

CENTURY OF UPHEAVAL: WAR AND REVOLUTION IN CHINA AND AROUND THE WORLD

My collection originated with frequent patrols of the local thrift stores of my hometown in the foothills of western North Carolina. I grew up fascinated by the wider world, an interest fostered through geography bees, old *National Geographics*, and exchange students. Once enrolled at the University of North Carolina, I declared an international studies major and began learning Mandarin. After graduation, I worked in China for several years before returning for graduate studies in political science. Along every step of this journey, I accumulated books on political upheaval across the globe, from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the factional maneuvering which preceded the Chinese Communist Party's most recent Party Congress.

I have sourced this collection primarily from local thrift stores and secondhand booksellers, the Bull's Head in Chapel Hill, and my own travels abroad. A few of the more interesting acquisitions merit discussion. An obscure analysis of the Second World War's effects upon governmental organization, *American Government at War* (1942), was rescued from the Hickory Furniture Mall, where it was being used as a prop alongside *Reader's Digest Condensed Books* and the like. Farther afield, Robert Fisk's monumental account of the Lebanese Civil War, *Pity the Nation* (2001), was purchased a mere stone's throw from the Mediterranean in Byblos, whence came the Greek word for book. Spence's magisterial study, *The Search for Modern China* (1999), was acquired through trade at a small guesthouse in Yangshuo County, China. One find I am particularly proud of is "*Wenhua dageming*" *shinian shi* (1986), a painstaking history of China's Cultural Revolution that saw a brief mainland publication before being banned; I discovered a copy among the odds and ends at a junk market that unfurls on curbside blankets every weekend in the old quarter of Jinhua.

Because my own interests have in the last decade focused more squarely upon China, and because of my years spent living there, the People's Republic is the primary focus of my collection. Particular flashpoints include the anarchic two decades leading up to "Liberation" in 1949 (as the CCP's own historiography terms it), rural collectivization (1953-1956) and the "Great Leap Forward" (GLF; 1958-1961), the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (CR; 1966-1976), the Tiananmen Square "counterrevolutionary rebellion" (1989), and the recent purge of Bo Xilai (2012). My own entry point was a pair of undergraduate classes on Tibet and the CR which bookended my first stint in China, and it was in this context that I first recognized the value of primary sources and fictionalizations. Primary sources thus constitute a significant portion of my collection, in addition to works of fiction, secondary scholarship, and ephemera. Firsthand accounts by participants and media observers, the writings of political leaders themselves, and official regime propaganda can be contrasted with scholarly works in political science and history centering upon war and wartime government. Fiction inspired by war and revolution also provides a novel perspective on the daily drudgery and shocking violence that are part and parcel of conflict.

Before moving on to the catalog itself, I'd like to briefly highlight three books which have had a particular impact on me. First, Fisk's *Pity the Nation* opened my eyes to the sheer complexity of the contemporary Middle East, and impressed upon me the importance of immersion in generating understanding. Gao's *Born Red*, to an undergraduate, read as a cautionary tale against naiveté, zealotry, and the dangers of following the crowd. Finally, Gourevitch's *We Wish to Inform You* chipped away at my faith in humanity, revealing the limits of goodness and the necessity of fostering empathy.

REVOLUTION:

I start this collection with a midcentury publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics* – which outlines his peasant-proletarian approach in lieu of bourgeois democratic revolutions – which I picked up at Chapel Hill's PTA Thrift Store as an undergraduate. A natural follow-up is a midcentury edition of Reed's classic account of the ensuing Russian Revolution, *Ten Days*, which I purchased from my hometown Goodwill. My 1944 Modern Library edition of *Red Star*, which provides a fascinating account of Mao and the Chinese Communists in the 1930's, was also a PTA find and one of the first books I ever read about China. The next three books in this section also came from the PTA: an obscure 1959 printing of Nasser's *Philosophy of the Revolution*, Gikoyo's Nairobi-published memoir of Kenya's anticolonial Mau Mau Uprising, and Raeburn's hodge-podge accounts of Zimbabwean guerillas. The last book provides a rare glimpse inside one of China's CR-era training camps in Tanzania. Chinese efforts to stoke "people's wars" throughout the Third World – often in competition with the Soviet Union – are the focus of scholarly works by Van Ness and Johnson. The former was salvaged during The Book Exchange's dying bag sale, while the latter work was found at The Bookshop on Franklin in a well-preserved dust jacket; both were purchased to aid in my senior capstone study of Sino-African relations during the Cultural Revolution. A reissue of Mottahedeh's *Mantle*, bought at UNC's The Bull's Head for a class on the modern Middle East, examines a more homegrown revolution by situating it within the broader tapestry of Iranian history and Shi'i faith. I rescued Iyob's thin tome on Eritrean independence movement from one of TROSA's enormous bargain book boxes, eager to couple her narrative with the countless anecdotes I heard as an undergraduate from Professor Bereket Selassie, former Attorney General of Ethiopia, later Eritrean guerrilla, and dissatisfied author of the Eritrean constitution. The final pair of books in this section returns to China, covering multiple revolutions over a large sweep of modern Chinese history. While my copy of Spence is tattered and stained from the hands of innumerable Yangshuo readers, Dittmer's survey is a plastic-sheathed former library book I bagged at The Book Exchange.

1. Lenin, Vladimir Ilych. *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. New York: International Publishers, 1969.
2. Reed, John. *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Edited by Bertram D. Wolfe. New York: Viking Books, 1960.
3. Snow, Edgar. *Red Star Over China*. New York: Modern Library, 1944.
4. Nasser, Gamal Abdel. *The Philosophy of the Revolution*. Buffalo, NY: Smith, Keynes & Marshall, 1959.
5. Gikoyo, Gucu G. *We Fought for Freedom: Tulipigania Uhuru*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1979.
6. Raeburn, Michael. *We Are Everywhere: Narratives from Rhodesian Guerrillas*. New York: Random House, 1979.
7. Van Ness, Peter. *Revolution and Chinese Foreign Policy: Peking's Support for Wars of National Liberation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
8. Johnson, Chalmers. *Autopsy on People's War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
9. Mottahedeh, Roy. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
10. Iyob, Ruth. *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941-1993*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
11. Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. Sec. ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.
12. Dittmer, Lowell. *China's Continuous Revolution: The Post-Liberation Epoch 1949-1981*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

WAR AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE:

Expertly juxtaposing the humdrum of soldiering with the shattering violence of modern war, O'Brien's *The Things They Carried* was easily the most engrossing work of my undergraduate American literature survey. Years later I discovered a dog-eared mass-market paperback – much like my own – at a back-alley Hanoi coffee shop, and spent the morning rereading it and wondering what the local clientele thought of O'Brien's account. Travel also inflects my perceptions of Norton's *Hezbollah* and Fisk's *Pity the Nation*, which I plowed through during many a long ride in Lebanon and Syria. The bullet-riddled wall which adorns my copy of the latter never fails to remind me of the casually unpatched bullet holes I noticed on the interior walls of the National Museum of Beirut. As "souvenirs" from this 2008 trip, I brought back a broken plastic button and spent shell casings. The button features assassinated former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri and was purchased at a Beirut shop. Hariri's assassination and the ensuing Cedar Revolution ultimately led to a political stalemate between pro- and anti-Syrian factions which left Lebanon without a president for over 18 months. The election of Michel Suleiman was widely met with celebration in Tripoli, prompting a series of gunmen to unload their automatic rifles into the sky as uniformed soldiers looked on. Seeing young children dart into the streets to gather the casings, I followed suit. Complicated sectarian conflicts also inform Tripp's *History of Iraq*, a dense scholarly work I ordered from Amazon when taking classes on the Middle East. Alternative forms of political violence constitute the focus of the final three works: *Buda's Wagon* by Davis, Gourevitch's account of the Rwandan genocide, and Solzhenitsyn's three-volume epic of political imprisonment. A wide-ranging study of car bombs, *Buda's Wagon* was plucked from the Bull's Head's assigned reading shelves, despite the fact that I never took whatever class required it. Although nearly a decade has passed since I purchased *We Wish to Inform You* at a hometown thrift store, the darkness I felt then comes back every time I hear the mournful Iron & Wine track "Boy with a Coin", which I listened to over and over again as I read. To me, this book stands as a testament to the tenuousness of our humanity. By far the weightiest item in this collection, the three dust-jacketed, first edition volumes of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* were pieced together through purchases at the PTA and my hometown thrift store over the course of several years.

