MO3337: China's Revolutions, 1850-1989 - Spring, 2014

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Office Hours: Tue 11-12:00 & Wed 12-13:00 Open Door, Friday 12-13:00 By Appointment

Description

This module traces the modern history of China through the lens of its most transformative political and social changes. It begins with the momentous and transformative rebellions that shook the Qing dynasty to its roots and concludes with the 1989 democracy movement that centered on Tiananmen square in Beijing. We will examine the ways in which China's revolutions connected themselves with the past in a process that generated a long and rich revolutionary tradition. We will address the issue of identifying revolutionary agency and the social and economic forces that help drive the most violent transformations of China's past two centuries.

Overview

- 31.1 W1 Introduction: Revolution and History in China, 1911 and 1949
- 07.2 W2 Social and Economic Change in Modern China: A Broad Overview
- 14.2 W3 Rebellions as History, Myth, and Inspiration
- 19.2 W4 What Sort of Revolution destroyed the Qing Dynasty in 1911?
- 21.2 Short Essay 1 Due
- 28.2 W5 The Many Movements of May Fourth, 1919
- 05.3 W6 Building Revolution and the War with Japan, 1931-1945
- 07.3 Short Essay 2 Due
- 14.3 W7 Great Leaps Forward: Violence and Reform 1942-1961
- 04.4 W8 The Cultural Revolution
- 11.4 W9 Mao's Revolution in a Global Context
- 11.4 Long Essay Due
- 18.4 W10 Revolution, Culture, and Environment
- 18.4 Short Essay 3 Due
- 25.4 W11 "Six Four": Tiananmen
- TBD Take-home Exam

Assessment Summary

60% Coursework

Long Essay (4,000-4,500 Words 30%) - 11 April

Group Presentation (15%) - Group chooses one from week 3-11

3 Short Essays (300-400 Words 15%) - 19 Feb, 5 Mar, 18 Apr

40% Exam

Take-Home Examination - Date TBD, 3/6 Questions, 24 Hours

Learning Outcomes

- Assess the impact of economic and social changes on political upheaval in Chinese history and the role of Western and Japanese imperialism
- Understand the impacts of war on revolution
- Compare the ways in which revolution and rapid social and political transformations were inspired by and contributed to myth building and historiography
- Evaluate continuities and differences in agency and discourse in China's revolutions

Assignments

The assessed portion of the coursework for this module consists of one essay, a group presentation, and three short essays responding to weekly discussion questions. In addition, students are required to come prepared each week having completed the assigned reading and prepared to discuss them.

Long Essay

The essay for the course is worth 30% of the total grade and should be between 4,000-4,500 words. Footnotes and bibliography are not included in this count. The process of composing an essay of this length is made far easier if make steady progress throughout the semester rather than face potential panic and disappointment nearer the deadline. Narrow down an area of interest, read within this area of interest, isolate a few questions of interest, carry out further reading and analysis, and then proceed to write an essay which makes a convincing historical argument.

Some class time on week three will be dedicated to discussing the essay. At that time, please send me two or three general potential topics of interest that are related to the course theme, the name of one or two secondary or primary historical works related to each, and a brief note as to why you chose that work. I will give feedback on the ideas, and throughout the semester encourage students to visit me in office hours to help discuss the move from general topics of interest to specific historical questions. I am also willing to look at an outline of your essay, your final list of sources (at least six, and at least one primary source unless you are writing a historiographical piece), and a draft of the essay.

The essay should follow the school of history style sheet and observe the rules for conduct. See the relevant sections below.

