

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Department of History
Semester II, 1987-88

<u>COURSE NO.</u>	<u>COURSE TITLE</u>	<u>INSTRUCTOR</u>
3348	Social and Intellectual History of Modern China 1911-1949 (Topic: Literature, Intellectual Change, and Socio-political Revolution in Twentieth Century China)	Yu-sheng Lin

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

History 3348 is concerned with major topics in the history of twentieth-century Chinese intellectual and cultural developments: the origins and nature of Chinese nationalism and its relationship to radical anti-traditionalism and conservatism; the failure of Chinese liberalism; the major trends in modern Chinese literature and humanities; and the origins and development of Chinese Marxism-Leninism. However, the first two weeks will be devoted to a study of the sociopolitical and intellectual backgrounds in nineteenth-century China. The course offers a thematic approach to the causes, processes, and consequences of twentieth-century Chinese political and cultural revolutions; hence its chief emphases will be on social and political thought as well as literary ideas. One of the best ways to provide a channel through which a sense of empathy with the agonies, aspirations, and complex tensions in the Chinese political and cultural revolutions can be achieved is to read creative literary writings in their historical context. But foreign literature for this purpose needs to be introduced -- especially the great works whose qualities lie in their particular contents and modes of expression. Therefore, in addition to major historical works, students are required to read some of the most important and influential novels, short stories, and prose poems in English translation with necessary background explanation and content analysis provided by lectures. Those who have no background in modern Chinese history should read the relevant chapters in J.K. Fairbank, E.O. Reischauer, A.M. Craig, East Asia: The Modern Transformation, J.K. Fairbank and E.O. Reischauer, China, Frederic Wakeman, The Fall of Imperial China, or Charles O. Hucker, China to 1850: A Short History in the first three weeks.

LECTURES

Two lectures per week, supplemented by discussion sections. An excellent 90-minute documentary film will be shown.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS AND EXAMINATIONS:

1. A 8-15 page typewritten, double spaced term paper (topic of which may be selected from a list of suggestions), or a 10-15 page book report on the themes, arguments, and implications of a book to be due Thursday, April 28, 1988.
2. A mid-term and a final examination on questions (40% identification; 60% essays) that are distributed in advance.

GRADING SYSTEM:

Term paper -- 40%; mid-term 30%; final 30%.

REQUIRED READINGS:

Sheridan, James, China in Disintegration.
Schwartz, B.I., In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West.
Meisner, M., Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism.
Lin, Yu-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness.
Lu Xun (Lu Hsun), Selected Stories of Lu Xun (Lu Hsun).
A photo-copy Reader to be purchased at Bob's Copy Shop at the University Square.

GENERAL COURSE OUTLINE:

1. China's Modes of Response to the Western Intrusion in the 19th Century.
2. The Emergence of the Chinese Intelligentsia and the Rise of Chinese Nationalist.
READINGS: B.I. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power, JA83 S37
3. The Problem of Chinese Liberalism.
READINGS: Ibid.
4. The Climate of Opinion in the May Fourth Era.
READINGS: Benjamin I. Schwartz and Leo O. Lee in the Reader.
5. The Literary Revolution.
READINGS: C.T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, chapter on the literary revolution. PL 2442 H8
6. The Totalistic Revolt against Chinese Tradition
READINGS: Lin Yu-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness, DS721 L567 or Lin in the Reader.
7. The Ambivalence and Agony in Lu Hsun's Iconoclastic Consciousness
READINGS: Lu Hsun, Selected Stories of Lu Hsun, Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk, and Wild Grass.
Lin Yu-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness, chap. 6.
Lin Yu-sheng, "The Morality of Mind and Immorality of Politics: Reflection on Lu Xun, the Intellectual" in Reader.

COLLATERAL READINGS:

Lu Hsun, Selected Works of Lu Hsun, Vols. 1-4, Pl 2754 S5 A6.

Lu Hsun, Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk.

Merle Goldman, ed., Modern Chinese Literature in the Fourth Era, Chapters 4, 8, 9, 10.

T.A. Hsia, The Gate of Darkness, chapters on Lu Hsun. PL 2303 H72 (3/2).

C.T. Hsia, History of Modern Chinese Fiction, chapter on Lu Hsun.

Lawrence W. Chisolm, "Lu Hsun and Revolution in Modern China," Yale French Studies, 39 (1967), pp. 226-241. APY17 F874.

J.D. Chinnery, "The Influence of Western Literature on Lu Xun (Lu Hsun)'s 'Diary of a Madman'" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 23 (1960), pp. 309-322. AP L847 ES87B.

J. Prusek, "Basic Problems of the History of Modern Chinese Literature and C.T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction," T'oung Pao, Vol. XLIX (1961), pp. 357-404. AP T726.

