

University of Toronto  
Faculty of Arts and Science  
Departments of East Asian Studies and Political Science  
Office: SS3029 (416) 978-3859  
e-mail: [victor.falkenheim@utoronto.ca](mailto:victor.falkenheim@utoronto.ca)  
Office Hours: M:1:00-2:30 PM and by appointment

XBC 199Y  
Ideology and Social Movements in China

2016-2017  
Mr. Falkenheim

This course has two main objectives. The first is to introduce students to the study of modern Chinese history. The second is to introduce a number of core concepts in social science, in particular, to explore the various meanings of the term *ideology*, focussing particularly on its embodiment in concrete social and political movements. It will seek to understand how ideas shape politics, analyzing the programmatic and socio-political attributes of ideologically driven movements and regimes. A consideration of modern China's protracted revolutionary crisis from the mid-1800s to the present will serve as the raw material for this exploration.

In the first term, we will examine the main competing ideologies of the modern era, Confucianism, Marxism, Liberalism and Nationalism, seeking to understand the ways in which these clashing values shaped and were shaped by the crisis engendered by domestic decline and colonial penetration. Why did Confucianism, now identified with the post-WWII success of the "tiger" economies of Asia fail to survive in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century? Why did the millenarian peasant revolts of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century fail to ignite change? What were the attributes of Marxism that carried its proponents to political and military victory in 1949? How were "western" ideas and values assimilated in the process of transplantation to a Chinese environment?

In the second term, we will consider the ways in which ideology is transformed by political victory, and the consequences of transformative ideologies in power. Mao's radical programs, the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" will be examined as well as the ideological shifts that have propelled the Deng-era market reforms. Contemporary efforts to redefine state ideology by incorporating Confucian, Daoist and other ideologies will also be studied.

### **Texts and Readings: Fall Semester**

- Texts:**
1. Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution.
  2. Maurice Meisner, Mao's China and After.
  3. Liang Heng, Son of the Revolution.
  4. Additional weekly readings will be posted on Blackboard..

## **Grading and Requirements:**

Participation:	20%
2 Term Tests @ 20% each:	40%
2 Essays @ 20% each:	40%

Essay assignments and due dates will be distributed in class later in the term.

## **Topics and Readings:**

September 13	<b>Course Introduction: Ideas and the State in Chinese History</b>
September 20	<b>Thinking About “Ideology”</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Larry Johnston, <u>Ideologies: An Analytic and Contextual Approach</u>, Chapter 1, pp. 11-26.*</li></ol>
September 27	<b>Ideology and Orthodoxy in China: The Formative Period</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. W.T. DeBary et. al., <u>Sources of Chinese Tradition</u>, Chapter 2, pp.15-33; 122-144.*</li><li>2. John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, <u>China: A New History</u>, Chapter 2 (pp. 46-71) *</li></ol>
October 4	<b>Ideology and Political Change in Late Imperial China</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Video-“The Two Coasts of China.”</li><li>2. Lucien Bianco, <u>The Origins of the Chinese Revolution</u>, Chap.1 (1-12)</li></ol>
October 11	<b>Confucianism and Modernization: Kang Youwei and Late Imperial Reform</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Larry Johnston, <u>Ideologies</u>, pp.50-63. *</li><li>2. Mary Wright, <u>The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism</u>, 1-10.*</li><li>3. Jonathan Spence, <u>The Gate of Heavenly Peace</u>, Chapters 1.*</li><li>4. Kung-chuan Hsiao, <u>A Modern China and a New World</u>, Selections.*</li></ol>
October 18	<b>Republicanism and Liberalism: The Case of Liang Qichao</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Larry Johnston, <u>Ideologies</u>, pp.35-45. (“Liberalism”)*</li><li>2. Andrew Nathan, <u>Chinese Democracy</u>, Chapter 3 (“Liang Qichao and the Chinese Democratic Tradition.”)*</li></ol>

