

**Personal, Social and Humanities Education (PSHE)**

**Key Learning Area: NSS History (Compulsory Part)**

**TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINA:**

**MODERNIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION**

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**Lecture 2**

**The Paradox of Early Republican History:**

**A Big Retrogression in Political Modernization and**

**A Great Leap Forward in the Modernization of Thinking (1912-1928)**

**1. Yuan Shikai's reactionary rule and China's disillusionment with republicanism**

**1.1 A flash of glory for republicanism: the first parliamentary elections (December 1912-January 1913) and the victory of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT)**

- The election laws
- Song Jiaoren 宋教仁: the KMT 國民黨
- Yuan Shikai 袁世凱: the Unification Party 統一黨; the Republican Party 共和黨; the Democratic Party 民主黨 (later merged into the Progressive Party 進步黨)
- The Lower House 眾議院; the Upper House 參議院

### 1.2 Yuan Shikai's counteroffensives and the about-turn of democratic development: toward the militarization of politics

- The assassination of Song Jiaoren (20 March 1913)
- The negotiation of the so-called Reorganization Loan of ￡25,000,000 「善後大借款」 from the Five-Power Banking Consortium (April 1913)
- The dismissal of three KMT military governors (Li Liejun 李烈鈞 of Jiangxi 江西 province; Hu Hanmin 胡漢民 of Guangdong 廣東 province; Bo Wenwei 柏文蔚 of Anhui 安徽 province) (June 1913) and the suppression of the Second Revolution 「二次革命」 (September 1913)
- The spread of the influence of the Beiyang 北洋 (Northern) clique: the sending of Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 to Wuchang 武昌 and Feng Guozhang 馮國璋 to Nanjing 南京)
- The outlawing of the KMT (November 1913); the dissolution of Parliament (January 1914); the dissolution of provincial assemblies and all local self-governing bodies (February 1914)
- The convening of a national conference to revise the “Provisional Constitution of the Chinese Republic” 《中華民國臨時約法》 (March 1914) and the promulgation of the “Constitutional Compact” 《中華民國約法》 (May 1914)
- The acceptance of the Twenty-one Demands 《二十一條》 from Japan (May 1915)
- The attempt to restore the monarchy (August 1915-June 1916): opposition led by Cai E 蔡鍔 and the National Protection Army 護國軍

### 1.3 Yuan Shikai and “warlordism”

- Why do historians call Yuan Shikai “the father of warlordism”?
- Yuan's attempt to forestall military separatism in China: changing the “military governor” (*dudu* 都督) to “general” (*jiangjun* 將軍) and creating the post of “civil governor” (*xun'anshi* 巡按使)

## 2. “Warlordism”: the total militarization of China's politics, economy, and society (1916-1928)

## 2.1 Defining “warlord”

### 2.2 Late Qing “regionalism” and early Republican “warlordism”

- Similarities between “regionalism” and “warlordism”
- Differences between “regionalism” and “warlordism”

Backgrounds of “warlords”: graduates of the traditional military examinations (Zhang Xun 張勳); graduates of modern military academies in China (Duan Qirui 段祺瑞, Feng Guozhang 馮國璋, Cao Kun 曹錕, Wu Peifu 吳佩孚, Li Zongren 李宗仁); graduates of military academies in Japan (Yan Xishan 閻錫山); graduates of modern-style schools (Chen Jiongming 陳炯明); peasant soldiers (Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥, Zhang Zuolin 張作霖); bandits (Zhang Zongchang 張宗昌)

### 2.3 Genesis and development: “warlordism” as a process of the military’s participation in, interference with, and domination of politics

- Stage 1: The politicization of military men (the New Army’s participation in revolutionary activities)
- Stage 2: The collapse of imperial rule and the eruption of a crisis of (regime) legitimacy
- Stage 3: The waning strength of the revolutionaries and the rising power of the military after the founding of the Chinese Republic
- Stage 4: The rise of Yuan Shikai’s personal dictatorship in early 1914 and the militarization of politics
- Stage 5: The launching of the Anti-Yuan (Anti-Monarchical) War and intensification of the militarization of politics
- Stage 6: The outbreak of the North-South War 「南北戰爭」: the launching of the Constitution Protection Movement 「護法運動」 by Sun Yat-sen and aggravation of the crisis of legitimacy
- Stage 7: The emergence of a state of equilibrium of fragmented military forces and the persistence of “warlordism”

### 2.4 China under “warlordism”

2.4.1 Politics

2.4.2 Economy

2.4.3 Society

2.4.4 Culture

**3. China's cultural and intellectual revolution during the "warlord period": the May Fourth Movement**

3.1 Defining the May Fourth Movement 五四運動

3.1.1 The May Fourth Movement as referred to by contemporaries

- Main chronology of events: 4 May to 22 July 1919 (The Versailles Peace Conference; Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, chancellor of Beida 北大 (Peking University); Luo Jialun 羅家倫; "Manifesto of the Students' Strike" 《罷課宣言》; the "May Fourth spirit" 「五四精神」)

