

Contemporary China Graduate Workshop 2019

Uni-Haus Schauinsland, November 1-3, 2019

Co-organized by the University of Freiburg and the University of Cologne. With support from the Confucius Institute.

Programme

Friday, November 1

14:00

Introduction



14:15

Revolutionary Identities: Assignment, Transformation, Negotiation

Chair: Dong Guoqiang

Discussants: Daniel Leese, Cao Shuji



Dealing with the Targets of the Rural Revolution: Violence and Differentiation during Post-1949 Land Reform

Mark Czeller



摆脱“苦闷”：知识青年的挣扎与转变

Zhang Ning

漂浮的革命：文革中的山东/山西代表团和中央的互动

Cui Jinke

16:15

Coffee

16:30

Master class I

Zhang Letian

18:30

Dinner

Saturday, November 2

9:00

Breakfast

10:00

Governmental Techniques: Communication, Currency, Ceremony

Chair: Daniel Leese

Discussant: Felix Wemheuer

American Aid and Chinese Silver Dollars: Land Reforms by the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) and the Communist Party in Chongqing, 1948-1951

Li Wankun

Filing, Bureaucratic Practices, and the Maoist Document Regime, 1948- 1952

Yang Long

Communicating Three Loves: Collective Reading Activities in Early Reform Era China

Damian Mandzunowski

12:00 Lunch

13:00

Chinese Socialism in the World, the World in Socialist China

Chair: Cao Shuji

Discussant: Jin Guangyao

Archaistic Perfection: The Production of the Woodblock-Printed Edition of The Communist Manifesto in 1970s China

Lara Yuyu Yang

Barometer of the People's Republic of China's *Waishi*: Statistics on Foreign Students Enrolment in Maoist China

Xing Longfei

Supping with a Long Spoon in the Indian Ocean: The Sino-Soviet
Competition over Mauritius

Thomas C. Burnham

15:00

Coffee

15:30

Master class II

Chang Libing and Hu Yingze

18:00

Dinner at Berggasthof Gießhübel

Sunday, November 3

9:00

Breakfast

10:00

The State in the Village: Old Categories and New Organization

Chair: Felix Wemheuer

Discussant: Dong Guoqiang

Rural Disputes over Property: Based on the analysis of the *daosuan*
cases, 1949-1966

Jing Wenyu

地权的演变:1958年无锡农村经济调查再研究

Zhao Andong

20世纪六十年代初期“分队”个案研究

Guo Xingang

12:00

Closing discussion

12:30

Lunch

13:30 Excursion

Abstracts

Supping with a Long Spoon in the Indian Ocean: The Sino-Soviet Competition over Mauritius

Thomas C. Burnham, Oxford

When a Chinese delegation led by Charge d’Affaires Hu Jingrui arrived in Port Louis in spring 1972 to negotiate the “Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation between the Government of Mauritius and the Government of the People’s Republic of China,” the PRC had already signed similar agreements with countries all across Africa. With the debut of Chinese aid diplomacy in North and West Africa in the late 1950s, such economic and technical cooperation agreements became known for exhibiting a Beijing’s third-worldist commitment to mutual assistance as well as for the “disinterestedness” of its aid diplomacy and the discipline of its experts and advisors. In fall 1971, 27 African countries voted that Beijing assume China’s seat in the United Nations in Resolution 2758. Most of those countries had accepted PRC aid extensions and hosted PRC personnel, signifying to many that the objective of Beijing’s aid diplomacy was first and foremost replacing Taipei in the UN.

Mauritius, a small island far off the eastern coast of Madagascar with a population of 850,000 in 1972, might seem like a peculiar candidate for Beijing’s brand of aid diplomacy, especially considering Mauritius had abstained on Resolution 2758 the year before. By analysing the minutes of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation’s negotiations as found in the United Kingdom’s Foreign and Colonial Office dossiers alongside internally published reports and other documentation from the PRC and the World Bank, this paper will examine Chinese aid diplomacy immediately following its admission to the UN and at the very end of its era of “revolutionary foreign policy (*geming waijiao*)”. In addition to ascertaining whether the Agreement with this strategically-placed island nation in the Indian Ocean can be seen as a reaction to the Soviet Union’s reengagement with the Horn of Africa in the 1970s, this paper will investigate the extent to which the Agreement was a quid pro quo for Mauritius’ abstention from Resolution 2758 or whether it can be better understood as an echo of Beijing’s “revolutionary foreign policy”.

