CHES5105 Fall 2020

CHES5105 Selected Themes on Chinese History – The Cultural Revolution

2020-21, Fall Term, Thursdays 6:30pm - 9:15pm

Instructor: Prof. Michel BONNIN (michel.bonnin@gmail.com)
Teaching Assistant:

Special circumstances due to the Coronavirus pandemic
All sessions of this course will be conducted in real time on ZOOM. The meeting details and password will be shared in time on Blackboard as well as by email. Recording of classes is not permitted.

Course Description
Half a century after its launching, the Cultural Revolution is still haunting China. What do we know about this extraordinary period, its causes, sequence of events and consequences? And how is it collectively remembered (or not remembered)?

This course will present the different sources, many of them unofficial and recent, which are the basis of our historical knowledge of this period. These sources will include primary sources, secondary scholarship and a substantive amount of audio-visual materials (photos included in the PPT presentations and extracts of documentary and fiction videos). References of useful websites will also be provided. For sources in Chinese language, an English translation will always be available. The course will discuss the complexity of the causes of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, linked to Mao Zedong's own personality and experience, and the paradoxical influence it had on the minds of a whole generation and on the later fate of the country. Its impact outside China will also be presented, as well as its obvious traces in the present collective memory, in spite of the oblivion encouraged officially. Finally, we shall discuss the legacy of this period and wonder if a new Cultural Revolution could happen in a foreseeable future.

Learning Outcomes
After attending this course, students should:

- Have a rather detailed knowledge of the main historical events which took place during the Chinese Cultural Revolution.
- Have some familiarity with the primary sources and secondary scholarship available on this topic, as well as with visual and audio-visual materials.
- Have a certain knowledge concerning the memory of this event, as it expressed itself officially and unofficially until now.
- Be able to reflect on the historical causes and consequences of the Cultural Revolution, as well as on the specific nature of the Mao regime as it expressed itself through this event.
- Be able to write short reviews of interesting materials linked to the course and to choose, with the help of the instructor, an original research topic on which they will produce their final paper.

Learning Activities
Students are expected to complete the required readings before each session. Questions will be welcome and rational discussion encouraged.

Each student will write successively two summaries of an assigned or recommended reading (or of an audio-visual material proposed by the instructor at the beginning of the course). These summaries will be concluded by personal remarks on the text or film by the student. A Guideline for the Reading Reviews will be provided on Blackboard at the beginning of the course. The expected length will range from 350 to 700 words. Students can contact the instructor for further explanations if they have doubts. An electronic version of these reviews with the VeriGuide receipt will be sent to the instructor. Deadlines will be 8 October and 5 November (a copy of the VeriGuide receipts shall be sent to the TA).

A Final Paper will have to be submitted in electronic form with the Veriguide receipt no later than Friday, 4 December (copy of the VeriGuide receipt also sent to the TA). The topic of this final paper shall be chosen by each student, but discussed first with the instructor during one or two Paper sessions, which will be held at a convenient time after discussion with the students. A Guideline for the
Final Paper will be provided on Blackboard at the beginning of the course. The expected length will range from 2500 to 4000 words.

Attention is drawn to University policy and regulations on honesty in academic work, and to the disciplinary guidelines and procedures applicable to breaches of such policy and regulations. Details may be found at http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/policy/academichonesty/. With each assignment, students will be required to submit a signed declaration that they are aware of the policies, regulations and procedures.

Course Assessment
Reading review 1: 20%
Reading review 2: 20%
Final Paper: 60%

Course schedule

Note: This syllabus might be changed according to the needs of the class.

Session 1: 10 September  I. Historical Roots of the Chinese Cultural Revolution
Decline and fall of the Empire, The Taiping Rebellion, the Boxer Rebellion, the Nationalist Revolution, the Kuomintang and the warlords, emergence of the Chinese Communist Party, its “Long March” to power, the role of the Japanese invasion.

II. The main sources of our knowledge on the Cultural Revolution
Main sources in English and other Western languages. Main sources in Chinese: the role of Hong Kong and the importance of popular (minjian) historiography.