C.T. Hsia, "On the 'Scientific' Study of Modern Chinese Literature: A Reply to Professor Prusek," T'oung Pao, Vol. L (1963), pp. 428-474.

J. Prusek, "Lu Hsun's 'Hwai Chiu': A Precursor of Modern Chinese Literature," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 29 (1969), pp. 169-176. APH 339 J86

Harriet C. Mills, "Lu Hsun and the Communist Party," China Quarterly, No. 4 (1960), pp. 17-27. APC539 Q14.

Patrick Hanan, "The Technique of Lu Hsun's Fiction" Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 34 (1974), pp. 53-96.

Leo Ou-fan Lee, Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1987).

7. The Revolt against the Chinese Family.

READINGS: Pa Chin, Family.

8. The Rise of Chinese Marxism.

READINGS: Maurice Meisner, Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism.

9. Varieties of Modern Chinese Literature.

READINGS: Lao She, Rickshaw, tr. Jean M. James. PZ3 SJ619RL.
Mao Tun, "Spring Silkworms" in Reader

10. Literature and Revolution.

READINGS: Modern China, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July, 1976).

SUGGESTED TOPICS (SELECT ONE) FOR THE TERM PAPER -- 8-15 typewritten pages:

1. "On balance, Yen Fu's basic concern throughout these years (1859-98) is with education in the broadest sense . . . The gospel of education itself does not derive from Spencer. Spencer has not assigned to education or to ideas any particular role as a dynamic principle pushing forward the evolutionary process. It is, rather, "evolution" as a total process which pushes forward all the separate aspects of human culture." (Schwartz's In Search of Wealth and Power, pp. 89-90.) On the basis of your reading of Schwartz's book and Lin Yu-sheng's Crisis of Consciousness, discuss analytically the origins and implications of this statement.
 2. "If the word 'socialism' involves a concern with human equality and not simply a 'planned' and centrally organized society, it has been amply demonstrated that the machinery of wealth and power is inherently hierarchic and authoritarian . . . One can hardly stand in judgment on Yen Fu or the modern Chinese intelligentsia for concerning themselves with the question of state power. China has indeed been deeply humiliated, and no society can survive in the modern world without state power. However, the fact remains that where values are judged as means toward the attainment of power these values are likely to be rendered precarious, weak, and deformed." (Schwartz, pp. 246-7). On the basis of your reading of and reflection on Schwartz's book, discuss the significance of this statement.
 3. Discuss the theme (or themes) of one or two stories (e.g., "Diary of a Madman," "The True Story of Ah Q") by Lu Xun (Lu Hsun).
 4. Discuss the theme of Pa Chin's Family.
 5. Discuss the major ideas of Marxism that were reinterpreted by Li Ta-chao for the making of the Chinese Communist revolution.
 6. On the basis of Stuart Schram's Mao Tse-tung, discuss the basic features of Maoism.
 7. On the basis of Lin Yu-sheng's Crisis of Chinese Consciousness, discuss the meaning, origins, and implications of the cultural-intellectualistic approach of the May Fourth intelligentsia. In what precise sense can we argue that it was traditionally derived rather than influenced by Western sources and that the May Fourth iconoclasts were so influenced by the Confucian tradition that they became totalistic anti-Confucianists?
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Mr. Yu-sheng Lin

Traditional China's Inability to Reach Modern Industrial
Capitalism based in part on Max Weber's Thesis

I. Rational Capitalism in the West

1. Profit is pursued by "instrumental rationality," i.e., to find through rational calculation the most efficient means for reaching one's ends.
2. Wage earning free labor is rationally organized by bureaucracy.
3. Utilization of modern technology and modern market mechanism.
4. Capitalist value orientations:
 - a. Acquisition of money is an end itself
 - b. Economic gains are pursued without limits
 - c. No sacred character for the means employed; they are subject to change
 - d. Hard work: a moral duty (the Protestant ethic: Calvinism)
 - e. Discipline and control

II. Traditional China's favorable conditions for the possible development of capitalism since China's unification by the Ch'in (221-206 B.C.)

1. Absence of status restriction by birth and no rigid class structure as in medieval Europe.
2. Free migration and settlement
3. Free choice of occupation; absence of legal restraint of trade
4. The state recognized the economic interests of guilds and gave them a high degree of independence (a revision from the original Weberian interpretation)
5. No prohibition of usury as in medieval Europe
6. High degree of sophistication and achievement in handicraft industry
7. High degree of sophistication and achievement in agriculture

III. Factors prohibiting the breakthrough to the modern industrial capitalism

1. The City

- A. The cities took the lead in the birth of Western capitalism since the Renaissance
- B. The Chinese cities lacked political and military autonomy and the organizational unity to act as a corporate body that guaranteed the financial and legal grounds for rational development of modern industrial society (capitalism)
 - i. The early unification of the Chinese empire brought centralization of civil and military administration under an imperial bureaucracy.
 - ii. Theoretically, the unification of the empire (the centralized state) had both favorable and unfavorable implications (consequences) for the possible development toward modern industrial society:

Favorable implications: freedom of movement of goods and population without hindrance, the construction of transportation routes which facilitated the linkage of regional markets, etc. Cf. Mark Elvin.

