

University of Pennsylvania
Department of History
History 412

The Republic of China, 1911-1949 and After

Professor Arthur Waldron
Spring 2014

Summary: This seminar treats the history, politics, and culture of the Republic of China, which ruled China from 1911/12 until its overthrow by the Communists in the Civil War (1945-49) who established a new state, the People's Republic of China (1949-). This was a time of political contention, considerable progress in education, the economy, and other areas: also of comparative openness compared to what followed. After 1931, however, all was dominated by the menace of Japan, which exploded into full scale warfare in 1937-1945.

The course consists of readings, seminar discussions, and a research paper.

We meet from 3:00-6:00 on Thursdays in Meyerson Hall B-6.

Introduction:

The last of the traditional dynasties that had ruled China for millennia, the Qing, was overthrown by a series of uprisings that began in October of 1911. It abdicated on February 24, 1912, and was succeeded by the Republic of China, which ruled China until 1949.

Its history is fascinating and full of questions. How does a society that has had an emperor for thousands of years set up a new form of government? How do people, who have long operated in accord with well defined "traditions" in everything from the arts to family organization, become "modern"? In fact, for a long time, many believed that was impossible without a revolution like that which created the Soviet Union in 1917. What sorts of literature, arts, fashion, etiquette, and so forth could be both "Chinese" and "modern"? (Again, many have thought this impossible). How could a society long based on agricultural develop finance and industry? The experience of the Republic of China is extremely informative about all these questions, many of which are still argued today.

The first decade of politics in the Republic of China is rather confusing. But after a period of political contention and domestic warfare, political power in the Republic was taken by the Nationalist or Kuomintang Party, which had been founded by Sun Yat-sen, who died in 1925. After Sun's death the party came under the control of one of his protégés, Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang insisted that he should hold political power,

with his capital at Nanjing, but otherwise interfered relatively little in the lives of ordinary people.

Perhaps as a result, the Republic of China was the freest period in Chinese history since the end of the dynasties. The country boomed economically and the arts flourished. Shanghai became the greatest, most sophisticated, and most cosmopolitan city in Asia. Thousands of Chinese travelled abroad, attended schools and universities in foreign countries, and so forth. This was a period of flowering in literature and the arts that has had no parallel since. Most of what you read today as “modern” Chinese literature was written then, perhaps seventy years ago.

At the same time, this was the period when left-wing thought took root in China—among intellectuals, artists, and ordinary people—owing in part to dissatisfaction with the condition of the country, and the example of the Soviet Union, founded in 1917, which seemed to point a clearer and more rational way to modernity. The Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921, and thereafter fought a steady struggle to overthrow the Republic and create a Communist state in China. This was also a period punctuated by explosions of anti-foreign sentiment, and of rising nationalism.

The nemesis of the Republic of China proved to be the violently expansive Japanese empire, which seized Manchuria in 1931, and in 1937 launched a full-scale invasion of China. The United States gave much rhetorical but little material help to the Chinese resistance, which, led by Chiang Kai-shek, was bloody and tenacious. Chinese units repeatedly died to the last man rather than surrender. Even so, it was not the Chinese resistance that ended the war. In August 1945 the Soviet Union invaded Japanese-held Manchuria and the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan. Tokyo surrendered.

Three million Chinese soldiers had perished, including nearly all officers trained before the war, and 200 generals, including one who held the highest rank of anyone killed on the allied side in the war, east or west. Fifteen million civilians had been killed, and seventy five million people, more than the population of France, were homeless. The state was bankrupt many times over. Post-war was a grim, violent, and lawless period.

In this environment the Communists and Nationalists jostled for post-war power. In early 1946 a full-scale civil war erupted. Bitterly fought, it was won in 1949 by the Communists, led by Mao Zedong. They made Peking their capital and proclaimed a new state, the People’s Republic of China. Chiang and many of his forces withdrew to the island of Taiwan, about the size of Belgium, some hundred miles off the Chinese coast, which became a fortress, and after the Korean War, a U.S. ally. As long as Chiang lived the state in Taiwan claimed to be the true representative of China and custodian of China’s culture. Taipei, their capital, absolutely defied the Communists, and occasionally clashed with them militarily.

After Chiang's death in 1975, however, Taiwan began to liberalize and is today it is a fully democratic country. We will examine this process at the end of the course, and discuss whether China might follow a similar course.

