

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

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1 February

Around this time, read Garrett Hardin's classic “Cultural Carrying Capacity” (1986).

9 February

Downtown library. Checked out Richard Hofstadter's *Anti-Intellectualism In American Life* (1963). Also read Susan Jacoby's “The Dumbing of America” (Washington Post, 17.02.2008) in which Hofstadter's classic is cited. Key points in the article: (1) the replacement of a print culture with a video culture has caused mass dummification. I should have included this way of formulating the matter in my “Rationalization, McDonaldization, and Increasing Stupidity of Human Beings”. This process of replacement has been going on since the 1950s and has consisted of two phases: (1) from 1950 to 2000, the video which is replacing print is delivered through television, which process itself consists of two subphases: TV stations with its few channels, and then cable TV with 24 hour programming. Increasingly addictive, and so increasingly replacing print. (2) From 2000 to the present, the video is increasingly delivered on the Internet, which process also consists of subphases: the computer, and then the smartphone culture. Also increasingly addictive, and so increasingly dummifying. (2) The common people in the past, although having less access to knowledge and communication technology, are more open to learning and complexity (3) Today people take pride in being ignorant more than ever before.

13 February

Read: 張鳴, 男人的不纏足運動 1895 –1898. (百年中國 二十一世紀雙月刊 1998年4月號 總第四十六期).

16 February

Read the Justice Department's indictment of the 13 Russians for interference in the 2016 election.

19 February

Read Rachel Cooke, “Sexual paranoia on campus – and the professor at the eye of the storm”, Guardian, 02.04.2017.

21 February

Checked out: 聞東平, 正在進行的諜戰, 明鏡出版社 2009/04/04. Read: 陳文英 – 情色雙面間諜案. 高騰間諜案. 郭台生案.

24 February

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

Skylight. Browsed: Mary Beard, *Women and Power: A Manifesto*, 2017. (“The Public Voice of Women” and “Women and Power”.) Watched the ZDF documentary, “Der Fall Susanne Albrecht”.

27 February

SM library. Browsed: 王友琴, *文革受難者* (2004). Checked out: 叶永烈: *四人帮兴亡* (3). Downloaded: 王友琴: *學生打老師的革命* (百年中國, 1995).

3 March

Downloaded: 高皋, 严家其: *文化大革命十年史* (1986).

6 March

Carmen lent me Katja Eichinger's *Der Baader Meinhof Komplex* (Hoffmann und Campe, 2007).

8 March

Downtown library. Browsed Alexandra Hrycak, “From Mothers' Rights to Equal Rights: Post-Soviet Grassroots Women's Associations” (in *Women's Activism and Globalization*, ed. Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, Routledge, 2002). Before *glasnot*, local Soviet women could not achieve effective community activism using official women's associations and local organization resources. During *glasnot*, from 1989 onwards, women's organizations began developing strategies for influencing policy. However, the sudden collapse of USSR destroyed a significant share of their previous resource base. “Rapid 'shock therapy' reforms promoted by the IMF, the World Bank, the EU, and Western governments threaten to undermine existing women's organization by moving the locus of policy making and funding further beyond their access” (p. 79). The official US policy to set up feminist organizations in the space of former USSR (e.g. USAID) then created a new wave of women's organizations which were primarily interested in catering to Western agendas (to obtain funding) without bothering to establish connections with older women's groups or having interests in the concerns of real women at the local level. The result is that the new generation of women's groups in Russia and Ukraine and so on during the 1990s enjoyed little popularity among the population. Feminism in the Russian space, born during *glasnot*, was effectively dead after the collapse of USSR partly through globalization (integrating Russia into the world economy) and partly through Western effort to import the Western version of feminism into the Russian space. The example of US-NIS Women's Consortium and the case of Elena Ershova, the consortium's Moscow Coordinator.

Also browsed, Barrington Moore, *Authority and Inequality under Capitalism and Socialism* (1987). With an emphasis on bureaucracy, the most salient trait shared by both capitalist and socialist societies.

Also browsed, Aristide R. Zolberg, “Immigration Control Policy: Law and Implementation”, in *The New Americans*, ed. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Harvard University Press, 2007). The Immigration Act of 1965.

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

9 March

Deutschlandfunk: Riot-Grrl (1990) and Lady Fest (2000).

13 March

SM library. Checked out (again): Jacques Julliard, *Les gauches françaises*, Flammarion, 2012.

Passages deleted from “Review of David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity*”: *The body, space and time, and the feminist question*

When Li Ruzhen made his criticism of female footbinding, everybody ignored him. How could anyone of his time take his ideas seriously? Think about it, that was the time of the agrarian economy, where 90 percent of the population were peasants. That was the time of artisanal production. That was the time of the imperial house. When anti-footbinding movement started in late 1800s, however, the ideas in the activists' head were already different. They were thinking about a nation-state with industries and constitutional government. The idea of woman as immobile chattel was simply incompatible with a new conception of society and nation.

