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 李烈鉞 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 曹锟, 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》
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: 「兼容幷包、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 Shipei 劉師培, Gu Hongming 辜鴻銘, supported by Yan Fu 嚴復, Lin Shu 林紘)

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 矛盾)
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」、「提倡孔教必指共和」，「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」之傷害最大 ("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:
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
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」)

tionalism 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
Liang: “To put it bluntly, the future world culture will be built upon the rejuvenation of Chinese culture”