漂浮的革命:文革中的山东/山西代表团和中央的互动

崔金珂, 维也纳大学

随着对地方文革研究的深入,越来越多的史实都展现了一个与中央议程不同的地方文革进程。地方领导人普遍理性的利用中央指示的模糊性实现自己的政治目标。这种现象加剧了地方的派性斗争,有些行动甚至引发了大规模的惨烈斗争。因此,中央经常会邀请地方上发生冲突的不同派别组成代表团到北京谈判解决问题。这种“谈判会议”成为文化革命中中央与地方互动的新发明。本文以1966-1969年间中央接见山东/山西两省的代表团会议为例,通过分析会议纪要、协议以及对亲历者的采访记录,对比中央通过这种形式介入两省事务的动机、时机、方法和影响。研究发现,即使中央在山东/山西的派性斗争中明确表明了支持对象,也无法消灭地方对立派别的敌对行动。此外,中央与地方互动中反复出现的政策摇摆事实上鼓励了反行为的蔓延,极大削弱了中央控制地方政治进程的能力。这种互动的结果让中央的运动意图变成“漂浮的革命”,加剧了山东/山西派性斗争的复杂程度。有些地方精英集团间的尖锐派性对立一直延续到80年代,重塑了当地的政治生态。

Dealing with the Targets of the Rural Revolution: Violence and Differentiation during Post-1949 Land Reform

Mark Czeller, Oxford

This paper considers two sets of questions concerning the CCP's post-1949 approach towards those it designated as members of the 'landlord class'. Firstly, what kind of violence towards such people did the CCP instigate or permit, what kinds of violence did it seek to restrict, and what kinds of violence actually took place? Secondly, to what extent did CCP policy, propaganda, and practice differentiate among those classified as 'landlords' based on factors such as wealth, co-operativeness with the new regime, and prior political behaviour?

In answering the first question, I distinguish three kinds of violence: legally sanctioned imprisonment and execution, spontaneous violence by the 'masses', and violence by cadres and/or local activists used as a means to force people to hand over grain and other valuables. The CCP's public discourse only acknowledged the first two kinds, but the third kind was widespread, as internal

reports reveal. While CCP leaders were aware of the costs of such violence and did not want it to get out of control, they seem to have considered a certain amount of it necessary for the achievement of their objectives – roughly, the destruction of the authority of pre-revolutionary rural elites, and the extraction of as much as possible of their wealth.

In answering the second question, I seek to qualify Yang Kuisong's description of the CCP's post-1949 approach to landlords as 'undifferentiated' (*yi dao qie*). I argue that, as a matter of strategy, the CCP did seek to make distinctions in its treatment of those classified as landlords; however, these distinctions were frequently violated in practice, and public discourse did indeed display a tendency towards what Yang refers to as 'undifferentiated demonization' (*"yong 'yi dao qie' de banfa lai yaomohua*).

20 世纪六十年代初期“分队”个案研究

郭心钢，山西大学

中共革命的胜利和土地改革在农村的施行，一定程度上冲击了传统时期形成的地方社会秩序。随着农业合作化运动的开展，中共探索采用一种新的组织形式来重建地方社会秩序，但在这个过程中出现了一些挫折。五十年代末，毛泽东和中共中央着手调整农村人民公社体制，并在六十年代初明确将基本核算单位下放至生产队。新发现的“分队”材料显示，调整公社体制存在复杂原因，确定以生产队为基本核算单位，是对乡村传统秩序的回归和让步，客观上也符合农村自身发展的需求。对中共调整人民公社体制历史的新的理解，有助于我们认识制度变动背后的深层社会原因，有助于我们重新思考区域和村庄内部的异质性特征。

Rural Disputes over Property: Based on the analysis of the *daosuan* cases, 1949-1966

Jing Wenyu, Cologne

Other than the land, the *daosuan* cases also involved the disputes over various property, like trees, houses, stone mills, and even stones and soil clods, which became the focus of contention in the rural community. Without the civil cases at hand, the paper does not aim to reflect the general way of handling the property disputes; nevertheless, the *daosuan* cases illustrated the way with strong epochal characteristics. Via a deep analysis of these cases between

1949-1966, the paper attempts to answer the following questions: how the disputes were generated during the change of ownership, how the various parties, e.g. the villagers whose property being confiscated and the ones who obtained the property, the village cadres and the judicial cadres, acted in the cases, and how the disputes were condemned to the political/criminal cases eventually. It hopes to contribute to the understanding of the tonicity between the implementation of national policies and the local logics.