If the economic substructure is supposed to determine the ideas about human beings, about males and females, in people's mind as its superstructure through the intermediary of conditioning their experience of space and time, then we shall say that the reformists who led the anti-footbinding movement in late eighteenth century China had developed different conception of the female body according to a different conception of space and time. A new idea about how the female body should traverse through space and time, a different trajectory through space and time for the female body. In the conception of nation-state, the greater the distance which a body travels in space within a given time, the greater the power of the state. This new trajectory is compatible with the energy, vitality, and work which a body, both male and female, is expected to produce to power the new industrial society and nation-state. We have said it before: the nation-state and its production system needs to mobilize, extract maximal power, from its constituents – and now we must formulate it differently. Adherents to the nation-state project think about the human body differently here. The space and time are different: it's now about movement, progress. The body is different: it's moving and laboring in a much more compact space within a much more organized time. In other words, while the anti-footbinding activists became motivated by a different goal (power of the state), they had acquired a different experience of space and time, and now conceived the female body differently in this new time and space: it must now move and traverse.

The quantitative time which emerged during Renaissance and Enlightenment had enabled, or corresponded to, the central authority's greater control over its population. The concept of “rights” and “constitution” emerged really in order to minimize the population's resistance to the greater control and domination of their lives. These concepts smoothed the process of tighter control over human beings while at the same time rendering the control more precise.

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

28 March

Downtown library. Checked out: Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, International Publishers, 1938. Includes chapters from Lenin's *The State and Revolution*.

2 April

Continued reading Hayek's *The Constitution of Liberty (The Collected Works of Hayek, Vol. XVII, ed. Ronald Hamowy; the University of Chicago Press, 2011)*. With an introduction by Hamowy.

People's inherent, unspoken, only implicitly recognized notion about the goal of history (or its direction) can be gleaned from their statements about “progress”. There has been progress (1) when human beings gain greater control over nature through technology; and (2) when there is more equality; i.e. when the goods formerly available only to an elite minority are now available to the masses; this includes not simply material goods or objects of consumption, but also the power to participate in the public sphere and the political process. The increase of equality also includes the elimination of the disadvantages which have formerly hindered a minority group, e.g. public's devaluation of, and discrimination against, homosexuals. Sometimes this increase of equality is expressed as “greater power to the people”.

Most of our wants today are culturally determined rather than real physical needs. We see others having them, and we consequently want to have them ourselves. They are not real physical needs. If we don't have what others have, we call ourselves “subsisting in poverty”. Those who would not have been subsisting in poverty in the past are today so considered through this change of standard of comparison.

Absent in Hayek's superb analysis is any consideration of the quality of people, of members of a given society. The farthest he gets is the recognition that a state mechanism to coerce people to not coerce each other is the minimum coercion that has to exist even in a free society because people are not so good as to always voluntarily refrain from coercing each other. A free society is more creative and more adaptive to its changing environment. It is a healthier society (more conducive to the fulfillment of human potentials). But this is no longer the case in the postmodern age. Either because the quality of citizens has declined or because the dumbest among them have gained increasingly greater influence in society (thanks to, e.g. the Internet).

3 April

Watched ZDF Documentary “Gefangen im Kreml: Die russischen First Ladies” (11.03.2018). Not allowed to download it.

5 April

For Hayek, coercion cannot become completely absent even in a free society because the government, at the very least, must make laws to coerce people to refrain from coercing each other. But the coercive nature of the laws enacted in a nation-state is reduced to the minimum possible. Hayek in fact argues

that, when laws are promulgated beforehand, are abstract in character (applying to general circumstances), and apply to everyone equally, they not only cease to be experienced by citizens as coercing them but actually facilitate their exercise of personal freedom by becoming part of their environment of which they must take cognizance in order to formulate their goals in life. “Being made impersonal and dependent upon general, abstract rules, whose effects on particular individuals cannot be foreseen at the time they are laid down, even the coercive acts of government become data on which the individual can base his own plans. Coercion according to known rules, which is generally the result of circumstances in which the person to be coerced has placed himself, then becomes an instrument assisting the individuals in the pursuit of their own ends and not a means to be used for the ends of others” (p 72). Hayek's point is that citizens feel coerced by government's laws to the same extent to which they feel coerced by the laws of nature; like obstacles in nature, laws become a citizen's social environment within which, and despite of which, they can still formulate their own aims and devise methods to pursue them.

This conception of the rule of law (to enhance citizens' freedom) is very different from mine in which the rule of law, mechanizing social processes, is understood as a mechanism for more efficient, minute, and comprehensive control of citizens than ad hoc commands of a dictator or emperor.

6 April

Watched “Im Sog der Einheit. Monate, die die Welt veränderten” (1994).

9 April

Watched Jeremy Rifkin's lecture in Netherlands (TVVL Smart Cities Event with Jeremy Rifkin: 2015).

(1) GDP is declining everywhere because productivity is declining everywhere. (2) Global warming changes the water-cycle of the earth. We are in middle of the sixth mass extinction event. (3) There have been 7 great economic paradigm shifts in history. Three technologies emerge and converge to create a new general technology platform (infrastructure) to generate energy and move economic activities. “Paradigm” defined: (a) new communication technology, (b) new source of energy to power economic activities, and (c) new mode of transportation to move economic activities.

(4) The first industrial revolution (early nineteenth century): (a) new printing technology/ invention of telegraph; (b) coal-powered steam engine; (c) invention of railways. (5) The second industrial revolution: (a) telephone; (b) fossil fuel-powered combustion engines; (c) invention of automobiles. (6) The second industrial revolution peaked in July, 2008. The end of this paradigm (centralized telecommunication; nuclear/ fossil fuel energy; internal combustion-based transport) because of peak-oil. (7) Economy can't grow, productivity can't increase, if society continues to operate in this outdated paradigm. (8) Economics is governed by the two laws of thermodynamics. (9) “Aggregate efficiency”. When a predator eats a herbivore, it only consumes 10 percent of the energy embodied in the latter, the rest being lost as heat. This is 10% “aggregate efficiency”. US aggregate efficiency during the second industrial revolution: 14%. Japan got it up to 20%, the highest.