Unfavorable implications: elimination of the possibility of the political autonomy of cities, autonomy that could have provided stimulation and sociopolitical conditions for capitalistic enterprises; the substitution of peace and unity for rivalry and conflict between feudal states also meant the removal of competitive pressure for development of instrumental-rational measures to improve the bureaucratic and economic organization needed for modern development

In the end, however, the unfavorable implications outweighed the favorable implications

2. The Patrimonial State of Traditional China

The original particularistic form of the patrimonial state:

- A. Developed from the ruler's own household and never completely emancipated itself from this heritage.
- B. It was an extension of the ruler's own authority and subject to his arbitrary will or whim.

Paradox: The patrimonial state in this original form could not last long because it could not foster a stable and well functioned political order (structure), whereas, paradoxically, the longevity of traditional Chinese political order (221 B.C. -- 1911 A.D.) holds the world record. The CRUX of traditional Chinese history, lies, therefore, in the historical reasons for the patrimonial state's ability to maintain itself (i.e., its structure, despite many changes of ruling houses or dynasties) and its historical implications:

- A. Universalistic principles based on rational considerations, which "camouflaged" and mitigated the particularistic and irrational aspects of the patrimonial state and, thereby, helped to maintain an equilibrium in which the "patrimonial" aspects of the state was preserved:
 - i. Theory of political legitimacy based on an universal principle of the Mandate of Heaven (the emperor, or at least the founding emperor of a dynasty, was believed to have been appointed by Heaven on his moral merit as being the most moral man under Heaven).
 - ii. The Rise of Civil Service Examination: an actual substantiation of the above theory: the living "proof" of the idea of the Mandate of Heaven: Since people are governed by a man supposed to be of the highest moral quality, appointed by Heaven as the emperor, officials who actually governed the people on the emperor's behalf must also be selected on their moral and cultural achievements: the rise of the civil service examination system based on the principle of universality (or impartiality).
 - a. Bureaucracy staffed by scholar-officials impartially selected through their performance in the examinations, regardless of their class and regional backgrounds.
 - b. Triannual system of shifts: each local official is shifted to another post in another region after three years of service.
 - c. Law of avoidance: officials are not allowed to serve in their native places.
 - d. As a mechanism to absorb talents in society and to constantly revitalize the ruling class (i.e., political control and maintenance of the social elite through revitalization by new blood):
 - aa. "By making both high office and local privileges accessible almost exclusively to those with official academic degrees, a way

- was found to absorb the energies and the ambitions of the able, and to condition them ideologically through officially approved curriculum at their own expense and wish." (Mark Elvin)
- bb. 45-50% of the degree holders came from families without officials in the three preceding generations.
 - cc. Degree holders: 1.5-2% of the total population (i.e., it was extremely difficult to earn degrees, but among the degree holders, almost half of them came from families without degree holders).

The above (a) (b) (c) (d) served to "rationalize" the civil bureaucracy in the service of the patrimonial state.

The below (e) (f) (g) (h) compromise the rational nature of the civil bureaucracy and helped to transform the possible tensions between the central court and the localities into an equilibrium, and prevented the Chinese bureaucracy at the local level from developing into a rational-legal bureaucracy.

- e. The degree holders, when they returned to their own localities, became members of the landed gentry.
- f. Gentry members helped to make the informal organization of local bureaucracy function.
- g. The informal organization of local bureaucracy was necessitated by three factors:
 - aa. The local magistrate, being a Confucian scholar-official appointed to his post after receiving a degree from the examination system, did not have the taste for functional specialization. (Confucius said, "The morally superior man is not an instrument."). He preferred writing poetry and reading philosophy rather than training himself in the technicalities of local administration, which was left for his staff to handle.
 - bb. The size of the empire and the facilities of communication were such that it was not possible for the central court to actively direct and control the local government effectively (its

directives must be issued at minimum); it had to rely on the help of local gentry whose status and privileges were awarded by the central court and whose mind was shaped by the curriculum of the examination system prescribed by the central court (hence the gentry was by and large very loyal to the Central Court).