American Aid and Chinese Silver Dollars: Land Reforms by the Sino- American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) and the Communist Party in Chongqing, 1948-1951

Li Wankun, Leeds

To improve agricultural production and counteract the influence of communism in rural China, the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) was established in Nanjing as part of the China Aid Act of 1948. The JCRR was a cooperative project with the Nationalist Government and consisted of American and Chinese members, including Y.C. James Yen. During the last days of Nationalist Government control on the mainland, JCRR initiated a series of programs to improve agriculture in rural Sichuan, ranging from rents reduction to establishing health and sanitation standards. While scholars have examined the JCRR's fundamental role during Taiwan's land reform in the 1950s, this paper focuses on the JCRR's Rent Reduction Project in Sichuan from 1948 to 1949. With the support of JCRR, the Nationalist Rent Reduction movement was successful in some pilot counties in Sichuan; these pilots were continued and expanded by the Communist campaign "Rent Reduction and Refund Deposit" from 1950 to 1951. By focusing on "refunding deposit" movement, the CCP collected silver dollars from landlords and published its new currency Renminbi in rural Chongqing successfully. Combining Chongqing county-level archives with JCRR documents in the American National Archives, this paper seeks to build trans-regime linkages between Nationalist and Communist control of the rural areas of Southwest China.

Communicating Three Loves: Collective Reading Activities in Early Reform Era China

Damian Mandzunowski, Freiburg

In 1983 a campaign underway in the People's Republic of China (PRC) promoting the concept of socialist civility (*wenming*) was expanded by a call to advance the “love to the motherland, to socialism, and to the party.” These affective actions were to be communicated through a long-established form: organized group reading activities. This paper is to argue that when reading is recognized as a conscious act of confrontation with meaning-bearing texts, guided reading activities become an important factor in the creation of a new hegemonic regime of truth for the era of Reform and Opening Up. Patriotism, adherence to socialist ideals, and respect to the party were key elements of this drive. What were the political strategies of the CCP to use group reading activities for reaching these goals? How were such collective readings organized and guided? How exactly were the three values communicated? And how did the readers respond?

As a study of available archival documents, sources from the public discourse, and personal diaries, this paper explores how group reading activities intertwined with socio-political changes of the early 1980s in the PRC. As such, it follows three main objectives. First, it aims to add to the field of historiography of the reform period. Second, the paper contributes towards a deeper understanding of continuities between the Mao and the post-Mao eras. It does so by asking how and why rituals of collective reading common to Maoist China continued to thrive in Dengist China too. Third, by recognizing reading groups as rituals—defined as repeating customs, habits, or practices ruled by explicit and implicit norms—the paper advances a re-evaluation of the boundaries between the mundane and the political in modernizing China.

Barometer of the People's Republic of China's *Waishi*: Statistics on Foreign Students Enrolment in Maoist China

Xing Longfei, Cologne

International student mobility has been rooted in the current geopolitical context. Insofar as it contributes to the enhancement of global status, the People's Republic of China (hereinafter: PRC) has achieved the ascendancy in attracting global human capital by emerging as the third largest abroad study destination in the world in 2019. However, the strategy of taking the host of foreign students as a facet of its foreign policy and diplomatic strategy dates back to Mao's era.

The Chinese term *waishi*, literally “external matters”, was firstly adopted by Anne-Marie Brady to interpret PRC's foreign affairs system and their activities. Actually, it encompasses a border connotation beyond the Western standard categorisation of foreign relations activities. The leitmotif of this research is to shed light on the interplay between PRC's *waishi* and the foreign students'

admission in Mao's China.

This article undergoes a meticulous scrutiny vis-à-vis the quota and the actual data of foreign students' enrolment in Mao's China. It examines how Mao Tse-tung's international united front strategies like "Leaning to One Side" and "Three Worlds Theory" imposed on the foreign students' admission policies. It ascertains that the international relations under the Cold War context and the consequent shifts of PRC's *waishi* trends resulted into the fluctuation of the inflow of foreign students from different regions of the world.