(10) The third industrial revolution: (a) the (digital) Internet; (b) digital renewable energy; (c) digital

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

unmanned transport. Together: the Internet of things: sensors embedded in everything and everywhere, a centralized computer monitoring everything everywhere. “Aggregated efficiency” can be dramatically increased with this new paradigm. (11) The sharing economy. The emergence of “prosumers” next to buyers and sellers. Prosumers produce and share products at near zero marginal cost. (The music and videos consumed are produced by “prosumers” themselves.) (12) The solar and wind power system can produce power at near zero marginal cost. (13) Millions of users come together to create “energy cooperatives”. (Distributed architecture.) Performance contract. Global energy Internet. (14) Ride sharing will reduce automobile ownership. (15) Energy companies and automobile companies have to change their business model to adapt to the new distributed architecture: from producer to centralized manager of the data used in distribution and sharing.

10 April

Downtown library. Checked out Jeremy Rifkin's *The Zero Marginal Cost Society* (2014). Spanish translation: *La sociedad de coste marginal cero* (Genís Sánchez Barberán).

Skylight. Read Eric Voeglin's “Autobiographical Reflections” (1973) in *The Eric Voegelin Reader* (ed. Charles Embry and Glenn Hughes).

11 April

Communist nations and capitalist nations are so alike, and differ in this. The people who noticed that the communist regimes were not what they pretended to be constituted a majority whereas the people who complain that capitalist regimes are not what they pretend to be constitute only a minority. For example: in communist Romania the majority of people were aware that they were not living under the economic prosperity and freedom which the dictator (Nicolae Ceaușescu) had proclaimed existed. In Western democracies only a small minority have noticed that the democracy, freedom, and human rights which supposedly characterize their society in fact do not exist. (C.f. William Pepper's complaints.) The majority of people are only capable of noticing the situation regarding economic prosperity. As long as living standard is high for most people, the people who complain that the system they live under is not what it pretends to be will be in the minority. The fall of communism in no way demonstrates that Marx is wrong or that his ideas are bad. In fact, no system is ever what it pretends to be, so that no failure of any system ever discredits its designer. The question is: does the system in question numb its people enough with consumption that they don't really notice its failure.

15 April

Downtown library. Read the Introduction in Jeremy Rifkin's *The European Dream* (2004) (along with its Spanish translation, in *El sueño europeo*, trad. Vilà Vernis, Tomás Fernández Aúz, Beatriz Eguibar). Thesis: The American Dream is out of date; the European Dream is more in line with the present state of the earth. The European Dream is the embodiment of Rifkin's vision of a sustainable civilization: emphasis on community relationships instead of individual autonomy, quality of life instead of accumulation of wealth, sustainable development instead of unlimited material growth, universal human rights and rights of nature instead of property rights, global cooperation instead of unilateral

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

exercise of power. The European Dream is about a steady-state global economy (*una economía global estacionaria*), to continually reproduce a high-quality present state by aligning human production and consumption with nature's ability to recycle waste and replenish resources.

Then checked out Rifkin's *Third Industrial Revolution* (2011).

19 April

Downtown library. Checked out Professor McGuire's *Red At Heart: How Chinese Communists Fell in Love with the Russian Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

23 April

SM library. Checked out: 劉少奇自述, 国际文化出版公司, 2009. 周恩來自述, 国际文化出版公司, 2009. Then, 葉永烈, 四人幫興亡 (一). Also downloaded: 毛泽东传 (1893 — 1949), 中共中央文献研究室.

Thesis topic suggestions: (1) typology of the failure of *any* revolution. (2) Revolutionary ideals didn't seem to have anything to do with Marx's thinking. Furthermore, Marx's ideas were misused. Marx was all about social justice, not about nation-building. All Chinese revolutionaries wanted revolution in order to build up China into a strong nation-state. What has this to do with social justice? Why were they so concerned with social justice? Why use a social-justice program for the purpose of nation-building? Deep down, the Chinese revolutionaries must have believed that social justice would make a nation strong. A certain confusion between social justice and nation-building. (3) All revolutionaries have at least a vague notion of the direction of history: industrial production, mass society, and rationalization (bureaucracy and the rule of law). Mao wanted Great Leap Forward because he was trying to accelerate China's progress on this direction (industrial production and mass society).

25 April

Why did communism fail? Should its failure really reflect badly on Marxism? The cases of Russia and China.

In both cases, the program of the revolutionaries (the Bolsheviks and the CCP) only has a vague resemblance to Marx's. The “socialist state” in fact looks more like the second-rate socialists' program whom Marx has criticized (e.g. the Gotha Program). The program is “Marxist” because of this vague resemblance: that the “subject” of world history is the oppressed people, who are destined by historical laws to establish an utopia for themselves. (Social justice, optimal social order.) Then, in both cases, the necessary project of nation-building after the seizure of power ruined the revolution. (And the revolution's degeneration to power struggle due to revolutionaries' moral weakness.)