3.1.2 The May Fourth Movement as referred to by historians

- Hu Shi 胡適: 「當年若沒有思想的變化, 決不會有五四運動」(〈紀念五四〉, 《獨立評論》, 1935年5月5日)
- The New Culture Movement (Sun Yat-sen) 「新文化運動」(孫中山)
- The May Fourth Incident 「五四事件」
- An anti-traditionalistic, anti-warlord, and anti-imperialistic patriotic movement

3.2 The New Culture Movement: the first cultural and intellectual revolution of modern China

3.2.1 Reasons for the rise of the New Culture Movement

- Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 and the publication of *New Youth* 《新青年》

(originally *Youth Magazine* 《青年雜誌》)

Chen put forward six principles to govern the behaviour of youths (“Call to Youth” 〈敬告青年〉, *Youth Magazine*, 9 September 1915):

1. 自主的而非奴隸的
2. 進步的而非保守的
3. 進取的而非退隱的
4. 世界的而非鎖國的
5. 實利的而非虛文的
6. 科學的而非想象的

■ Reform at Beida under the leadership of Cai Yuanpei

Aim of university education: 「探求學理、掌握科學知識、培育人才新風」

Guiding principle of running a university: 「兼容并包、思想自由」

Proliferation of publications at Beida: *New Youth* 《新青年》 (Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, Hu Shi 胡適); *New Tide* 《新潮》 (Fu Sinian 傅斯年, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛, Luo Jialun 羅家倫); *National Heritage* 《國故》 (Liu Shipai 劉師培, Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘, supported by Yan Fu 嚴復, Lin Shu 林紓)

### 3.2.2 The contents of the New Culture Movement

■ The “literary revolution” 「文學革命」

Hu Shi proposed the so-called “eight-don’ts-ism” 「八不主義」 (“My Humble Opinions on a Reform of Literature” 〈文學改良芻議〉, *New Youth*, 1 January 1917):

1. 不用典
2. 不用陳套語
3. 不講對仗
4. 不避俗字俗語
5. 須講求文法之結構
6. 不作無病呻吟
7. 不摹仿古人，語語須有個我在
8. 須言之有物

Chen Duxiu raised the slogan of starting a “literary revolution” (“On the Literary Revolution” 〈文學革命論〉, *New Youth*, 1 February 1917):

1. 推倒雕琢的阿諛的貴族文學，建設平易的抒情的國民文學
2. 推倒陳腐的鋪張的古典文學，建設新鮮的立誠的寫實文
3. 推倒迂晦的艱澀的山林文學，建設明了的通俗的社會文學

Split of the May Fourth writers into two main groups in 1921:

1. The Society for Literary Studies 文學研究會 (Zhou Zuoren 周作人, Mao Dun 茅盾)
2. The Creation Society 創造社 (Guo Moruo 郭沫若, Yu Dafu 郁達夫, Tian Han 田漢)

■ The “new thought tide” 「新思潮」 and anti-traditionalism 反傳統

Ready acceptance of Western doctrines: Darwin’s theory of evolution, social Darwinism, pragmatism, empiricism, mutual aid, anarchism, socialism, Marxism, science 賽因斯, and democracy 德莫克拉西

The Anti-Confucius Movement:

1. Yi Baisha 易白沙: “A Discussion of Confucius” 〈孔子平議〉
2. Hu Shi: “Confucius and Sons Incorporated” 「孔家店」
3. Chen Duxiu: 「主張尊孔，勢必立君；主張立君，勢必復辟」，「提倡孔教必培共和」，「信仰共和必排孔教」 (“Restoration and Reverence for Confucius” 〈復辟與專孔〉)；孔教道德造成「君虐臣、父虐子、姑虐媳、夫虐妻、主虐奴、長虐幼」的殘酷現實 (“A Reply to Fu Gyixin” 〈答傅桂馨〉)
4. Wu Yu 吳虞: 「由天尊地卑演而為君尊臣卑、父尊子卑、夫尊婦卑、官尊民卑，尊卑既嚴，貴賤遂別」 (“The Harmfulness of the Confucianists’ Advocacy of the Caste System” 〈儒家主張階級制度之害〉)；「禮教」之遺害最大 (“Cannibalism and the Teaching of Propriety” 〈吃人與禮教〉)

5. Lu Xun 魯迅: 「凡事總須研究，才會明白。古來時常吃人，我也還記得，可是不甚清楚。我翻開歷史一查，這歷史沒有年代，歪歪斜斜的每頁上都寫著『仁義道德』幾個字，我橫豎睡不著，仔細看了半夜，才從字縫里看出字來，滿本都寫著兩個字是『吃人』！」(“The Diary of a Madman” 《狂人日記》)