Some questions to ask yourself as you write the long essay:

- Does the essay have a clear introduction which articulates the argument I wish to make in the essay?
- Can the argument of the essay be meaningfully contradicted and have I argued why my argument is better than alternative explanations?
- Do I mention inconvenient facts that may force me to qualify my argument, and address them appropriately?
- Does the essay have a clear conclusion which restates the main points?
- Does the essay situate the argument being made in the context of the sources used, and its relevance to the study of the course theme (the "so what" question)?
- Does the essay show a good understanding of the sources used, and use them effectively in supporting my argument?
- Does the essay avoid long quotations from secondary works whenever possible?
- Have I used a variety of appropriate sources?
- Did I make connections between my essay and the readings and discussions througout the semester in the module?
- Does the essay retain a strong focus on the main argument, and avoid passages which stray significantly from the main points?
- Does the essay avoid being a summary or introduction to a particular topic, event, or person in order to make a clear argument that is falsifiable?
- Does the essay consider alternative explanations, acknowledge inconvenient facts, and point out sources or historians who may have differing approaches?

Note: In many introductory courses it is common to set a very straightforward and general question for an essay with a clear yes or no answer which is then provided in the form of an argument. This is no longer that common in published work on history and, in the interests of learning to write essays that are closer to the form of academic published articles, it is not suggested that this approach is taken.

Group Presentation

On the first week you will be divided into groups of three or two students. This will be your group presentation group. As you consult the seminar reading list below you will see "group presentation opportunities" listed in most weeks. These are topics related to the week's discussion that are not covered in detail by the assigned reading. By the second week choose one of these group presentation opportunities to present on. Your group will be given 30 minutes (roughly 10 minutes per student) for groups of three and 20 minutes for groups of two to present on the topic. The presentation can be historiographical and serve as a summary and presentation of the arguments and material found in a selection of readings on the topic. Unlike the essays, there does not need to be a consistent overarching argument.

The presentation should include a handout distributed to all students the day of the presentation and emailed to the lecturer by the day of the presentation. The handout should include: key dates, names, and places referred to, and a brief outline of points covered and arguments made. You may use a powerpoint or other slide presentation but it is not required, nor will it necessarily get a better mark than a well organized and delivered presentation without any visual aids. If you use a slide presentation it should avoid a bullet-pointed text-heavy approach and focus on introducing key images, major themes, or a few select quotations.

Questions to consider as you prepare:

- Did the distributed handout accurately summarize the general points to be made in the presentation
- If appropriate, did the handout include any important dates, sources, or a map for the discussion?
- Was the 20 (for two presenters) or 30 minute limit (for three presenters) strictly observed in the presentation as divided between presenters?
- Was the presentation well structured, organized, and focus on a few key points?
- Was there a good balance of presented arguments from the material on the topic chosen and a few examples to support them?
- Did the material presented by each member of the group fit coherently together as a unit?

Short Essays

There will be two discussion questions circulated for every week except the first. These questions will help you think about the assigned readings for the following week's session. The short essay is a short 300-400 word essay which should argue as clearly as possible an answer to one of the discussion questions from the weeks preceding the due date (see below). It should begin with a clear statement of the answer and be followed with support from the assigned readings. A truly outstanding essay should show very solid selection of supportive evidence and go beyond the question to draw comparisons with other weeks or beyond the course. Footnotes are not required, but a recognizable reference to the source author and page number should be included when referring to something in our reading.

Short Essay 1: On a question from week 2 or week 3

Short Essay 2: On a question from week 4 or week 5

Short Essay 3: On a question from week 6-9

Questions to consider as you write the short essay:

- Did my short essay clearly state a summary of my answer somewhere near the opening of the short essay?
- Did my short essay consider, acknowledge, and address alternative interpretations or counter arguments to the argument?
- Did my short essay use only short quotations if any?
- Did my short essay use strong examples from the assigned reading to make my argument?
- Was my short essay written in a coherent and highly focused manner, and avoid distraction or unnecessary information?

Marking

Within the School of History all work is assessed on a scale of 1-20 with intervals of 0.5. Module outcomes are reported using the same scale but with intervals of 0.1. The assessment criteria set out below are not comprehensive, but are intended to provide guidance in interpreting grades and improving the quality of assessed work. Students should bear in mind that presentation is an important element of assessment and that failure to adhere to the guidelines set out in the School of History Style Sheet will be penalised.