- cc. The existence of the informal organization of local bureaucracy served the interest of the gentry well; hence the gentry (i.e., the scholar-officials at large) would not recommend its being changed: it made the leadership of local gentry indispensable; it provided room for some gentry members to gain personal advantages by working cooperatively with staff members of the local informal bureaucracy (tax collections, public works construction, and maintenance, etc.); and it eliminated the possibility of the Legalist dominance over the local gentry by the central court.
 - h. The interrelationship of gentry and local informal bureaucracy was facilitated by local kinship organization (clan).
- B. In sum, it is clear from the above that the "rational" nature of the examination system facilitated the function and maintenance of the traditional Chinese political and social order but did not provide great resources for development towards modern industrial capitalism, for the rational nature of the examination system did not lead toward the development of a truly rational-legal bureaucracy, nor did it encourage rational innovation (to breakthrough the bonds of traditional behavior), rather it facilitated the rational maintenance of the traditional order (i.e., to perpetuate both the patrimonial state and the local social structure dominated by the gentry).
- C. Assumption of religious functions by the emperor and his officials (in the "universal kingship") eliminated the possible role of a powerful priesthood which might have challenged the secular power and threatened the internal equilibrium of the imperial state.

Neither a priesthood nor an independent religious force was strong enough to introduce radical innovations into the socio-economic order as required for capitalistic development.

3. Law

- A. No concept and practice of the rule of law had ever been developed. While some rational processes in the judicial review existed, law

was understood primarily as rules for administration and for punishment of criminal conducts.

- B. Law conformed to the hierarchial and particularistic order of li (rituals of imperial Confucianism, e.g., Three Bonds, etc.); no equal treatment before the law was assumed.
- C. Thus, no rational-legal framework above both politics and social hierarchy could be expected to develop as a foundation for modern industrial capitalist society. (Rational-legal framework here refers to the impersonal, formal, precise, and impartial rules and procedures not geared to serve any particular interests.)

4. Social Structure

- A. Society was primarily dominated by one type of structure: kinship organization (particularistic organization of familism), i.e. the clan.
- B. The kinship organization was efficient for ad hoc or traditional type of economic activities through the effective powers of the elders and personalism (personal and affectional relationship) among members of kinship groups.
- C. This contrasted with the modern Western indirect (contractual) and formal social relationship, which facilitated the rise of modern capitalist economic organization as efficient machine: division of labor based on differentiation of roles performed by qualified personnel specifically trained.

5. The Confucian world view as an inhibitor:

- A. The Confucian belief in the immanence of transcendental reality: i.e., the ultimate reality being immanent in the human beings as well as in the nature of myriad things. Chang Tsia: "Heaven is my father, earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I find an intimate place in their midst. Therefore, what fills the universe I regard as my body and what directs the universe I consider as my nature." Cheng Hao: "The student must first of all understand the nature of jen. The man of jen forms one body will all things without any differentiations."

Since all things are regarded as organically related to the ultimate reality, all things are believed to partake of the ultimate reality -- man is a part of the ultimate reality.

There can be no will [arising in the midst of this belief that man is organically of this world (the ultimate reality)] to radically change (alter) this world (since this world is believed to be the ultimate reality, hence it cannot be changed by a vision based on a "truer" world of reality.)

- B. By contrast, Calvinism has succeeded in the complete suppression of the whole mystical-emotional side of religious and human experience by its doctrine of "the absolute transcendentality of God," which undermined the traditional assumption that one could somehow get a hearing from God or relate to God emotionally, or mystically. The "extreme inhumanity of this doctrine," as Weber noted, could only lead to "a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual," who must still believe, according to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, that he has already been saved by God and must be "the tool of the divine will." The tension between his inner loneliness resulting from no emotional or mystical contact with God and his absolute faith in being selected by God was almost unbearable. He sought to relieve this tension by conquering or mastering the outside, material world, through compulsive and yet systematic and ascetic pursuit of worldly gains, not for his personal indulgence or enjoyment but as an act to glorify God's grace by "the tool of the Divine Will." (The reason that he was driven to direct his effort only to the outside, material world was because he was cut off by the Calvinist idea of the "absolute transcendentality of God" from any contact with God within his inner world.)
- C. The puritans could "live in this world and yet not be of it." Hence they could develop rational aptitudes to re-mold the world according to a higher (not this worldly) principle, a principle that is in line with the higher or truer reality of the beyond. The Confucians, not reaching beyond this world because this world is understood to be organismically related to the ultimate reality (hence, the notion of the "unity Heaven and man"), they had "no leverage for influencing conduct through inner forces freed from tradition and convention."

Confucian rationalism meant rational adjustment to the world, whereas puritan rationalism meant rational mastery of the world.

Appendix: Difference between Mark Elvin's Explanation and Max Weber's Explanation:

Mark Elvin's explanation is an explanation of "how" China did not develop toward modern industrial capitalism based on a

Appendix continued:

narrative or descriptive account of what happened in a time-sequence. Max Weber's explanation is an explanation of "why" China did not develop toward modern industrial capitalism based on a theoretical understanding of the nature of Chinese civilization in traditional times in terms of an "ideal-typical" analysis of the structure of traditional Chinese society, politics, and culture. ("Structure" here refers to the internal relationship of different items in a given pattern.)