Leninism and Chinese Political Ideology," chapter 7 in *Chinese Politics and Government: Power, Ideology, and Organization*. Routledge, 2013, 91-108. **E-COPY**.

Chenshan Tian, "Marxism in China: Initial Encounters," chapter 2 in *Chinese Dialectics: From Yijing to Marxism*. Lexington Books, 2005, 47-69. **E-COPY**.

Have a look at:

Terry Eagleton, "What is Ideology," in *Ideology: An Introduction*. London: Verso: 1991, 1-31. **E-COPY**.

Supplemental:

1. Ernest Mandel, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*.
2. Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
3. Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*.
4. Nick Knight, *Li Da and Marxist Philosophy in China*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1996.

5. Michael Y.L. Luk, *The Origins of Chinese Bolshevism: An Ideology in the Making, 1920–1928*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1990.
6. Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*. New York: Atheneum, 1973.
7. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*. New York: Harper and Row, 1951, Chapters 1–3.
8. Hans J. Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920–1927*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

WEEK 3: WHAT IS “MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT”? HOW DID HE ADAPT MARX?

Everyone:

1. Nick Knight, “Mao Zedong and the ‘Sinification’ of Marxism,” chapter 7 in Knight, *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought*. Lexington Books, 2007, 197-216. **E-COPY.**
2. Dirlik, Arif, “Mao Zedong and ‘Chinese Marxism’”, Chapter 4 in *Marxism in the Chinese Revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, 75-104. **E-COPY.**
3. Mao Zedong, “On Practice” (1937). On line.
4. Mao Zedong, “On Contradiction” (1937). On line.

Have a look at:

Rebecca Karl, *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth-Century World* (2010).

Nick Knight, *Marxist Philosophy in China: From Qu Qiubai to Mao Zedong, 1923–1945* Springer, 2005, Chapters 9-11. **E-COPY** and e- via UCSD.

Have a look at Mao’s pre-war work. You can find his collected/selected works easily on line: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/index.htm>

Supplemental:

1. Nick Knight, “Perspectives on Marxism and Social Change in Mao Zedong’s Thought: A Study of Three Documents, 1937-1940,” chapter 6 in Knight, *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought*. Lexington Books, 2007, 157-196.
2. Nick Knight, “Mao Zedong and the New Philosophy,” chapter 9 in *Marxist Philosophy in China: From Qu Qiubai to Mao Zedong, 1923-1945*. Springer, 2005, 149-169. **E-COPY.**
3. Maurice Meisner, *Mao Zedong: A Political and Intellectual Portrait* (2007).
4. Arif Dirlik, *Revolution and History: Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919–1937*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
5. Stuart R. Schram (ed.), *Mao’s Road to Power, Revolutionary Writings 1912–1949: Volume I, The Pre-Marxist Period, 1912–1920*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.
6. Stuart R. Schram (ed.), Nancy J. Hodes (Associate Ed.), *Mao’s Road to Power, Revolutionary Writings 1912–1949: Volume II, National Revolution and Social Revolution, December 1920–June 1927*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

WEEK 4: HOW WELL DID THE SOVIET MODEL FIT CHINA C. 1953?

What were the positive/negative aspects of the Soviet model?

How should the CCP adapt the model to fit Chinese conditions?

How fast should the Soviet path be followed? What are the consequences of slower/faster?

Everyone:

Thomas P. Bernstein and Hua-yu Li, *China Learns from the Soviet Union, 1949-Present* (esp. **Introduction and Chapters 1, 6-8, 9, and 16**). **E-COPY**.

Take a look at:

Hua-yu Li, "Stalin's 'Short Course' and Mao's Socialist Economic Transformation of China in the early 1950s" *Russian History*, Vol. 29, No. 2/4, (2002): 357-376. **E-COPY**.

Supplemental:

1. Deborah A. Kaple, *Dream of a Red Factory* **E-COPY**.
2. Odd Arne Westad, ed. *Brothers in Arms: The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1963*.
3. M-C Hsueh. *The Socialist Transformation of the National Economy in China*. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960. **E-COPY**.
4. Mao Zedong and James Peck, *A Critique of Soviet Economics*. New York: Monthly Review, 1977. **E-COPY**.

WEEK 5: HOW WELL DO MASTERNARRATIVES ACCOMMODATE POLITICAL ECONOMY (GLF)?

Everyone:

Nick Knight, "Mao Zedong on the Chinese Road to Socialism, 1949-1969," chapter 8 in Knight, *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought*. Lexington Books, 2007, 217-247. **E-COPY**.

Carl Linden, "Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union and the PRC: Utopia in Crisis," chapter 2 in Franz Michael et al., *China and the Crisis of Marxism-Leninism*. Westview, 1990, 6-23. **E-COPY**.

Joel Andreas, "Reconfiguring China's Class Order after the 1949 Revolution," in Yingjie Guo, ed., *Handbook of Class and Social Stratification in China*. **E-COPY**.

AND relate readings to a sympathetic textbook such as:

Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After*. BUY. But I'll leave extra copy in student lounge.

OR

Jack Grey, *Rebellions and Revolutions*. BUY. But I'll leave extra copy in student lounge.

Background: Kenneth Lieberthal, "The great leap forward and the split in the Yan'an leadership 1958-1965" in R. MacFarquhar (Ed.), *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of The People's Republic of China* (pp. 87-146) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). **E-COPY**.

WEEK 6: HOW WELL DOES POLITICAL ECONOMY ACCOMMODATE MASTERNARRATIVES (1958 & 1963)?