The case of Russia: The confusion between social justice and nation-building: the goal is to institute social justice (or the optimal social order). It is because there is no way to persuade those in power that the revolutionaries launch violent revolution in order to take control of the state. Only then can the revolutionaries institute social justice (or the optimal social order) however they like. But because they

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

are then obliged to run a nation, eventually the exigencies of nation-building supersede the exigencies of social justice. The revolutionaries care more about building a strong nation than about instituting social justice. Social justice – the essence of Marxism – is sacrificed for the sake of nation-building.

The case of China. The revolutionaries want to build a strong nation and search for program proposals. These program proposals are all about social justice (or the optimal social order). The revolutionary is somehow led to believe that instituting social justice (or establishing the optimal social order) will lead to a strong nation. Once in power, the revolutionaries again care more about building a strong nation than about instituting social justice (or the optimal social order). Here too, social justice is sacrificed for the sake of nation-building. The revolutionary spirit is then betrayed.

The cause is thus that social justice or the optimal social order is not a derivative of a nation's power status. Economic prosperity might be such a derivative. But this is not Marx's goal. Perhaps, during the Great Leap Forward, Mao thought, like Trotsky, that the people must experience slavery first before they can enjoy prosperity as the fruit of their labor (and the nation would be strong by them).

The US might also be said to have sacrificed its democracy and Constitution for the sake of power. Since the end of World War II, a “Deep State” has developed: more than 50 percent of US' policies can be traced back to bureaucrats in the Pentagon, CIA, NSA, etc., who are not elected and not accountable to the people. Here the exigencies of the nation's power have also ruined the American Revolution.

Downtown library. Read 林青山, 林彪傳 (1988, 2001). 林彪墜機人亡的真相.

29 April

Downloaded Lenin's *Staat und Revolution*.

Reformulate thesis topic: the relationship or confusion between nation-building and social justice in the Chinese Communist Party's program. Nation-building is not always in line with social justice. In the case of Mao, certainly not. In the West, nation-building (or at least economic development) is indeed in line with social justice: when one is increased, so is the other. Feminist activists, when they come to Third World countries, often use nation-building to sell social justice: “Empowerment of women is good for economic development...” If the idea of social justice was originally developed in Western nations as a mean to build nation and economy, it's no wonder that the Chinese communist revolutionaries never learn to distinguish between the two, with dire consequences for the revolution when the two are not in line.

1 May

Skylight. Browsing Slavoj Zizek, *Lenin 2017: Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through* (Verso 2017). This Freudian method. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956. He wanted to reinvigorate the communist movement, did so in the short run, but the long term consequence is the collapse of communism. Communism was never the same again after the denunciation. Khrushchev had dismantled the “Objective Illusion”, the “big Other” that had provided the background against which

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

[the communists] were able to pursue the ruthless drive for power”. Founding Fathers, Founding Crime. Yang Jisheng's *Tombstone: Untold Story of Mao's Great Famine*. 36 million dead. Part of the cause is the application of pseudo-scientific method to crop planting. Deng had learned from Gorbachev: the Founding Crime cannot be confronted; this will only bring down the whole system.

The purpose of social justice is always about building nation and economy. In the West, the movement for social justice has achieved both social justice and increased production. In the East, the communists have achieved neither social justice nor production. Perhaps it's because they have aimed directly at production increase. Perhaps it's because the power is too centralized. (If Mao is not a genius and yet determines everything, he is bound to screw up.) Perhaps it's because the method only works for economically developed nations.

Downloaded: 楊繼繩 – 墓碑: 中國六十年代大饑荒紀實

2 May

Biographical notice about Clarissa Pinkola Estés in *Mujeres que corren con los lobos*.

5 May

Unlike the Chinese communists, the liberals in the West are not burdened by the question of nation-building.

“Cultural Marxists” are Marxist in two senses: (1) the oppressed people are the subject of history: history is about their revolt to establish a just society. (2) After the oppressed people have seized power, there will be a transitional period during which they establish dictatorship to crush former oppressors' resistance. The censoring and banishment of the Alt-Right by the mainstream leftists today is just like Marx's and Engels' description of “proletarian dictatorship”. Namely, political correctness, or *Denkverbot*, is “dictatorship of the proletariat” in the cultural domain. The contemporary Cultural Marxists are Marxists without historical materialism. This is a much better characterization of the dominant, intolerant leftists than the usual one which trace their origin to the Frankfurt School and to Herbert Marcuse in particular.

What does social justice mean? In the USA, it means inclusivity. Society must be inclusive of all minorities. Women must be included in all society's domains and functions. Any hinderance to this process must be dismantled. In China and in Marx's time, however, social justice is about dismantling exploitation.

As Chen Duxiu's famous quotation in “On The Literary Revolution” (文學革命論) shows: the young Chinese radicals somehow believed that revolution was some sort of panacea which would bring social justice, prosperity, and a strong nation all at the same time. Meanwhile, Mao simply used the radical ideology (social justice) to mobilize the workers and then the peasants to form a people's army. The people's army then roamed China and conquered it following the traditional patterns of change of dynasty (Li at the end of Ming and Taiping Rebellion). Once the conquest was done and he was on top,

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

all Mao cared about was increasing production (nation-building) and keeping himself in power. And he failed to increase production because he wrongly assumed that production can be increased simply by mobilizing more people without the need of industrial infrastructure.

8 May

A Critical Introduction to Mao, ed. Timothy Cheek (Cambridge University Press, 2010). Note: Delia Davin, “Gendered Mao: Mao, Maoism, and Women”.

