

The Cultural Revolution

Term: Spring 2010

Course time: 1:30 -4:15pm, Tuesday

Course location: TBC Classroom

Instructor : Dr. Xiurong Zhao

Email: xiurong.zhao@gmail.com

Course Description:

The Cultural Revolution was a period of widespread social and political upheaval in the People's Republic of China between 1966 and 1976, resulting in nation-wide chaos and economic disarray. It was launched by Mao Zedong, who alleged that "liberal bourgeois" elements were permeating the party and society at large and that they wanted to restore capitalism. Mao insisted that these elements be removed through post-revolutionary class struggle by mobilizing the thoughts and actions of China's youth, who formed Red Guards groups around the country. The movement subsequently spread into the military, among urban workers, and even within the party leadership itself. Although Mao himself officially declared the Cultural Revolution to have ended in 1969, the power struggles and political instability between 1969 and the arrest of the Gang of Four in 1976 are now also widely regarded as part of the Cultural Revolution.

In the first few weeks, we will have lectures about China before the Cultural Revolution, and then about the process of the Cultural Revolution itself. Then we will have reading seminars, in which we will focus on specific topics such as the Red Guards, voices of victims, and effects of the Cultural Revolution. I hope that at the end of this class, after going through the readings, documentaries, and testimonies, you will have all the necessary elements to develop your own point of view, especially on the reasons for the eruption of these events.

This class is not meant to be only about a historical event. It will also help the students to understand today's China better.

Course Outcomes:

Lectures, readings, writing assignments, and discussions are designed to help you analyze the Cultural Revolution with a good knowledge of the events, a critical eye on the reasons that made it happen, and also its implications for today's China.

Course Requirements and Forms of Assessment:

- **Class attendances and participation in all discussions** (20%).
- **Mid-term exam** (30%) You will be given some questions on themes explored in class and one short document to be analyzed.

- **Film or book review paper** (20%). You may review a book. The books that you can choose among include:

Yang Xiguang, *Captive Spirits*,
 Wu Yimao, *Feather in the Storm*,
 Ma Bo *The Blood Sunset*, (Penguin Books, 1995)

You may also review some films, some of which will be viewed as part of this course. The movies you can choose from include:

"To Live", directed by Zhang Yimou, 1994;
 "The Blue Kite", directed by Tian Zhuangzhuang, 1993;
 "Farewell My Concubine", directed by Chen Kaige, 1993;
 "Hibiscus Town", directed by Xie Jin. 1986.

Reviews may be submitted at any time, but they are due no later than week eleven.

- **Final paper** (30%). The topic will be "Why did the Cultural Revolution happen?" You are encouraged to write your own understanding about the reasons for the CR. The paper should be no less than 7 pages, justified and double spaced. The font size should be 12-point, and all citations should be footnoted. The reference books or essays should be no less than five. You may be failed if you make citations just from the internet.

Required reading assignments are expected to be completed before attending class. Also, there are some questions for each week which will help you better understand and think about the class. We will discuss these questions in the class.

Attendance Policy:

An excused absence requires a written medical excuse or written approval from the school's administration office. All other absences are considered to be unexcused. Unexcused absences will affect your grade - see below. Arriving more than 10 minutes late for any three classes will cumulatively count as one unexcused absence, while arriving 30 minutes late for any class will count as an unexcused absence.

Penalties for unexcused absences:

- 1 absence: class participation grade drops one full letter grade (example: A- to B-)
 - 2 absences: class participation grade drops two full letter grades
 - 3 absences: class participation grade drops three full letter grades
 - 4 or more absences: class participation grade is a failing grade
- Any absence, whether excused or not, will require catch-up reading

Academic Honesty Statement:

Please refer to the following web link for policies on academic honesty:
http://www.luc.edu/cas/pdfs/CAS_Academic_Integrity_Statement_December_07.pdf

Required Textbook:

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.

Recommended Books (These are all reserved at the TBC Library)

1. Michael Schoenhals, ed, *China's Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969*, Armonk, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1996.
2. Guo Jian, Yongyi Song, and Yuan Zhou, *Historical Dictionary of the Cultural Revolution*, Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2006.
3. Gao Yuan, *Born Red: A Chronicle of the Cultural Revolution*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987.
4. Feng Jicai, *Ten Years of Madness: Oral Histories of China's Cultural Revolution*. San Francisco: China Books and Periodicals, Inc., 1996.
5. Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman, *To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985.
6. Liang Heng, Judith Shapiro, *Son of the Revolution*, Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1983.
7. Stuart Schram, *The Thought of Mao Zedong*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Class Schedule:

Week One: The Great Leap Forward and Its Aftermath

Questions:

1. What was the Great Leap Forward?
2. What were the policy and ideological origins of the Great Leap Forward?
3. What were its results?