Find the style sheet here: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/infoug/stylesheet.html

Outstanding First: 19.0, 19.5, 20.0

Clear First: 18.0, 18.5

Borderline First: 16.5, 17.0, 17.5

First Class work will be distinguished in some or all of the following ways: originality of thought or interpretation; independence of judgement; wide-ranging reading, often beyond that recommended; intelligent use of primary sources; historiographical awareness and criticism; clarity and rigour of argument and structure, well directed at the title; clarity and elegance of style; unusual and apt examples; comparison e.g. with themes and topics covered in other modules.

Upper Second Class 13.5, 14.0, 14.5, 15.0, 15.5, 16.0

Upper Second Class work will be distinguished in some or all of the following ways: clarity and rigour of argument and structure, well directed at the title; thorough coverage of recommended reading; intelligent use of primary sources; historiographical awareness; well chosen examples; comparison e.g. with themes and topics covered in other modules; clarity of style.

Lower Second Class: 10.5, 11.0, 11.5, 12.0, 12.5, 13.0

Lower Second Class work will have some of the following features: some evidence of knowledge and understanding, but limitations in clarity and rigour of argument and structure; restricted coverage of recommended reading; restricted use of primary sources; weaknesses of style; failure to address the title set.

Third Class: 7.5, 8.0, 8.5, 9.0, 9.5, 10.0

Third Class work will have some of the following features: very limited knowledge and understanding; confusion in argument or structure; insufficient reading; confused style; failure to address the title set.

Pass: 7.0

Fail (with the right to re-assessment): 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.5, 6.0, 6.5

Work with very serious deficiencies that falls below the required standard, failing to address the literature with the seriousness required and with an inadequate grasp of the subject matter and of historical analysis.

Fail (without the right to re-assessment): 1.0, 1.5, 2.0, 2.5, 3.0, 3.5

Work so weak as to indicate that only a nominal attempt has been made to complete the assignment, or that it displays virtually total confusion and misunderstanding of the subject.

Unclassifiable: 0

No acceptable work presented.

Absence from Classes

Attendance is a basic assessment requirement for credit award, and failure to attend classes or meetings with academic staff may result in your losing the right to be assessed in that module. Please ensure that you are familiar with the Academic Alerts regulations.

http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/infoug/academicalerts12-13.doc

If you have missed timetabled classes/events or any other compulsory elements of the module due to illness or an unavoidable pre-arranged event or appointment, you must complete a Self Certificate of Absence form (through e-Vision) as soon as possible.

https://e-vision.st-andrews.ac.uk/urd/sits.urd/run/siw_lgn

Under certain circumstances, Schools may request further documentation in addition to the Self Certificate. In this case, students should contact Student Support in order to organise the appropriate documentation.

If you submit more than three Self Certificates in a single semester, or if the period of absence extends to fifteen working days, you may be contacted by Student Support, the relevant Pro Dean, or by an appropriate member of staff in your School.

Completion of a Self Certificate is not an acceptable substitute for contacting your tutors well in advance if you have to be absent. Advance notice of absence is acceptable only for good reason (for example, a hospital appointment or job interview). It is your responsibility to contact the appropriate member of staff to complete any remedial work necessary.

If you are an international student (non-EEA nationals only), you will be affected by recent changes introduced by the UK in relation to immigration rules and visas. The University is now legally bound to report to the United Kingdom Borders Agency any student who fails to enrol on a module or programme of study or who fails to attend or who discontinues their studies.

See also the undergraduate handbook section on permission to proceed: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/infoug/ptp.html

Extensions

Prior permissions for late submission of work ("Extensions") to make fair allowance for adverse circumstances affecting a student's ability to submit the work on time will be considered on a case by case basis. Normally such permissions will only be granted for circumstances that are both unforeseen and beyond the student's control.