9 May

Marx himself was the victim of “cunning of Reason”. His “proletarian revolution” is in fact a superstructure, a product, of capitalism to usher in the next phase of capitalism. “Opportunism” is in fact what the “cunning of Reason” really “intended”.

9 – 12 May

Stephen Anthony Smith, *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai 1920-1927*.

Shanghai as a major commercial site. Textile, tobacco, ship-building. Benjamin Schwartz emphasized the indigenous origins of the CCP. Wen-hsin Yeh: the root of radicalism in Zhejiang province, “a crucial supplier of recruits to the early CCP”. Smith: the formation of CCP in the domestic context, its relations with city's workers, secret societies, students, women, businessmen and nationalists. But not forgetting the role of Comintern in bringing the CCP into existence and in the national revolution at large. His study shifts the focus away from ideology towards the party's activities among different sectors of the Shanghai society. The May Thirtieth Movement of 1925, the commencement of national revolution in Shanghai.

The radical ideal after May 4th. What Chen Duxiu (陳獨秀) wanted China to become (December, 1919, *New Youth*): “sincere, progressive, activist, free, egalitarian, creative, beautiful, kind, peaceful, full of universal love, mutual assistance, pleasant labor and prosperous for all”, in contrast to the existing China: “hypocritical, conservative, passive, constrained, class-divided, conventional, ugly, vicious, belligerent, disorderly, lazy, and prosperous for a few” (p. 9, *Xin Quignian*, vol. 7. no. 1, Dec. 1919). Instead of political programs, cultural transformation: profound change could come about only through rejection of Confucian tradition and full embrace of Western democracy and science. In Arif Dirlik's word, “anarcho-communist”: a passionate commitment to individual liberation, root-and-branch rejection of traditional values and institutions, reconstruction of society on the basis of democracy and equality. Personal liberation together with national empowerment. The nation as a community rooted in the common people. The intellectuals noticed the potential in workers. Yun Dayinng (Wuhan). Yu Xiusong: personal and political liberation are intimately linked. To seek a life of happiness and progress for humanity; to reform society (p. 11). The best means of reforming society is to stir up trouble! The Mutual Aid Corps. He came to Shanghai.

The old way is oppressive, creates unhappiness, causes people to be poor and the nation to be weak.

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

The new way is liberating for the individual and causes the nation to be strong. The emphasis on fraternity.

Karakhan's declaration in March 1919. The beginning of Chinese interest in Russia. Spring, 1920: the May 4th study groups began to think the Bolshevik-style party was what China needed. The coming of the 3rd Comintern to China in March 1920 (Voitinskii). In Shanghai, Voitinskii persuaded Chen Duxiu to set up Marxist Research Society. Shao Lizi was among the members. Most of the members hailed from Zhejiang. Zhejiang First Normal in Hangzhou: Shi Cuntong published "Critique of Filial Piety", causing a storm. The founding of the Socialist Youth League on 22 August 1920. Among the members, Zhang Tailei. The Russians set up the Foreign Languages School to recruit youngsters to go to Russia for training. Yang Mingzhai served as Voitinskii's interpreter, knew Russian, and was an exponent of Marxism. By this time the Marxist Research Society included: Chen Duxiu, Chen Wangdao, Shao Lizi, Yang Mingzhai, and Li Hanjun. The founding of a "revolutionary bureau" with Voitinskii. Its manifesto: communist party, to take power away from the capitalists and put it in the hands of the workers and peasants. The first batch of students who departed from Foreign Language School to study in Russia on 29 March 1921 included Liu Shaoqi and Peng Shuzhi. The formation of the mechanics' union, with its chair Li Zhong (Li Shengxie). This union went to the anti-communist camp by 1924. Early 1921, only Li Da and Li Hanjun remained. Li Hanjun, educated in Japan, was multilingual and expert in Marxism.

Chen Duxiu: "In industry the influence of the New Culture Movement must cause laborers to waken up to their position" (p. 19).

The political perspective adopted by the First Congress of CCP (at which Sneevliet, Maring, was present) was one of proletarian revolution rather than of national liberation: to overthrow, with the proletariat, the political power of the capitalist class, abolishing all class distinctions. Dictatorship of the proletariat until class struggle comes to an end and class distinctions are abolished. "We stand for the abolition of capitalist private property, the confiscation of machinery, land, factory premises, semi-finished goods, etc., and their transfer into public ownership" (p. 28). The dictatorship of the proletariat was the element in Marxism-Leninism least appropriate to China! On the other hand, the Comintern's resolution of July 1920: "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions": two-stage revolution for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the first stage of the national-liberation struggle waged by the bourgeoisie with Communist parties supporting it. Cai Hesen was worried that, if the proletariat didn't take power as soon as possible, others would, and that it would then be necessary for capitalism to set in, and that one must wait until social revolutions in the five great powers had taken place (p. 29). The first CCP intellectuals were not attracted to the idea of alliance with GMD for the sake of national liberation. They were unlike Shanghai's radical intelligentsia, "for whom the strengthening of the nation was the alpha and omega of political action" (p. 29).

