Lecture 1

The Late Qing Reform and Republican Revolution:
Beginnings of Political Modernization in China (1900-1911)

1. Introduction: modernization as an approach in historical writing and as history

1.1 Modernization and transformation: an explanation

1.2 Modernization: the construction of theory and of an approach in historical writing

1.2.1 The rise of “Western-centric” approaches in American historical writing in the 1950s and 1960s
- The “impact—response” approach
- The “tradition—modernity” approach

1.2.2 The practical significance and characteristics of modernization theory in American social science circles in the 1950s and 1960s
1.2.3 Redefining the relationship between “tradition” and “modernity” in modernization theory of the 1970s

1.2.4 The rise of a new academic trend in the U.S.A. in the 1970s

- The New Left and neo-Marxist theories (the dependency theory; the imperialism theory; the world system theory)

1.2.5 The rise of post-modernism in the West and its repudiation of modernization theory in the 1980s and 1990s

1.2.6 The affirmation of modernization theory by developments in East Asia in the 1980s and 1990s

1.3 Modernization: history and definition

1.3.1 The preconditions of modernization as seen from the history of early modern Europe: secularization and innovation

1.3.2 The mission of modernization as seen from the history of early modern Europe: fulfillment of the “Enlightenment project” (i.e., the construction of a civilized order rooted in the concepts of rationality, science, and progress)

- The most outstanding institutional manifestations of Enlightenment thinking: the capitalist industrial system; the liberal democratic system; the nation-state

1.3.3 The yardsticks of Western modernity

- Mechanization with regard to the mode of production (i.e., industrialization and agricultural mechanization)
- Urbanization (a corollary of industrialization)
- Expansion of mass participation in public affairs
- Affirmation of the value of the individual
- Popularization of education (especially the spread of scientific knowledge)
- Extension of transportation and communication networks
Bureaucratization in the Weberian sense
Enhancement of international relationships

1.3.4 The salient features of modern transformation
- Transformation from a traditional agricultural civilization into a modern industrial civilization
- Transformation from a feudal autocratic system into a modern democratic system
- Transformation from uncivilized group-ism into conscious individualism

1.3.5 Global modernization, globalization, and the rise of alternative modernities at the end of the twentieth century
- The “convergence thesis” (the duplication of Western modernity)
- The “indigenization of modernity” (the emergence of “alternative modernities” in the non-Western world)

1.3.6 Defining the concept of modernization
- The fulfillment of modernity
- The process of realizing modernity

1.4 Modernization in China

1.4.1 The characteristics of traditional Chinese culture
- Institutionalized Confucianism: the Three Bonds 「三綱」 (between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife) and the Five Relationships 「五倫」 (between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friends to friends)
- Pan-moralism

1.4.2 The beginning of modernization in China: a response to the challenge of distorted Western modernity (imperialism and colonialism)
- Anti-Western westernization
- The decline of Sino-centrism
1.4.3 The progress of modernization in China

- The modernization of implements and techniques: the Yangwu (foreign matters) Movement 洋務運動, or the Self-strengthening Movement 自強運動
- The modernization of institutions: the Hundred Days Reform 百日維新, the Late Qing Reform 清末新政, and the 1911 (Republican) Revolution 辛亥革命
- The modernization of thoughts, values, and behaviour: the May Fourth New Culture Movement 五四新文化運動
- “Socialist modernization” based on “taking class struggle as the key link” 「以階級鬥爭為綱」(1957-1978)
- “Socialist modernization” based on “reform and openness”「改革開放」(1979-present)

1.4.4 Characteristics of the process of modernization in China: emphasis on “national salvation” 「救亡」and the values of collectivity

1.4.5 The question about the success of modernization in China: the views of Immanuel Hsu, Jonathan Spence, and Ambrose King

- Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2nd edition, 1999)

2. The Late Qing Reform and China’s political modernization

2.1 The Chinese situation after the Allied forces entered Beijing (Peking) and the reason behind the Qing Court’s promulgation of reforms

- The Boxer Protocol 《辛丑條約》(17 September 1901)
Did the Qing government lack sincerity in carrying out reforms?