Recommended Readings:

Session 2: 17 September  Causes of the Cultural Revolution (1)
The rise of Mao Zedong as preeminent leader of the CCP. Mao’s experience, the influence of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1926-1927), his leadership style and ideology (from his youth till the end of the 1950s)

Required Readings:

Session 3: 24 September  Causes of the Cultural Revolution (2)
Mao in the first half of the 1960s: the aftershock of the Great Leap catastrophic failure, the Sino-Soviet rift and Mao’s desire for total control over the future. The concept of “Continuous Revolution”.

Required Readings:
1: The Purge at the Top.  
Discussion of the periodization of the “Cultural Revolution”. Presentation of the evolution of the “revolutionary” period of the CR. Main events, the first salvos of Mao’s attack on his colleagues, Mao’s strategy and the other leaders’ impotence, participation of the “masses”: the Red Guards.

**Required Readings:**  

2: Militarization as the Only Way Out of Chaos?  
Failure of the project of a new political system. Endless clashes between rival Red Guards groups. Final complete reliance on the Army and reconstruction of the Party at the 9th Congress. Was this first period of the CR a real revolution, a political purge, or something else?

**Required Readings:**  
- Walder, *China Under Mao*, p. 263-277,  

Session 6: 22 October  Manipulated Youth: The Turbulent Movement of the Red Guards  
Why were they so easily manipulated? Can they be compared to the Hitler Youth Corps? Causes of their infighting. The role of the system of class labels. What was the difference between “Red Guards” and “Rebels”?

**Required Readings:**  
- Andrew Walder, *China Under Mao…*, p. 200-30,  

**Recommended Readings:**  
- 徐友渔, 形形色色的造反 — 红卫兵精神素质的形成及演变, 香港中文大学出版社, 1999, p. 53-68.

Session 7: 29 October  Different Types of Violence during the Cultural Revolution  
Who were the main victims and the main perpetrators of violence? Why was violence so extreme in the countryside?

**Required Readings:**  
- MacFarquhar and Schoenhals, p. 117-131 (“Red Terror”)  

**Recommended Readings:**  
Session 8: 5 November

1. The Cult of Mao: different rituals and meaning of this extraordinary wave of political religion.

2. The Rustication Movement of Chinese Educated Youth: End and Continuation of the Cultural Revolution

Punishment of the Red Guards or training of “revolutionary successors”? Solution to the urban employment problem or remedy to the rural deficit of knowledge? The complex motives for this long-lasting movement.

Required Readings:
1. - Andrew Walder, China Under Mao..., p. 277-82.
   - Michael Schoenhals, China’s Cultural Revolution, p. 181-182.

Session 9: 12 November

1. Fin de Règne in Zhongnanhai: A Deeply Fractured Leadership
   The Lin Biao Affair, obscure campaigns, economic stagnation, death of Mao Zedong and arrest of the “Gang of Four”. The emergence of a new logic of government.

2. A Dissatisfied and Derelict Society, Emergence of Unorthodox Thoughts in this Generation
   The debilitating effects of the Revolution in education and of the rustication movement. The countryside as a place to reflect for former Red Guards. Aspiration to stability and progress. Rejection of Mao style politics. First Tiananmen movement and later revolt of the rusticated youth.

Required Readings:

Recommended Readings:

Session 10: 19 November

The Cultural Revolution between Oblivion, Distortion and Memory (1)

Official evaluation, official uses and forced oblivion. Attempts to revive memory, inside and outside of the system.

Required Readings:
- “Nihil sine Xi: China is struggling to keep control over its version of the past”, The Economist, 29 October 2016, p. 29-30.

Recommended Reading:
Session 11: 26 November The Cultural Revolution between Oblivion, Distortion and Memory (2)

Popular (minjian) memory: diverse and conflicting memories, but large consensus on the “duty of memory”. An individual, social and political necessity? The question of repentance.

Required Readings:

Recommended Reading:

Session 12: 3 December Conclusion: What Does the Cultural Revolution Reveal of the Maoist Political Regime? Could it Happen Again?

Different interpretations of the Cultural Revolution. Maoism as a specific form of totalitarianism. Charisma, control and manipulation of “the masses”.

Required Readings:
- Ross Terrill, “Foreword”, in Zheng Yi, Scarlet Memorial, p. XI-XVII.
- Su Yang, Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution, chap. 9 (“Understanding Atrocities in Plain Sight”), p. 242-64.
- Andrew Walder, China under Mao…. (p. 332-341).

(Final paper should be submitted in electronic form no later than Friday, 4 December)