Extraordinary sympathy toward the feminist movement. The "anarcho-communist" ideology: a tight nexus between the subordination of women and the subordination of labor. Chen Duxiu's close association with the journal *Women and Labor* (Canton, 1921). Chen Wangdao, Shen Yanbing, Li Da, and Shen Zemin all wrote about women's issues. Wang Huiwu, wife of Li Da, and Gao Junman, partner of Chen Duxiu, inaugurated a women's program. They and Huang Zongham launched *Women's Voice*

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

(婦女聲). Shanghai Common People's Women's School. Ding Ling attended it. The school closed down at the end of 1922 (one year!). July 1922, the CCP established a women's bureau. Xiang Jingyu (向警予): equality between the sexes and the salvation of the nation (p. 48). She went to France with Cai Hesen. Feminism must align with working women.

Wen Hsin Yeh. *Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China*.

Fudan University, at the forefront of radical student politics. The activities of Fudan students during the May Fourth Movement. Its position in radical politics replaced by Shanghai University during the May Thirtieth Movement.

Radical intellectuals at Shanghai University:

Deng Zhongxia: 鄧中夏. CCP's labor bureau in Shanghai.

Qu Qiubai: Sociology Department at Shanghai University.

Cai Hesen (1931): 蔡和森.

Yun Daiying (1931): 恽代英.

Zhang Tailei (1927): 張太雷.

Peng Shuzhi: 彭述之.

Li Ji: 李季: 通俗資本論, 資本論淺說.

Li Da: 李達: Marxist Study Group. 馬克斯傳

Gao Ersong: 高爾松.

Gao Erbo: 高爾柏.

Chen Wangdao: 陳望道. The first translator of The Communist Manifesto. 婦女評論 (1921 - 1923).

Xiao Pu: 蕭樸: professor of philosophy, taught dialectical materialism.

Shi Cuntong: 施存統: 非孝.

Ye Shengtao: 葉聖陶.

Yan Fu: 嚴復: translated Enlightenment classics from Mill and Montesquieu. The president of Fudan University.

Yu Youren: 于右任: a student at Fudan.

Emil Siao and Eva Sandberg): 蕭三, 葉華.

Hu Lanqi: 胡蘭畦.

Ren Bishi: 任弼時.

Chen Bilan: 陳碧蘭. Both Chen Bilan and Peng Shuzhi were Chinese Trotskyists.

He Zizhen: 賀子珍. Mao's third wife.

Publications:

中國青年: organ of the Socialist Youth Group

響導: organ of the CCP.

The radical concept of learning at Shanghai University: learning is self-improvement, which is manifested in social engagement, and therefore in social action, which then leads to the remaking of society itself. Grades and degrees are equated with class interest and so dismissed. Ideas must not

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

merely represent reality, but must become instrument with which to transform social reality. Relationship between students and teachers must be personal rather than hierarchical. The ideal of anti-institutionalism in higher education.

“Romance, revolution, personal liberation, and the quest for social justice became one entangled theme in the style of life associated with Shanghai University and described in personal memoirs and biographies” (p. 163).

Qu Qiubai's radical thinking: “Qu Qiubai linked the study of social sciences directly to the task of national salvation. He argued that studying the social sciences was a natural extension of the self-strengthening effort that began with the study of Western military and industrial technology during the late Qing period. As the Chinese acquired knowledge about the West, he argued, intellectual attention was drawn to the political and social values that supported the growth of Western technology in its native environment. The discovery of this general relationship between technology and values led to a revolution in Chinese thinking that found expression in the New Culture Movement of the May Fourth era.” But now social sciences were needed to unmask the complex social phenomena, the system of world capitalism, which constituted the prime oppressor of China (p. 153). The social sciences would then help students formulate a program of revolutionary action. “What engaged Qu's true interest was the process of defining the new artistic and literary forms of modern China that would give voice to the voiceless, and impart meaning to experiences that were otherwise errant and aimless, in a culture cut adrift from its ancient moorings by the forces of modern capitalism” (p. 155)

Mao Dun (矛盾). *Eclipse*. Mao Dun, with his trilogy, was attacked by left-wing critics. E.g. Qian Xingcun (or A-Ying 阿英).

Ba Jin (巴金). *Extinction*. Both Mao Dun and Ba Jin tried to name the disillusionment and despair which the youths experienced in the 1930s after their experience with the revolutionary mobilization during the 1920s.

Liu Qun on the revolutionary youth. The revolutionary lives not for the self but for the collective, for China, for the world, for justice and truth.

Consulted also Peter Zarrow, *After Empire: Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885-1924* (2012).

Ding Ling (丁玲). References in German:

(1) Helwig Schmidt-Glontzer, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Verlag Scherz, 1990, C. H. Beck, 1999, München, p. 534.

(2) Wolfgang Kubin, *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, VII, *Die chinesische Literatur im 20 Jahrhundert*, p. 121 – 122. 3 Schaffensphasen der Ding Ling: weibliche Sexualität, weibliche Bewußtsein, weibliche Gemeinschaft.

(3) Ding Ling, Judith Ammon, in *Metzler Lexikon Weltliteratur: 1000 Autoren von der Antike bis zur*

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

Gegenwart.

First phase: *The Diary of Sophia*. 莎菲女士的日记. 1928. A woman's search for sexual freedom.

Second phase: 母亲. 1933. The turn to revolution.

Third phase: 我在霞村的时候. 1940. Criticism of CCP. 三八節有感. 1942. About sexism in CCP.

(4) Weiqui Fang, *Selbstreflexion in der Zeit des Erwachens und des Widerstands*, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006, p. 289 – 296, *Das Tagebuch der Sophia*.

13 May

Gunnar Kaiser's review of Erich From *Haben oder Sein*. Nobert Elias *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*.