2.2 The contents of the Late Qing Reform (1901-1911)

- Reform of the administrative system and preparation for the inauguration of a constitutional government: China’s first-ever election (1909); the establishment of provincial assemblies 諮議局 (1909); the inauguration of the national assembly 資政院 (November 1910)
- Reform of the military system: establishment of modern military academies 武備學堂; the creation of the Bureau of Military Training 練兵處; the politicization of military men
- Educational reform: the abolition of the civil service examinations 科舉考
- Fiscal, economic, and social reforms

3. The Republican Revolution and China’s political modernization

3.1 Sun Yat-sen’s (Sun Yixian’s) contributions to the political modernization of China

- Sun created a tradition of revolution in China
  The Revive China Society 興中會: 「驅除鞑虜，恢復中國，創立合眾政府」（〈檀香山興中會盟書〉，1894 年 11 月 24 日）
- Sun founded the first revolutionary party in Chinese history that partook of the nature of a modern political party: the Revolutionary League (Alliance) 同盟會

The nature of the Chinese Revolution: 「前代為英雄革命，今為國民革命。所謂國民革命者，一國之人皆有自由、平等、博愛之精神，即皆負革命之責任，軍政府特為其樞機而已。」（〈同盟會宣言〉，1905 年 8 月）
The aims of the “national revolution”：(一) 驱除鞑虏；(二) 恢复中华；(三) 建立民国；(四) 平均地权。(〈同盟会宣言〉，1905 年 8 月)

The stages of the “national revolution”：(一) 軍法之治；(二) 約法之治；(三) 憲法之治。(〈同盟会宣言〉，1905 年 8 月)

Sun created a set of theories for the revolution: the Three People’s Principles 三民主義

“Nationalism”「民族主義」：「民族主義，並非是遇著不同族的人便要排斥他，是不許那不同族的人來奪我民族的政權。」(〈在東京《民報》創刊周年慶祝大會的演說〉，1906 年 12 月 2 日)

“Democracy”「民權主義」：「我們推倒滿州政府，從驅除滿人那一面說是民族革命，從顛覆君主政體那一面說是政治革命，並不是把來分作兩次去做。講到那政治革命的結果，是建立民主立憲政體。」(〈在東京《民報》創刊周年慶祝大會的演說〉，1906 年 12 月 2 日)

“People’s Livelihood”「民生主義」：「我們實行民族革命、政治革命的時候，須同時想法子改良社會經濟組織，防止後來的社會革命……兄弟所最信的是定地價的法。」(〈在東京《民報》創刊周年慶祝大會的演說〉，1906 年 12 月 2 日)

The Three People’s Principles:“我們革命的目的，是為眾生謀幸福，因不願少數滿州人專利，故要民族革命；不願君主一人專利，故要政治革命；不願少數富人專利，故要社會革命。”(〈在東京《民報》創刊周年慶祝大會的演說〉，1906 年 12 月 2 日)

4. Re-approaching the collapse of the Qing dynasty from the perspective of
political modernization

4.1 Two vanguards of political modernization in China: the constitutional monarchists (reformers) and the republicans (revolutionaries)

- Similarities between the constitutionalists and revolutionaries
- Constitutionalists versus revolutionaries: Xinmin congbao《新民叢報》(New People's Miscellany) versus Minbao《民報》(People's Journal)

4.2 The revolutionaries and the Qing Court: prolonged struggles

4.3 The constitutionalists and the Qing Court: from cooperation to breakdown of relationship

- Contradictions and conflicts in the political arena: the convocation of parliament and restriction of monarchical power
- Contradictions and conflicts in the economic sphere: the nationalization of railways
- The decision of the constitutionalists after the Wuchang Uprising 武昌起義

4.4 The historical significance and revelation of the fall of the Qing dynasty

4.5 Reform, revolution, and modernization in China