Academic Misconduct and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is fundamental to the values promoted by the University. It is important that all students are judged on their ability, and that no student is allowed unfairly to take an advantage over others, to affect the security and integrity of the assessment process, or to diminish the reliability and quality of a St Andrews degree.

Academic misconduct includes inter alia the presentation of material as one's own when it is not one's own; the presentation of material whose provenance is academically inappropriate; and academically inappropriate behaviour in an examination or class test. Any work that is submitted for feedback and evaluation (whether formative or summative, at any point in the programme of study) is liable to consideration under this Good academic practice policy. All work submitted by students is expected to represent good academic practice.

The University's policy covers the behaviour of both undergraduate and postgraduate students. The policies and practices described in this document do not cover misconduct by academic staff; other procedures exist to deal with these.

All work submitted by students is expected to represent good academic practice.

The University's policy covers the behaviour of both undergraduate and postgraduate students.

All students are advised to familiarise themselves with the University's guide to Good academic practice or the relevant information in the Students' Association's web site.

http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/staff/policy/goodacademicpractice/goodacademicpolicy/

If you are unsure about the correct presentation of academic material, you should approach your tutor. You can also contact CAPOD, which provides an extensive range of training on Academic Skills.

http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/capod/

Seminars

Full references to the readings below can be found in the following section ordered by last name of the author.

2014.1.31 Week 1 - Introduction: Revolution and History in China, 1911 and 1949

- Watch "White-Haired Girl" and read script for it
- Begin reading Mitter, A Bitter Revolution, complete book by Week 5

2014.2.7 Week 2 - Social and Economic Change in Modern China: A Broad Overview

~210 pages (plus begin continue Mitter, A Bitter Revolution)

- Group map quiz
- Choose group presentation topics
- Harrison, A Man Awakened From Dreams 1-112 (Preface and Ch. 1-4)
- Ko, Cinderella's Sisters 1-6, 38-68, 227-229 (Intro, Ch 2
- Cambridge History of China v10, 107-162 (Ch. 3 "Dynastic Decline")

2014.2.14 Week 3 - Rebellions as History, Myth, and Inspiration

~215 pages (plus continue Mitter)

- SOURCES, 213-230 (Ch 29 Heavenly Kingdom of the Taipings)
- Perry, Rebels and Revolutionaries 10-80 (Ch 2-3 Environment & Survival)
- Cohen, History in Three Keys 14-56, 59-68, 211-222, 289-297
- Weller, Historians and Consciousness, 731-755
- Spence, God's Chinese Son xix-xxv, 140-153, 172-191
- First Group Presentation Opportunity: Rebels Summarize and Present:
 - Perry, Rebels and Revolutionaries 96-207 (Ch 4-5),
 - Naguin, "The Transmission of White Lotus Sectarianism"
 - Cambridge History of China v10, 409-490 (Ch 9)
 - Cambridge History of China v10, 264-317 (Ch 6)
 - Tai Hsüan-chih, The Red Spears, 1916-1949 (See Konrad)
 - Esherick, Origins of the Boxer Rebellion

2014.2.19 Week 4 - What Sort of Revolution destroyed the Qing Dynasty in 1911?

Short Essay Due 21 Feb Note: Meeting at 4-6 on Wednesday

~230 pages (plus continue Mitter)

- SOURCES, 260-272 (Kang Youwei), 287-299 (Liang Qichao), 308-313 (Zhang Binglin), 314-329 (Sun Yat-sen)
- Cambridge History of China v11, 463-534 (Ch 9 Republican Revolutionary Movement)
- Zhang, General Review of the Study of the Revolution of 1911, 525-531
- Mitter, 1911: The Unanchored Chinese Revolution, 1009-1020
- Harrison, China: Inventing the Nation, 132-149 (Ch 5 Ethnicity and Modernity)
- Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950, 54-92 (Ch 4 Women in the 1911 Revolution)
- Hill, Voting as Rite, 149-219 (Ch 3 Voting in a New Republic 1912-13)
- Group Presentation Opportunities:
 - Late Qing and Early Republic Debates on Chinese Identity and Chinese Nationalism
 - The Role of Japan in Late Qing Reforms and the 1911 Revolution