15 May

Gunnar Kaiser's review of Harald Welzer's *Die smarte Diktatur*: Karl Marx according to Paul Johnson (*Intellectuals*) and Roland Baader.

23 May

唐宝林, 陈铁健: 陈独秀与瞿秋白: 中共早期两代领袖的悲情人生 (2008).

Summer, 1923. Qu Qiubai came to Nanjing to attend Youth Corps' meeting, Shi Cuntong introduced him to Ding Ling and Wang Jianhong (王劍虹). They were mesmerized by him.

1918, Ding Ling entered Hunan Second Normal (桃源第二女子師範), where she met Wang Jianhong. Wang Jianhong was the leader of student movement. Wang then came to Shanghai to attend Women's School (平民女校) set up by Chen Duxiu and Li Da. She also served on the editorial board of *Woman's Voice* (婦女聲). 1921, Ding Ling also came to Shanghai Women's School. Dissatisfied with campus life, they came to Nanjing, where they eventually met Qu. Qu then persuaded them to come to Shanghai University.

唐寶林, 陳獨秀全傳 (2011). And Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China: the View from Shanghai* (1991).

24 May

Watched “Wilhelm Reich” on Kaiser TV. Then the Arte documentary “Letzte Warnung” (on Dennis Meadow).

25 May

Checked out Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*; and Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu: Founder of the Chinese Communist Party*. Watched “Le jeune

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

Karl Marx”.

26 May

Watched Rachel Holmes' lecture on Eleanor Marx.

27 May

陳獨秀全傳: Chen in Japan: October 1901. Joined: 勵志會. Decided on revolution. Back in Anhui on March 1902. Brought back books on democracy, liberty, equality and so on. Established: 勵志學社. 愛國時報: why the nation was weak. September, in Japan again. At: 成城. Met other patriotic students. 青年會. Expulsion. Back in Shanghai. anti-Russia protest. Chen in Anhui to also start an anti-Russia protest. 安徽愛國會. 汪希顏. 章士釗. Chen escaped to Shanghai. 國民日日報. Translation of *Les Misérables*. End of 1903, returned to Anhui. 安徽俗話報. “Nation is weak because the quality of the people is corrupt.” (1) People care only about themselves, not about their nation. (2) People aren't aware that things only happen through their own efforts. People must know their nation belonged to them.

陈独秀与瞿秋白: Yang Zhihua (楊之華). In Shanghai, 1921. 星期評論. Then, 1922, several articles on the questions of women's liberation in: 婦女評論. Late 1923, at Shanghai University. Leader of the student body. Participated frequently in workers' movement and women's movement. Then at GMD's Shanghai branch's Young Women's Branch (青年婦女部). The meeting at Borodin's, met with Qu Qiubai. Then, Yang joined the CCP. Qu's meeting with Yang's husband, autumn, 1924. In CCP: 中央婦女部委員. The February Strike. The May 30 Movement. 熱血日報. 批評載季陶主義. Late 1925, Qu met 郭沫若. In the hospital. 俄國革命運動史略論. Strike in Shanghai, 19.02.1927. Armed uprising by workers. Qu went to Wuhan. Yang remained in Shanghai and participated in the third armed uprising by workers. 13 April, she received order to go to Wuhan as well. CCP conference, 4 to 20 April, 1927. The “rightwing” mistake (右傾錯誤) of the Central Committee (including Chen Duxiu). “412”. Chen came to the Conference as well from Shanghai. Chen and Peng Shuzhi defended themselves. Qu was against Chen. From 27 April to 9 May in Wuhan: 第五次全國代表大會. 中國革命中之爭論問題 (the Third International or the Zeroeth?). Qu's protest against “rightwing opportunism” (Menshevik in CCP). Central Committee 29 persons, including Qu and Yang. 論中國革命中之三大問題: correcting leftwing mistake (左傾錯誤), advocating proletarians' alliance with petty bourgeoisie. 八七會議. Chen's policies were at last rejected. Land reform and armed uprising. The CCP Central Committee returned to Shanghai (October 1927). Qu and Yang also returned to Shanghai. Mao's peasant army began actions. 布爾塞維克 replaced 響導 as CCP's organ. Qu opposed “red terror” (紅色恐怖) in Shanghai. Under Communist International's influence, Qu and Li Weihan (李維漢) advocated replacing intellectuals with peasants and workers in CCP's organization. 9 - 10 November, Qu: Chinese revolution must surpass bourgeois democracy to attain socialism (中國革命是民權主義到社會主義的無間斷的革命), must overthrow the capitalist class. 25 February 1928, 9th Communist International. CCP Central approved the CI measures in March and April, ending “leftwing mistake”. Qu criticized GMD and “Three People's Principles” as anti-workers, anti-peasants, and anti-revolutionary. Qu: to save China, it is at present not yet proletarian socialist revolution, but peasants and workers' revolution under proletarian leadership. Defeating GMD and war lords through people's revolutionary wars, and establishing “soviet governments”.

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

April, 1928, Qu went to Moscow to attend CCP's 6th general conference. Yang followed him. Qu was criticized, met with Stalin. Qu and Yang toured southern Russia. Language reform. Qu wanted to engage himself and Yang in language reform to make their life more meaningful (p. 248). Chen's expulsion from CC: 15 November 1929. Qu wrote: 中國的取消主義和機會主義 to criticize Chen.

29 May

UCLA library. Browsed: Tony Burke, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum 17, De Infantia Jesu Evangelium Thomae*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2010.