This course will give you the historical background and perspective that is necessary to understand today's China. The Republic, which was its forerunner for four decades, witnessed much remarkable development. In many ways today's China appears to resemble it more than it does the Maoist state that ended in 1976.

Instructor:

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 Thursday 1:30-3:00
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Readings:

This is the course bibliography, for reference. You will not be expected to cover all this material; only what is assigned.

In addition to the "readings" (required) for each unit, I have added "suggested reading." Although the assigned readings are sufficient for the course, you will learn more if you do as many of the suggested readings as possible. My advice is that you have a look at all of them, choose several, according to your interests, and read those. They will provide deeper background for all of the course exercises. Some of you may do all, or almost all of them.

Of course the centrepiece of the Seminar is your own research paper (15-20 pages) which may be on any relevant topic you choose. Many of the books listed here can provide introductions to topics.

Books on China are innumerable. Remember that, as the late John King Fairbank (1907-1991) used to tell his students, "History is a sea of books. Learn to swim in the sea."

Books:

Anne-Marie Brady and Douglas Brown, *Foreigners and Foreign Institutions in Republican China* (London: Routledge, 2013) ISBN 978-0-415-52865-8 LC DS775.8 .F67 2013

Chiang Kai-shek *China's Destiny* (New York: Macmillan, 1947) LIBRA 951.04 C432.EW

Chou Min-chih, *Hu Shih and Intellectual Choice in Modern China* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1984) ISBN 0-472-10039-4 LC CT3990.H784C47 1984.

Jonathan Clements, *Wellington Koo* (London: Haus Publishing, 2008) (LC DS777.15.K66 C54 2008 [LIBRA research annex])

Frank Dikötter, *The Age of Openness Before Mao* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) ISBN-13: 978-0520258815 LC DS774.D55 2008.

Frank Dikötter, *The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) ISBN 978 1 4088 3757 3 LC not yet available

Yu-sheng Lin, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979) ISBN-13: 978-0299074104 LC DS721 .L566

Ding Ling, *Miss Sophie's Diary and Other Stories* tr. W. J. F. Jenner (Beijing: Chinese Literature, 1985) ISBN 0-8351-1166-0 LC PL2747.P5 A24 1985

Susan Chan Egan and Chih-p'ing Chou, *A Pragmatist and His Free Spirit: the half-century romance of Shi and Edith Clifford William* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2009) ISBN 978-962-996-341-5 LC CT3990.H78 E33 2009

Bruce A. Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002) ISBN 0-7656-1051-5 LC DS740.5.J3 E44 2002

Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past*. With a Foreword by Jonathan Spence (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994) ISBN 978-0-8122-2040-7 LC NA1549.L53F35 1994.

Xiaotong Fei, *Earthbound China: A Study of rural economy in Yunnan* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949) LC HD2070.Y8 F4 1949

John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996) ISBN 0-8047-2659-0 LC DS776.6 F58

Walter Galenson, ed. *Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan: Postwar Experience of the Republic of China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979) ISBN-13: 978-0801411571 LC HC430.5 .E36

William C. Hannas, *The Writing on the Wall: How Asian Orthography Curbs Creativity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) ISBN 0-8122-3711-0 LC P381.E18.H6

Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols In China, 1911-1929* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) ISBN 9780198295198 LC DS776.6 .H37 1999 *Not listed in Franklin Catalogue*

Chang-tai Hung, *Going to the People: Chinese Intellectuals and Folk Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986) ISBN-13: 978-0674356269 LC PL2445 .H85 1985.

Reginald F. Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City*, With an Introduction by Pamela Atwell [1934] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985) ISBN 0-19-282105-9 LC DS774 .J6412 2012 *Penn seems to have only one copy, the original, in the Rare Book Room.*

Elisabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) ISBN 978-90-04-16367-6 LC P40.8 .K37 2008

George Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1965) ISBN-13: 978-03067 LC DS799.8 .K47 1976

Ku Hung-ming *The Spirit of the Chinese People* 2nd Edition (Peking: Commercial Press, 1922) ISBN 9-781176-992023 LC DS721.K816 *or other edition*

Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968) ISBN 0-520-00737-9 LC DS721 .L538 1968

Diana Lary, *China's Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) ISBN 978-0-521-60355-3 LC DS774 .L29 2007

Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek: China's Eternal First Lady* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006) ISBN-10 0-87113-933-2 LC DS777.488.C515L52 2006.

Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995) ISBN 0-8047-2535-7 LC PL2302.L534 1995

Lu Hsun, *Selected Stories* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960) ISBN 0-393-00848-7 LC PL2754.S5 A15 1972 [Reprint of the Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1972 ed. *Be sure it contains "The True Story of Ah-Q"*]

Jesse Gregory Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1920-1928* (Notre Dame, IND: Cross Roads Books, 1988) ISBN 0-940121-05-0 LC BR1288 .L88 1988

Ma Bo [Lao-kuei] , *Blood Red Sunset: A Memoir of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1995) ISBN-13: 978-0140159424 LC PL2876.A67 H7713 1995

Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s & 1940s* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987) ISBN 0-520-05843-7 LC DS777.533.P825U65 1987

Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008) ISBN 978-0-520-25445-9 LC DS777.5316. W8M33

Mao Dun, *Spring Silkworms* (China Books, 2013) ISBN 9780835100519 LC: PL2801.N2 C513 1956 (First edition)

Michel C. Masson, *Philosophy and Tradition The Interpretation of China's Philosophic Past: 馮友蘭 Fung Yu-lan 1939-1949* (Taipei-Paris-Hong Kong: Institut Ricci—Ricci Institute, 1985) LC B5234.F42 M37 1985

Mahlon Meyer, *Remembering China from Taiwan: Divided Families and Bittersweet Reunions after the Chinese Civil War* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012) ISBN 978-988-8083-2 LC DS777.542 .M494 2012

Mo Yang, *The Song of Youth* 3rd ed. (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978) LC PL2922.M6 C513 1978

Charles D. Musgrove, *China's Contested Capital: Architecture, Ritual, and Response in Nanjing* (University of Hawaii Press, 2013) ISBN 978-988-8139-95-80 DS797.56.N365M87 2013

Oudendyk, William J, *Ways and By-Ways in Diplomacy* (London: Peter Davies, 1939) LC DJ219.O8 A3

Pa Chin *Family* Tr. Sidney Shapiro; Intr. Olga Lang (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1989) ISBN 0-88133-373-5 LC PL2780.F4 .C5513 1989

S. C. M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) ISBN 978-1-107-02069-6 LC DS775.4. P35

The China White Paper August 1949 2v. Originally Issued as *UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949* Department of State Publication 3573 Far Eastern Series 30. Reissued with the Original Letter of Transmittal to President Truman from Secretary of State Dean Acheson. WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY LYMAN P. VAN SLYKE (Stanford. CA: Stanford University Press, 1967. LC E183.8.C5 U53 1967

Lynn Pan, *Shanghai Style: Art and Design Between the Wars* (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2008) ISBN 078-1-59265-078 LC N7347.S48P36 2008

Ida Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman: From the Story Told Her by Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967) ISBN 0-8047-0606-9 LC CT1828.N5 A3 1967 (Libra)

Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus & Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000) ISBN 0-295-97938-0 LC DS761.2M36 2000

Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001) ISBN 978-1-4422-0481-2 LC DS799.625.R54 2011.

Paul K. T. Sih, ed. *The Strenuous Decade: China's Nation-Building Efforts 1927-1937* 2nd ed. (New York: St. John's University Press, 1976) LC DS703.4 .S77 [Libra]

Arthur H. Smith, D.D. *Chinese Characteristics* [1894] (Reissued. Port Washington, N.Y. : Kennikat Press, 1970) ISBN 0-8056-1099-1 LC DS721 .S64 1986 (Research Annex (LIBRA) or other edition).

Stalin on China [A Collection of Five Writings of Comrade Stalin on the Chinese Question] (Bombay: People's Publishing House: 1951. Reprint edition. Westport, CT: Hyperion Publishing Co., 1977) ISBN 0-88355-392-9 LC PB41 .S73 2002 *not listed on Franklin.*

Jay Taylor. *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-674-03338-2. DS 777.448 C5 T39 2009.

Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-Kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) ISBN 0-674-00287-3 LC DS799.82.C437T39 2000

Shiroyama, Tomoko, *China during the Great Depression: market, state, and the world economy, 1929-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008) ISBN 978-0-674-03617-8 LC HB37171929.S544 2008.

William L. Tung, *V. K. Wellington Koo and China's Wartime Diplomacy* (New York, NY: St. John's University Press, 1977) DS778.K59 T86

M. T. Z. Tyau *China's New Constitution and International Problems* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, Ltd., 1918) PENN CALL NO: 342.51 T952 (Libra annex) LC KNN2070.T93 1976

Dong Wang, *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005) ISBN 0-7391-1208-2 LC DS775.7W336 2005

Max Weber, *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* [1915] (New York: The Free Press, 1968) LC BL1801 .W33 1968

Course Requirements:

One short response paper (three to four pages) will be assigned midway through the term, to see how you are thinking. This will be, essentially, an *ungraded* exercise, designed for us all to see how we are doing. It will be due in class on March 27.