2014.2.28 Week 5 - The Many Movements of May Fourth, 1919

~235 pages (plus complete Mitter)

- SOURCES, 351-395 (Ch 33 The New Culture Movement)
- Mao, The May 4th Movement
 - http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_13.htm
- Complete Mitter, A Bitter Revolution, review 3-40, 102-152 (Ch 1, 4)
- Esherick and Wasserstrom, Acting Out Democracy, 835-860
- Etō, Hai-Lu-Feng: The First Chinese Soviet Government, 43-98
- Smith, Like Cattle and Horses, 92-115 (Ch 5 The May Fourth Movement)
- Group Presentation Opportunities:
 - Early Republic Warlordism and Western Imperialism
 - Early Rise of the Communist Party
 - The 21 Demands and early Japanese Imperialism in China

2014.3.5 Week 6 - Building Revolution and the War with Japan, 1931-1945

Short Essay Due 5 March Note: Meeting at 4-6 on Wednesday

 \sim 230 pages

- SOURCES, 396-450 (Ch 34-35 Communist Revolution, Communist Praxis)
- Zarrow, China in War and Revolution, 271-288, 295-303 (Ch 14, part of Ch 15)
- Goodman, North China at War, 1-18 (Explaining Revolution)
- Johnson, Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power, 1-30 (Ch 1 Peasant Nationalism)
- Selden, China in Revolution, 320-352 (Conclusion, Epilogue)
- Kataoka, Resistance and Revolution, 1-11, 303-311 (Intro, Conclusion)
- Chen, Making Revolution, 1-19, (Intro, Conclusion)
- Gatu, Village China at War, 1-15 (Introduction)
- Wou, Mobilizing the Masses, 1-19 (Introduction)
- Group Presentation Opportunity:
 - Discuss the experience of a selection of wartime rural CCP campaigns (Mass Mobilization, Rectification, Rent Reduction, Land Reform, etc.) building on multiple accounts.
 - Choose three accounts from among Selden, Kataoka, Chen, Wou, or Gatu and present in detail with comparison.

2014.3.14 Week 7 - Great Leaps Forward: Violence and Reform 1942-1961

~ 250 pages

- SOURCES, 468-470 (in Ch 36 Mao Regime)
- Secret Speeches by Mao, 499-517 (Wuchang Conference, 23 Nov, 1958)
- Dikötter, Tragedy of Liberation, 39-62, 84-102, 155-174, 243-254, 257-274 (Ch 3, 5, 8, 12, 13)
- Gao, Communist Takeover of Hangzhou, 42-64, 69-86
- Dikötter, Mao's Great Famine, 47-99, 127-144, 306-337 (Ch 7-12, 17, 35)
- Dangerous Pleasures, 304-324
- Presentation Opportunities:
 - China and the Korean War

Spring Vacation

2014.4.4 Week 8 - The Cultural Revolution

~220 pages (TBD)

- SOURCES 471-482 (in Ch 36 Cultural Revolution)
- Ten Years of Madness, TBD
- Mao's Little Red Book Read 5 sections of your choice
 - http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/
- Mao's Last Revolution, 1-31, 102-131 155-169, 170-183, 239-272 (Ch 9
- Cohen, History in Three Keys 261-288
- Group Presentation Opportunity:
 - On the "Down to the Countryside Movement"

2014.4.11 Week 9 - Mao's Revolution in a Global Context

 ~ 125 pages

• LONG ESSAY DUE

- Maoism in the United States
 - http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/maoism-us.htm
- Gupta, The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India, 157-188
- Wolin, Wind from the East, 1-21, 108-153
- Starn, Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History, 299-421