The article shows as well how foreign students' enrolment was strongly influenced by politics in accordance with Mao's "education must serve proletarian politics". Another noteworthy conclusion draws that the education exchange was integrated in foreign policies, in order to serve PRC's political diplomacy composition and its national interests in a pragmatical way. In other words, educational exchange in Mao's era was in consistence with the government's tactful use of the *waishi* assets to "make the foreign serve China" (*yang wei Zhong yong*).

Filing, Bureaucratic Practices, and the Maoist Document Regime, 1948- 1952
Yang Long, Oxford

Based on previously unexamined material, such as official documents and selectively declassified party journals, this paper examines the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) efforts to build up a new socialist document regime through the establishment of the "intra-bureaucratic system of instructions and reports" (*qingshi baogao zhidu*, literally "system of requesting instructions and providing reports") beginning in 1948. Against the backdrop of the expansion of the base areas under the control of local party leaders between 1937 and 1948, this paper begins with an analysis of how the CCP sought to consolidate and centralize the Central Committee's authority over these local party committees immediately preceding the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The paper then focuses on the quotidian practices of the CCP's filing and document management in two contexts: (1) the implementation of the intra-bureaucratic system of instructions and reports between 1948 and 1949 and (2) the use of this system in the 1950 Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries, a campaign that aimed at cleansing opposition elements. The paper concludes that the focus should be on how the ongoing processes of Maoist governing logic and bureaucratic practices shaped the

Chinese state. By focusing on the intra-bureaucratic system of instructions and reports, we are provided with a unique opportunity to reveal how the dynamics of continuity and rupture effected governance in early Maoist China. More importantly, the formation of the Maoist document regime shows how documents themselves played a role in not only producing bureaucratic stability but also shaping governmental authority.

Archaistic Perfection: The Production of the Woodblock-Printed Edition of The Communist Manifesto in 1970s China

Lara Yuyu Yang, Freiburg

Woodblock book printing, the historically dominant technology in East Asia, had been declined since the early 19th century. Surprisingly, in 1973, at the request of the Shanghai municipal government, the Cloudy Studio, a local publishing house, published a woodblock edition of The Communist Manifesto in classical Chinese style. Apart from the historical declination of xylography, politically, this was also remarkable given that the CCP publicly derided elite xylographic book publishing. In this paper, by investigating the production process of The Manifesto, I will argue that archaism in elite literati book culture continued in woodblock publishing during the Mao Era of 1949- 1976. I will analyse how the publishers sought archaistic perfection through design concepts, literati printing materials, ceremonialised production processes and a master-pupil system in the Communist publishing industry through the woodblock printing practice.

摆脱“苦闷”：知识青年的挣扎与转变

张宁，复旦大学历史系博士生

文革时期的上山下乡运动中，城市中学生在到达农村之后普遍感到“苦闷”。本文主要探讨导致他们“苦闷”的原因是什么、“苦闷”有何形式与表现，以及“苦闷”的价值问题。苦闷主要源自农村贫穷落后的状况，物资的匮乏与精神生活的贫瘠，黑色出身导致的心理压力和精神包袱，知青群体之间的竞争压力，对性的无知以及对于个人前途的迷茫。为摆脱“苦闷”的状态，很多人开始想方设法逃离农村，在知青中间出现大量抵制行动，甚至出现自毁的倾向，一些知青因为绝望而自杀，另一些知青则去参加缅共革命，但即便到达战场上他们也仍旧摆脱不

了出身阴影和理想毁灭的事实。但苦闷并非是徒劳无功的，很多红卫兵完成了向知识青年的转变，他们开始独立思考，成为毛泽东思想的反对者，在改革开放中成为中坚力量。

地权的演变:1958 年无锡农村经济调查再研究

赵安冬，交通大学

1929 年第一次无锡调查报告的研究中，我们发现，以陈翰笙为代表的中国农村派对传统地权的认识超越了现代学者的认知，1929 年无锡农村土地也并没有那么集中。而在 1958 年，为证明解放前后农村经济的变化和土地改革的正确性，中国社会科学院经济研究所和国家统计局联合组织了第二次无锡、保定农村经济调查。调查结果却出现了地权分散、经营缩小，剥削收缩等出乎调查主持者预想的结论。尽管调查报告的起草者不解或犹豫，但仍然试图在尊重调查事实的前提下，去解释上述现象。事实上，根源在土地改革对于传统地权的破坏和调查者对于部分事实的回避。