The chief task for you in this course is to write a research paper, approximately 15-20 pages, typed, double-spaced, on *a topic of your choice* related broadly to the Republican period in China (or its exile in Taiwan). The course bibliography will give you a good start on most topics. Please be imaginative and choose a subject that genuinely interests you. You are most welcome to come to my office (Thursday, 1:30-3:00 or later if necessary) to chat about possibilities. It helps me a great deal if you are good enough to send me an email ahead of time outlining your thoughts ahead of time. The paper will be due, in hard copy, on Thursday May 8. I will explain how to deliver it as the time draws nearer.

Note that any good paper or examination essay should contain both argument (what you think stated clearly) *and counterargument* (that is, the strongest objections to your view, clearly expressed). The conclusion of any such piece of writing should, among other things, explain why you see your argument as stronger than your counterargument. Use *evidence* to support both elements.

*Please note that I **cannot** electronic submissions of written work. I lack the sort of industrial printing capacity that would require. The two short papers will be due in class. I will explain how to hand in your main paper.*

Grading: Grading is an art not a science. My experience is that people who choose my seminars and do the work also do well. The paper will count for approximately 60% of your grade. Class presentation and discussion will count for approximately 40% of your grade.

Seminar Meetings and Readings:

First Meeting: January 16 **The Chinese Republic**

Reading:

Diana Lary, *China's Republic*

Frank Dikötter, *The Age of Openness Before Mao*

In this class we will discuss the list of questions that you will have received.

Second Meeting: January 23 **Post-Dynastic China**

Reading:

Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*

Suggested Reading:

Dong Wang, *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History*

Reginald F. Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City*

Oudendyk, William J, *Ways and By-Ways in Diplomacy*

Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus & Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928*

Third Meeting: January 30 **Understanding and Misunderstanding China**

Reading:

Arthur H. Smith, D.D. *Chinese Characteristics*

Suggested Reading:

Ku Hung-ming *The Spirit of the Chinese People* 2nd Edition

Fourth Meeting: February 6 **Culture Under the Republic**

Reading:

Yu-sheng Lin, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*

Suggested Reading:

Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past*

Fifth Meeting: February 13 **Writers and their Dilemmas***Reading:*

Mao Dun, *Spring Silkworms*

Pa Chin *Family* Tr. Sidney Shapiro; Intr. Olga Lang, (pages to be announced)

Sixth Meeting: February 20 **The Culture of the Left**

Reading: Lu Hsun, *Selected Stories* "The Story of Ah-Q"

Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*, pp. 45-76.

Seventh Meeting: February 27 **Fashionable China***Reading:*

Lynn Pan, *Shanghai Style: Art and Design Between the Wars*

Suggested Reading:

Ding Ling, *Miss Sophie's Diary*

Short paper (3-4 pages) due in class on March 20, not graded: The Japanese invasion devastates China and destroys the Nationalist Government. What is your assessment of the strengths, weaknesses, and challenges of that government on the eve of the invasion?

Eighth Meeting: March 8 **The Great Depression and China**

Reading:

Shiroyama, Tomoko, *China during the Great Depression: market, state, and the world economy, 1929-1937*

Ninth Meeting : March 20 **Wars and the Japanese Invasion**

Reading:

S. C. M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949*

Suggested Reading:

Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China*

Tenth Meeting: March 27 **War's End:**

Reading:

Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo*

Eleventh Meeting: April 03 **Foreign Knowledge of China**

Reading:

Stephen R. MacKinnon and Oris Friesen, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s & 1940s* *Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s & 1940s*

Twelfth Meeting: April 10 **Dictatorship after 1949:**

Reading:

George Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed*

Suggested Reading:

Frank Dikötter, *The Tragedy of Liberation*

Thirteenth Meeting: April 17 **Democratization in Taiwan**

Reading:

Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son*

Fourteenth Meeting: April 23 **Conclusion: "The Big Questions"**

Reading:

Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* first third or so, no more.

Michel C. Masson, *Philosophy and Tradition The Interpretation of China's Philosophic Past: 馮友蘭 Fung Yu-lan 1939-1949*

Papers are due May 8, means of delivery to be announced