Everyone:

Mark Selden, *The Political Economy of Chinese Socialism*. New York: Sharpe, 1988 (Chapters 1-3). **E-COPY.**

AND

Ho-Fung HUNG, "Primitive Accumulation, 1850–1980" in *The China Book* (NY: Columbia UP, 2016). **E-COPY.**

Take a look at:

1. Chris Bramall, *Chinese Economic Development*. London: Routledge, 2009. **E-COPY.**
2. Carl Riskin, *China's Political Economy*. **E-COPY.**
3. Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy* (Chapter 3 on the Mao era). **E-COPY.**

Supplemental:

1. Gurley, John. "Capitalist and Maoist Economic Development," in *America's Asia: Dissenting Essays on Asian-American Relations*, edited by Edward Friedman and Mark Selden, 324–356. New York: Pantheon, 1969.
2. R. MacFarquhar and J.K. Fairbank (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 14, *The People's Republic: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1949-65* (1987); vol. 15, *Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution, 1966-82* (1991) [available in abridged form as MacFarquhar, R., (ed.), *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (2nd edn. 1997)]. Should be available via UCSD.

WEEK 7: WHAT IS REAL AND PHONEY SOCIALISM?

Everyone:

Joseph Esherick, "On the 'Restoration of Capitalism': Mao and Marxist Theory" **E-COPY.**

Editorial Departments of *Renmin ribao* People's Daily and *Hongqi* (Red Flag). "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World." Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1964. **E-COPY.**

How is this debate connection with the issue of women's liberation and gender generally?

Wang, Zheng. 2017. *Finding women in the state: a socialist feminist revolution in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1964*. Chapter 4. **E-COPY.**

Take a look:

For context of these polemics, see Chapter 16 in Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, Vol. 3.

Supplemental:

1. Tony Saich, "China's Changing Road to Development: Political History, 1949-78," chapter 2 in Sach, *Governance and Politics of China*. Palgrave Macmillan 2004, 2nd ed., 25-56.
2. Nick Knight, "Mao Zedong on the Chinese Road to Socialism, 1949-1969," chapter 8 in Knight, *Rethinking Mao: Explorations in Mao Zedong's Thought*. Lexington Books, 2007, 217-247.

WEEKS 8-10: We will also have presentations on term papers in these weeks.

WEEK 8: THIRD FRONT

[[SPECIAL SEMINAR AT GPS on THIRD FRONT: THE PRACTICE OF MAOIST DEVELOPMENT]]

Barry Naughton
Covell Meyskens

WEEK 9: DID MAOISM PEAK IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

Everyone:

Raymond Lotta, "Introduction: Maoist Economics and the Future of Socialism" **E-COPY**.

Take a look at:

Maoist Economics and the Revolutionary Road to Communism.

OR

Raymond Lotta, *And Mao Make Five* (Introduction and Texts 25-43) **E-COPY**.

Supplemental:

1. Charles Bettelheim, *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*.
2. Russo, Alessandro. "How Did the Cultural Revolution End? The Last Dispute between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, 1975." *Modern China* 39 (May 2013): 239– 279. **E-COPY**.
3. Mobo Gao, *The Battle for China's Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution*. London: Pluto Press, 2008. **E-COPY**.

WEEK 10: HOW POST-MAO CHINESE LEADERS JUSTIFY MARKET SOCIALISM?

Everyone:

Hu Yaobang, *Resolution on CPC history (1949-81): [authoritative assessment of: Mao Zedong; the "Cultural Revolution"; achievements of the People's Republic]*. Speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (July 1, 1981) (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1981). **E-COPY**.

Kalpana Misra, "Introduction" in Misra, *From Post-Maoism to Post-Marxism*. Routledge, 1998, 1-18. **E-COPY**.

Sujian Guo, "Ideological Modifications in Post-Mao China," chapter 8 in *Chinese Politics and Government: Power, Ideology, and Organization*. Routledge, 2013, 109-127. **E-COPY.**

Deng Xiaoping, *Build Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*, June 30, 1984, available online: <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol3/text/c1220.html>. **E-COPY.**

Chun Lin, "Chinese Socialism," chapter 2 in Lin, *The Transformation of Chinese Socialism*. Duke University Press, 2006, 60-131. **E-COPY.**

Supplemental:

1. Kalpana Misra, "The Criterion of Truth," chapter 1, and "Stages of Socialism," chapter 3, in Misra, *From Post-Maoism to Post-Marxism*. Routledge, 1998, 19-53 and 91-115. **E-COPY.**
2. Feng Chen, "Introduction" in *Economic Transition and Political Legitimacy in Post-Mao China: Ideology and Reform*. State University of New York Press, 1995, 1-22.
3. Feng Chen, "Theoretical Adjustments: The 'Practice Criterion' and the 'Criterion of Productive Forces'" chapter 2 in id, *Economic Transition and Political Legitimacy in Post-Mao China: Ideology and Reform*. State University of New York Press, 1995, 35-64.
4. William Hinton, *The Great Reversal* **E-COPY.**
5. Sujian Guo, "Market Socialism and Economic Transition in Post-Mao China," chapter 16 in Sujian Guo, *Chinese Politics and Government: Power, Ideology, and Organization*. Routledge, 2013, 250-275.
6. Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. **E-COPY.**
7. Frederick C. Teiwes and Warren Sun. *The End of the Maoist Era: Chinese Politics during the Twilight of the Cultural Revolution, 1972-1976*. London: Routledge, 2015. **E-COPY.**