Required Readings:

1. Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, New York: The Free Press, 1999, pp.191- 239;
2. Roderick MacFarquhar and John King Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China: The People's Republic, Volume14, Part 1: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1949-1965*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.293-334.

Alternative Readings:

1. Chan, Anita, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Unger. *Chen Village Under Mao and Deng*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Chapters 2 and 3.
2. Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman. *To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, pp. 54-100.

Lecture Topics:

1. Introduction and overview of the class
2. The policy and ideological origins of the Great Leap Forward
3. The economics of the Great Leap Forward
4. Film excerpts:
To Live, Part 2, [The 1950s] (30 min., 51:00-1:21:00);
The Mao Years [1958-60] (19 min., 37:00-56:00).

Week Two: China before the Cultural Revolution

Questions:

1. What was the international situation in China before the CR?
2. Why did the relationship between China and Soviet Union deteriorate?

Required Readings:

1. Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 1-51;
2. Roderick MacFarquhar and John King Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China: The People's Republic, Volume 14, Part 1: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1949-1965*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.259-289.

Alternative Readings:

1. Michael Lumbers, Staying Out of This Chinese Muddle: The Johnson Administration's Response to the Cultural Revolution, *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (April 2007).
2. Oleg Hoeffding, Sino-Soviet Economic Relations, 1959-1962, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 349, Communist China and the Soviet Bloc (Sept., 1963), pp. 94-105

Lecture Topics:

1. China before the CR
2. The international situation before the CR
3. Documentary: excerpt from *The Mao Years* (37min. 00:00-37:00)

Week Three: The Cultural Revolution I

Questions:

1. What were the key events during the CR? How do MacFarquhar and Schoenhals explain these events?
2. Why was Chairman Mao respected as god?

Required Readings:

1. *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 52-154.
2. Yue Daiyun and Carolyn Wakeman. *To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 101-150.

Alternative Readings:

1. Stuart Schram, *The Thought of Mao Zedong*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 1-94;
2. "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Telescope and Microscope of Our Revolutionary Cause", *Peking Review*, No. 24 June 10, 1966, pp. 6-7;
3. "World's People Eagerly Seek Chairman Mao Badges", *China Reconstructs*, May 1968;
4. "Exploring the Secrets of Treating Deaf-Mutes", Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972;
5. "The Whole Family is Red", *China Pictorial*, May 1969, Vol. 251, p.31

Lecture Topics:

1. The cult of Mao
2. The prelude to the CR
3. The Red Guards
4. The Worker Rebels
5. Revolutionary Committees
6. Severe confusion
7. Documentary: excerpt from *The Moring Sun*

Week Four: The Cultural Revolution II

Questions:

1. Why did the Wuhan incident happen? What did it mean?
2. Why were the Red Guards stopped?

Required Readings:

1. *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 155-220
2. Liang Heng, Judith Shapiro, *Son of the Revolution*, Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1983, pp. 61-100

Alternative Readings:

1. Feng Jikai, *Ten Years of Madness: Oral Histories of China's Cultural Revolution*, San Francisco: China Books and Periodicals, Inc., 1996, Preface and Introduction;
2. Michael Schoenhals, "Unofficial and official histories of the Cultural Revolution". In *Journal of Asian Studies* 48 (1989);
3. Gao, Mobo, "Memoirs and interpretation of the Cultural Revolution". In *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 27 (1995).

Lecture Topics:

1. China in Chaos
2. The Wuhan Incident
3. Criticisms against Liu Shaoqi
4. Youth Sent to the countryside
5. The Fall of Lin Biao.
6. The Tenth Congress and the Rise of the Gang of Four
7. Documentary: excerpt from *The Morning Sun*

You will be given two essays about Yunnan and the CR. You are required to read them before you leave for Yunnan.

1. Michael Schoenhals, "Cultural Revolution on the Border: Yunnan's Political Frontier Defence, 1969-1971", In *The Copenhagen Journal of Asia Studies*, 19, 2004.
2. Dorothy J. Solinger "Politics in Yunnan Province in the Decade of Disorder: Elite Factional Strategies and Central-Local Relations, 1967-1980", In *The China Quarterly*, No. 92 (Dec., 1982), pp. 628-662.