2014.4.18 Week 10 - Revolution, Culture, and Environment

~180 pages (TBD)

- Short Essay Due
- Shapiro, Mao's War Against Nature, 1-20, 67-93, 195-216
- Mittler, Continuous Revolution, TBD
- Jacka, Woman-work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China, 70-114, 191-197 (Ch 3, Conclusion)
- Group Presentation Opportunities:
 - Policy towards Minorities in China
 - Animal campaigns
 - The CCP and Religion

2014.4.25 Week 11 - "SixFour": Tiananmen

- ~180 pages (plus documentary)
 - SOURCES, 496-527 (in Ch 37)
 - Hung, Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments, 84-117
 - Zhao, The Power of Tiananmen, 1-35, 53-78, 79-99, 101-121, 124-141 (Intro, Ch 2-5)
 - Gate of Heavenly Peace (Documentary)
 - Group Presentation Opporunity:
 - The Chinese government's narrative on Tiananmen today

Take-home Final Exam Date TBD

Readings

Many readings will be made available on short loan or can be found as e-books through the library. However, many of the shorter readings in particular will be made available through a course website.

Please Note: References in the seminar readings to SOURCES refers to de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition which is available as an e-book through the St Andrews library.

Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (Columbia University Press, 1998).

Delia Davin and American Council of Learned Societies, Woman-Work Women and the Party in Revolutionary China (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

Theodore de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000).

Frank Dikötter, Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962 (Walker & Company, 2011).

Frank Dikötter, The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945-1957 (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

Shinkichi Etō, "Hai-Lu-Feng: The First Chinese Soviet Government," in Selected Works on Modern Japan-China Relations (Toyo Bunko, 2005), 43–98.

John King Fairbank, ed., The Cambridge History of China (Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995).

James Zheng Gao, The Communist Takeover of Hangzhou: The Transformation of City and Cadre, 1949-1954 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

Dipak K. Gupta, "The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, Demise, and Reincarnation," *Democracy and Security* 3, no. 2 (2007): 157–188.

Henrietta Harrison, The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in a North China Village, 1857-1942, 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2005).

Gail Hershatter, Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai (Philip E.Lilienthal Books) (University of California Press, 1997).

Joshua Benjamin Hill, "Voting as a Rite: Changing Ideas of Elections in Early Twentieth Century China" (Ph.D., United States – Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2011)

Carma Hinton, Frontline: The Gate of Heavenly Peace, n.d., http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gate/index.html.

Wu Hung, "Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments," *Representations*, no. 35 (July 1, 1991): 84–117.

Zhang Kaiyuan, "A General Review of the Study of the Revolution of 1911 in the People's Republic of China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (May 1, 1980): 525–531.

Dorothy Ko, Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2007).

Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008).

Zedong Mao et al., The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao: From the Hundred Flowers to the Great Leap Forward (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1989).

Rana Mitter, A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World, The Making of the Modern World (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Rana Mitter, "1911: The Unanchored Chinese Revolution," The China Quarterly 208 (2011): 1009–1020.

Barbara Mittler, A Continuous Revolution: Making Sense of Cultural Revolution Culture (Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).

Kazuko Ono and Joshua A Fogel, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989).

Elizabeth J. Perry, Rebels and Revolutionaries in North China, 1845-1945 (Stanford Univ Pr, 1983).

Judith Shapiro, Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

S. A Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai*, 1895-1927 (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2002).

Jonathan D. Spence, God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan, Reprint. (W. W. Norton & Company, 1996).

Orin Starn, "Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27, no. 02 (1995): 399–421.

Robert Weller, "Historians and Consciousness: The Modern Politics of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Social Research 54, no. 4 (December 1, 1987): 731–755.

Richard Wolin, The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s (Princeton University Press, 2012).

Peter Zarrow, China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949, First Edition. (Routledge, 2005).

Dingxin Zhao, The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement (University Of Chicago Press, 2004).