Split of the May Fourth intellectuals into two main groups:

1. Hu Shi: “More Study of Problems, Less Talk of ‘Isms’” 〈多研究些問題，少談些主義〉, *Weekly Critique* 《每周評論》 (20 July 1919)
2. Li Dazhao 李大釗: “More Discussion on Problems and ‘Isms’” 〈再論問題與主義〉, *Weekly Critique* 《每周評論》 (17 August 1919)

### 3.3 The historical significance of the May Fourth Movement

#### 3.3.1 The May Fourth Movement as a milestone in the history of China's modernization: the beginning of the modernization of thinking

- The three stages of modernization in China:
  1. The modernization of implements and technique
  2. The modernization of institutions
  3. The modernization of thinking
- Why did China's modernization undergo a shift of paradigm in the early Republican period?

#### 3.3.2 The May Fourth Movement as a turning point in the intellectual development of modern China: the appearance of “totalistic anti-traditionalism”

- The New Culture Movement as one new peak among many in the unfolding of China's cultural and intellectual transformation since the late Qing period: “When viewed from the perspective of the previous thirty years, the May Fourth Movement no longer resembles a mountain range rising up abruptly out of a flat plain, but simply a somewhat higher range in a long stretch of complex mountainous terrains” (Benjamin Schwartz (ed.), *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

University Press, 1972))

The late Qing “breakthrough generation”:

1. Yan Fu 嚴復(translation of Thomas Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* 《天演論》, John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*《群己權界說》, Herbert Spencer’s *Study of Sociology*《群學肆言》, Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*《原富》, and C.L.S. Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Law*《法意》)
2. Liang Qichao (“freedom”「自由」; “popular sovereignty”「民權」; “new people”「新民」)

- The uniqueness of the New Culture Movement: “totalistic anti-traditionalism”「整體性的反傳統主義」(Lin Yu-sheng, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era*, University of Madison Press, 1978; 林毓生：《中國意識的危機》，貴州人民出版社，1986年)

Lin Yu-sheng’s advocacy of the “creative transformation”「創造性轉化」 of Chinese tradition

- Discontinuity in the intellectual development of modern China: transformation of the *contents of mainstream Chinese thoughts* (from the Confucian emphasis on the “three bonds” and “five relationships” to the May Fourth emphasis on “science” and “democracy”, and to the Maoist emphasis on “class struggle”)
- Continuity in the intellectual development of modern China: consistency in the *Chinese mode of thinking*, one that sees the transformation of human consciousness as a prerequisite condition for realizing politico-socio-economic transformation (with Confucianism emphasizing “self-cultivation”「修身」, the May Fourth New Culture Movement emphasizing the cultivation of the democratic, scientific, and rational world outlook, and Mao Zedong Thought emphasizing the cultivation of a revolutionary mentality that judges problems from the class standpoint (i.e., “redness”「紅」))

3.3.3 The May Fourth Movement as a milestone in the development of Chinese patriotism: the appearance of a patriotic movement that cut across social strata and of a kind of patriotism that was based on “totalistic anti-traditionalism”

- A city-wide anti-Japanese and anti-warlord patriotic movement
- The dilemma of May Fourth patriotism: “the crisis of Chinese consciousness” (Lin Yu-sheng)

3.4 Rethinking about the May Fourth Movement

- Why do science and democracy still remain as slogans chanted by the Chinese people today?
- Democracy: an end in itself, or just a means to an end?
- Science: the pursuit of truth, or “scientism” (the worship of science)? (see Daniel W.Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900 – 1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965)).
- Questioning the assumption that modern China has been deeply influenced by the ideologies of the West.

3.5 Three schools of thought as legacies of the May Fourth Movement

- Liberal democracy (Hu Shi)
- Marxism-Leninism (Chen Duxiu; Li Dazhao)
- Neo-traditionalism or Neo-Confucianism (Liang Shuming 梁漱溟)

Liang Shuming’s comparative study of Western, Chinese, and Indian cultures (*Dong Xi wenhua ji qi zhexue* 《東西文化及其哲學》 (*Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*), Shanghai Commercial Press, 1921):

“The basic spirit of Western culture is embodied by a ‘will’ that moves purposefully in a forward direction” 「西方文化是以意欲向前要求為其根本精神的」

“The basic spirit of Chinese culture is embodied by a ‘will’ that goes sideways to harmonize itself with the environment” 「中國文化是以意欲自為調和，持中為其根本精神的」

“The basic spirit of Indian culture is embodied by a ‘will’ that turns backward into itself seeking its own negation” 「印度文化是以意欲反身向

後要求為其根本精神的」

Liang: “To put it bluntly, the future world culture will be built upon the rejuvenation of Chinese culture” 「質而言之，世界未來文化就是中國文化的復興」