Week Five: Red Guards I

Reading Seminar Questions:

1. What drove the Red Guards to attack their teachers and elders? How do you evaluate the Red Guards? Were they criminals, or victims, or both?
2. Why did Mao start the CR by mobilizing the Chinese students into Red Guards, and then end it by using the workers to control the students?

Film Excerpts:

Farewell My Concubine (Struggle session and suicide) (13 min., from scene 18, 8:22)
The Blue Kite (Red Guard home invasion and beatings) (10 min., from scene 14, 2:47)

Required Readings:

1. *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 221-252;
2. Gao Yuan, *Born Red: A Chronicle of the Cultural Revolution*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. pp. 144-362.

Alternative Readings:

1. Andrew G. Walder, "Factional Conflict at Beijing University, 1966-1968". In *The China Quarterly* 187 (September 2006).
2. *To the Storm*, pp. 1-250.
3. Xiaowei Zheng, "Passion, Reflection, and Survival: Political Choices of Red Guards at Qinghua University, June 1966-July 1968". In *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*, ed. by Esherick, Pickowicz, and Walder, pp.29-63.(I have a copy.)
4. Andrew G. Walder, *Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism* (I have a copy.)
5. Juliana Pennington Heaslet, "The Red Guards: Instruments of Destruction in the Cultural Revolution", In *Asian Survey*, Vol.12, No. 12, *The Cultural Revolution and Its Aftermath* (Dec., 1972), pp. 1032-1047 (I have a copy.)

Original materials:

1. "It is Fine", *Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 23, 1966;
2. "Destroy the Old and Establish the New", *Peking Review*, No. 36 (9/2/1966), p. 17;
3. "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Engulfs Peking's Streets", *Peking Review*, p. 20, No. 35 - August 26, 1966.

Week Six: Red Guards II

Reading seminar topics:

1. What was the role of the Red Guards in the Cultural Revolution?

2. Regarding the "Destroy the Four Olds" Campaign, we ultimately confront the weightiness of the past in modern China. This concern with the fate of traditional Chinese culture was as pressing on the eve of the CR in 1966 as it had been in the May Fourth Movement of 1919. So is there something inherently peculiar about modern Chinese history, or about Chinese culture in the post-Confucian age, that demanded "cultural revolutions"? Modern Chinese history has in many ways been a struggle to come to terms

with China's historical and cultural legacy. Smaller versions of this struggle are still visible today in the defense of Beijing alleys (hutong) and courtyards (siheyuan) against the demands of modern city planning, and in grassroots efforts like author Feng Jicai's campaign for cultural protection in Tianjin.

Film Excerpts:

To Live, Part 3, [The 1960s] (49 min.)

Required Readings:

1. *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 337-378
2. Dahpon David Ho, "To Protect and Preserve: Resisting the 'Destroy the Four Olds' Campaign 1966-1967". In *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* pp.64-95, ed. by Esherick, Pickowicz, and Walder. (I have a copy.)

Alternative Reading:

1. Yixin Chen, "Lost in Revolution and Reform: The Socioeconomic Pains of China's Red Guards Generation, 1966-1996". In *Journal of Contemporary China* (1999), 8(21), 219-239 (I have a copy.)

Week Seven: The Social Life during the CR Seen from the Movies

Questions:

1. What was daily life like for common people in the CR?
2. What kind of life did Xiuxiu have in her period in the countryside?

Reading:

No assigned reading for this week

Film excerpts: *Xiuxiu The Sent Down Girl*, directed by Joan Chen, 1999;
Film excerpts: *The Blue Kite*, directed by Tian Zhuangzhuang, 1993;
Film excerpts: *Farewell My Concubine*, directed by Chen Kaige, 1993;
Film excerpts: *Hibiscus*, directed by Xie Jin. 1986.

Week Eight: Mid-term Exam

Week Nine: the Voices of Victims: Oral Histories as Sources

Reading Seminar Questions:

1. Why did the narrator of "They who have suffered greatly" and the narrator of "Tough Guy" work so hard?
2. Why couldn't the tough guy protect his family?
3. Why did the narrator of "Was I really guilty?" kill her own father?

Required Reading:

- 1, Feng Jicai, *Voices from the Whirlwind*, Foreign Language Press, 1990, pp.3-25;38-55; 55-101;

Alternative Readings:

- 1, Vera Schwarcz, "A Brimming Darkness: The Voice of Memory/The Silence of Pain in China After the Cultural Revolution". In *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30 (1998)
- 2, Feng Jicai, *Ten Years of Madness, Oral History of China's Cultural Revolution*, China & Periodicals, Inc. 1996, pp.17-31; 101-125

This week, we will have a speaker who experienced the CR. You will be able to ask questions about his/her experience in the CR.