31 May.

UCLA library. Browsed: Isaiah Tishby, David Goldstein, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, Oxford University Press, 1989. Daniel Matt, *The Zohar*, vol. 1, Stanford University Press, 2004. Rav P. S. Berg, *The Essential Zohar: The Source of Kabalistic Wisdom*, Bell Tower: New York, 2002.

1 June

Watched PBS two parts series “Martin Luther”. Martin Luther was also an outsider, recognizing that society's institutions are not what they pretend to be. In this case, that the Catholic Church was not what it pretended to be. Instead of saving souls and representing God on earth, it was representing the Devil, profiteering from believers' desire to save their own souls.

8 June

Browsed Rebecca Karl's *Mao Zedong and China in the Twentieth Century World*. Watched “Die Utopie leben! Der Anarchismus in Spanien (Vivir la utopia: El anarquismo in Espana)”. A 1997 documentary directed by Juan Gamero.

Also watched “Sufragista: Pioneras de las luchas feministas” (Canal Encuentro). Introduced four activists: (1) Julieta Lanteri: Partido feminista argentino. (2) Carolina Muzzilli: obrera y militante feminista: Union feminista nacional. (3) Salvadora Medina Onrubia: dramaturga y periodista anarquista/anarcofeminista. (4) Alfonsina Storni: escritora y periodista.

9 June

ARTE documentary: “Ni dieu, ni maitre: une histoire de l'anarchisme”. Some names: French anarchist Ravachol. From 1890 onward: syndicalism. Emile Pouget. In Spain: Confederacion nacional del trabajo (CNT); in Argentina; Federacion obrera regional Argentina (FORA); in US: IWW. Female leaders in anarco-syndicalism: Louise Michel, Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Virginia Bolten, Mrs Parsons.

10 June

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

Gunnar Kaiser's review of Philip Roth's *The Human Stain (Der menschliche Makel)*.

Read the introduction to *Are Men Obsolete? The Munk Debate on Gender*, edited by Rudyard Griffiths. A debate held in Toronto on 15 November, 2013, between Hanna Rosin and Maureen Dowd on the one hand and Caitlin Moran and Camille Paglia on the other.

Christina Kelley Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s*.

张申府: criticized “male feminism” for its failure to include the female voice on the matter. (“The Great Inappropriateness of Women's Emancipation”). Also created the journal 每周评论.

恽代英 (beside Chen Duxiu and Mao Zedong): translated Engels' *Private Property*. A self-professed anarchist. “Research on the Marriage Issue” (1917).

Shao Lizi: Fudan University, founder of 民國日報 (Nationalist party organ) in 1915. Founder of *Awakening (覺悟)* in 1919; here many articles on women's issues.

Others who have contributed to the deliberations on women's issues include: Li Dazhao, Mao Dun, Li Da, Shen Cuntong, Xuan Shenlu, Zhang Shenfu, Chen Wangdao, and Tian Han (田漢).

Shen Zemin (沈泽民), the younger brother of Mao Dun.

Important forums for discussing women's issues in Beijing during the May Fourth era: *New Tide (新潮)*, *Young China (少年中國)*, and the supplement of *Morning Post (晨報)*.

After Beijing was shut down, Shanghai became the center of communist male feminists. In the International Settlement: *New Youth*, *Awakening*, *Women's Critic (婦女評論)*, and *Women's Magazine (婦女雜誌)*.

The gender ideology of the early Chinese Communist Party was the synthesis of two trends: May Fourth feminism and Marxist critique of the family (Engels). The apparent compatibility of May Fourth feminism and Marxist ideas facilitated the acceptance of Engelsian theories among non-communist intellectuals, thus the pervasive contention that women's economic independence was the decisive determinant of genuine gender equality. The comparison of marriage with prostitution, and the call for the abolition of marriage. *Chen Duxiu was one of the few early CCP members who was not influenced by anarchist ideas*. After 1920, Chen gave up May Fourth feminist ideas and began focusing on exploitation of women workers. He founded *Labor and Women (勞動與婦女)* in Guangzhou. From 1920 onward, a trend to subsume gender issues totally into an all-encompassing class analysis. The strongest legacy of Chen's May Fourth feminism: his lack of hostility toward women's rights groups and suffrage groups, in contrast to European male communists and socialists at the time.

Liberation from arranged marriages. Gao Junyu (高君宇) and Chen Wangdao both divorced their illiterate rural wives.

Han Ying, who objected to Shen Zemin's assertion that “all women are prostitutes”.

The few women who contributed to *Women's Critic*: Cheng Wanzhen, an activist for YWCA, and Yang

Partial Reading Diary, February – June, 2018
Lawrence C Chin

Zhihua.

The first woman to take charge of the Communist party's action program for women: Wang Huiwu (王会悟), the wife of Li Da..

11 June

Gunnar Kaiser's review of Camille Paglia's *Free Women, Free Men*. Then Jordan Peterson's *Twelve Rules for Life*.

Checked out: Hanna Rosin's *The End of Men and the Rise of Women*. And Haiyan Lee's *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900 – 1950* (Stanford University Press, 2007).

14 June

Downloaded *Marx für SozialwissenschaftlerInnen: Eine Einführung*, with Ingrid Artus, Alexandra Krause, Oliver Nachtweiz, Gisela Notz, Tilman Reitz, Claudius Vellaz, and Jan Wezand.