October 25                    **Mao and the May 4<sup>th</sup> Era: Liberalism, Nationalism and Marxism**

1. Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, Chapter 2, pp.27-52.
2. Chen Duxiu, “Call to Youth”.\*
3. ‘Mao’s Autobiography’ (Edgar Snow, Red Star over China)\*

November 1                    **Mao Zedong and Marxism in the May 4<sup>th</sup> Era**

1. Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, pp. 121-156.\*
2. Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto.\*
3. Video “China in Revolution” Part 1

November 8                    **November Break: No Class**

November 15                    **Shaping a Revolutionary Movement**

1. Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, Chapter 3.
2. Mao Zedong, “Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society,” 1926\*
3. Video, “China in Revolution” Part I

November 22                    **Peasant Revolution: Jiangxi and Yanan**

1. Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, Chapter 4

November 29                    **The Triumph of the CCP**

1. Lucian Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, Chapters 6-7.
2. Video, *China in Revolution*, Part 2.

December 6                    **Term Test**

## **Spring Term: Topics and Readings**

January 10                    **Chinese Dilemmas**

1. Maurice Meisner, Mao’s China, Selections, pp.55-73.\*
2. Mao Zedong, “On People’s Democratic Dictatorship.” (1949), 411-423.\*
3. Philip Pan Out of Mao’s Shadow, Chapter 2. (21-48)

4. Liang Heng, Son of the Revolution, Chapters 1-3. (1-39)
5. Video (“The Mao Years: Part I)

January 17

### **Markets, Plans, and Visions: The Economics of Socialist Development**

1. Maurice Meisner, Mao’s China, pp.113-136; 204-225.\*
2. Video: (“The Mao Years: Part I)

January 24

### **Cultural Revolution and the Politics of Socialist Transition**

1. Liang Heng, Son of the Revolution, Chapter 4-11. (40-137)
2. Philip Pan, Out of Mao’s Shadow, Chapter 4.
3. Maurice Meisner, Mao’s China and After, Chapters 17, 19, pp. 291-311; 353-373.\*
4. “China: Century of Revolution: The Mao Years,” Part 2. (Video)

January 31

### **End of the Mao Era**

1. Liang Heng, Son of the Revolution, Chapters 20-24 (232-292)
2. Maurice Meisner, Mao’s China and After, Chapter 21\*

February 7

### **Deng’s 2<sup>nd</sup> Revolution**

1. Video (“Born Under the Red Flag” Part I.)
2. Maurice Meisner, Mao’s China and After, Chapters 22-23.
3. Philip Pan, Out of Mao’s Shadow, Chapter 1.

February 16

### **Reinventing Ideology**

1. Feng Chen, “Rebuilding the Party’s Normative Authority: China’s Socialist Spiritual Civilization Campaign,” Problems of Post-Communism, Nov.-Dec. 1998.\*
2. Su Qian, “The practical aspects of directing Internet Opinion,” Nanfang Zhoumo (Southern Weekend), May 19, 2005.
3. Video: “Born Under the Red Flag: Part 2

February 23

### **Reading Week: No Class**

March 2

### **Social Change in Reform Era China: The Urban Dimension**

1. Philip Pan, Out of Mao’s Shadow, Chapter 5, 6.

March 9

**Rural Governance in Transition**

1. Philip Pan, Out of Mao's Shadow, Chapters 7, 10.

March 16

**Media Reform and Political Change**

1. Philip Pan, Out of Mao's Shadow, Chapters 8-9.

March 23

**Nationalism, Confucianism and Changing Chinese Values**

1. Peter Gries, "Chinese Nationalism: Challenging the Chinese State?" Current History, 2005.
2. Daniel Bell, "From Marx to Confucius: Changing Discourses on China's Political Future," Dissent, Spring, 2007.

March 30

**China's Future**

1. Daniel Bell, "Chinese Democracy Isn't Inevitable" Atlantic, 2015.
2. Youwei, "The End of Reform in China," 2015.

April 6

**Term Test # 2**