Week Ten: The Culture Revolution in Countryside

Reading Seminar Questions:

1. Did the CR evolve in the countryside as it did in the cities? Why or why not?
2. What were the moral predicaments in the CR in rural China?

Required Readings:

1. Andrew G. Walder and Yang Su "The Cultural Revolution in the Countryside: Scope, Timing, and Human Impact". In *The China Quarterly*, No. 173 (March, 2003), pp. 74-99;
2. Richard Baum, "The Cultural Revolution in the countryside: Anatomy of a limited rebellion". In Thomas W. Robinson (ed.), *The Cultural Revolution in China*: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, pp. 367-479;
3. À He Jiansui, "The Death of a Landlord: Moral Predicament in Rural China, 1968-1969", in *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*, pp.124-152.

Documentary excerpt from "The Mao Years" (55min., 58:00-1:53:00)

Week Eleven: The Birth of a New Era: China after Mao

Questions:

1. Why were all Chinese so madly swept up by the Cultural Revolution?
2. Was the CR a mass movement?
3. What were its objectives and how did Mao actually lead the mass movement?
4. Did the mass movement take the course that its initiator planned? If not, how should we understand the actual history of the CR?
5. How do you evaluate Mao Zedong? Was he a revolutionist, an idealist, an evil dictator, or a mix of two or more?
6. When Mao launched the Cultural Revolution, was he pursuing an unrealistic dream and spiritual idea, or did he just want to control state power?

Required readings:

1. *Mao's Last Revolution*, pp. 379-462.
2. *To the Storm*, pp. 322-387.

Alternative readings:

1. Jonathan Unger, *Education under Mao : class and competition in Canton schools, 1960-1980*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1982. pp. 139-206.
2. Keith Forster, "Repudiation of the Cultural Revolution in China: The Case of Zhejiang". In *Pacific Affairs* 59 (1986)

Lecture Topics:

1. The Tiananmen Incident
2. The death of Mao
3. The return of Deng Xiaoping
4. The fall of the Gang of Four
5. Documentary excerpt from *Born under the Red Flag*

Week Twelve: The Effects of the CR on China

Reading Seminar Questions:

1. What were the impacts of the CR on the politics and economy of China?
2. What were the impacts of the CR on traditional Chinese culture, especially education, and social life?

Required Readings:

1. Chen, Yixin. "Lost in Revolution and Reform: The Socioeconomic Pains of China's Red Guards Generation, 1966-1996". In *Journal of Contemporary China* 1999, 8(21).
2. Lowell Dittmer, "Learning from Trauma: The Cultural Revolution in Post-Mao Politics". In *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution*, eds, William A. Joseph, Christine P.W. Wong, and David Zweig. Harvard Contemporary China Series: 8.1991.

Alternative Readings:

1. Xuegang Zhou and Liren Hou, Children of the Cultural Revolution: The State and Life Course in the People's Republic of China. In *American Sociological Review* 64 (1999);
2. Xin Meng and R. G. Gregory, The Impact of Interrupted Education on Subsequent Educational Attainment: A Cost of the Chinese Cultural Revolution". In *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (July, 2002), pp. 935-959;
3. C. P. FitzGerald, Religion and China's Cultural Revolution. In *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 40, No. 1/2 (Spring - Summer, 1967), pp. 124-129.

Documentary excerpt from *Born under the Red Flag*

Week Thirteen: Studies of the CR in the US and in China

No reading assigned this week, read as your interests

Lecture Topics:

In the US:

1. Official studies of the CR in the US
2. Institutes studying the CR in the US
3. Academic scholars studying the CR in the US

Studies focusing on the politics of the CR;
 Studies focusing on the military of the CR ;
 Studies focusing on the diplomatic field of the CR;
 Studies focusing on the economy of the CR

In China:

Two periods in the studies of the CR
 The achievements of the studies of the CR
 Studies of the importance of the CR;

Studies of the reasons of the CR;
Studies of the characters of the CR;
Studies of the lessons of the CR
Problems of the studies of the CR
Lack of any official institutions for studies of the CR
Closed archives and materials
Limitations on scholars doing CR research and limited essays published every

year

Week Fourteen: Final paper due and share in class