13. O'Brien, Tim. *The Things They Carried*. New York: Broadway Books, 1998.
14. Norton, Augustus Richard. *Hezbollah: A Short History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
15. Fisk, Robert. *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
16. Plastic button and shell casings.
17. Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. Third ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
18. Davis, Mike. *Buda's Wagon: A Brief History of the Car Bomb*. London: Verso, 2008.
19. Gourevitch, Philip. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. New York: Picador, 1998.
20. Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr I. *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*. Translated by Thomas P. Whitney. 3 vols. New York: Harper & Row, 1974-1976.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND ITS PRECURSORS:

From one angle, the roots of the CR lie with Mao's overreach in rushing agricultural collectivization and overzealous industrialization, the resultant famine, and his consignment to a reduced role. One sycophantic discussion of Mao's drive for rural communes, published on the eve of the GLF by an official provincial "people's" press, was found on the musty shelves of a Shanghai secondhand bookstore. Another CR precursor was the Socialist Education Movement (SEM) Mao initiated in 1963, which involved sending intellectuals and party-state cadres to work in rural communes and factories. I discovered a confidential CCP Central Committee circular discussing the SEM at the weekend junk market when I taught in central Zhejiang province. Closer to home and somewhat less rare, I purchased a first edition of Chairman Mao's little red book at a Friends of the Library sale outside UNC's Davis Library. Two collections of CR-inspired short stories were also acquired locally. Chen's *Execution*, from the Bull's Head, served as a course text during a semester abroad, while the later volume edited by Chau was recently procured at TROSA. The former, a 2004 reissue of the 1978 original, marked one of the first glimpses into the failures of the CR. The latter, a first edition, reflects the gradual mainstreaming of CR criticism: examples of "scar" literature penned around 1979, awarded prizes in 1980-1981, and published by the official Foreign Languages in 1985. Two personal narratives, *Born Red* and *The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*, entered my collection as required reading purchased at the Bull's Head. Gao's memoir sparked my interest in firsthand accounts of the CR – I now have nearly a dozen – while Tsering's adds the nuanced viewpoint of an ethnic Tibetan to the litany of Han Chinese accounts. After chancing upon Gao and Yan's banned *Shinian shi* at the Jinhua junk market, I determined to complement it with the English translation. While on holiday in Hong Kong, I trekked to the University of Hong Kong campus bookstore and bought a first edition of *Turbulent Decade*, as it was aptly titled. At another Hong Kong bookstore, I picked up the CR sourcebook edited by Schoenhals which inspired me to collect primary sources of my own. These include an issue of *Red Flag* published during the mass rallies at Tiananmen Square in the fall of 1966, speech collections from the 9th and 10th Party Congresses in 1969 – complete with scribbles over the names and faces of the Gang of Four – and 1973, factional screeds from a "revolutionary committee" and "criticism group", and Deng Xiaoping's closing remarks at the 11th Party Congress of 1977. The last event, following Mao's 1976 death and the overthrow of the Gang of Four, marked the end of the CR and the beginning of the reform era. All of these items were found among the secondhand bookstores of Jinhua and Shanghai.

21. Liu, Dehua, ed. *Mao Zedong tongzhi "guanyu nongye hezuohua wenti" de baogao dui zhengzhi jingjixue de gongxian* [The contributions of comrade Mao Zedong's report "on the problem of agricultural collectivization" to politics and economics]. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1957.
22. Zhonggong Zhongyang Bangongting Jiyaoshi [CCP Central Committee General Office Confidential Documents Room]. "Zhonggongzhongyang guanyu jifa he xuanchuan nongcun shehuizhuyi jiaoyu yundong wenti de liangge wenjian de tongzhi" [CCP Central Committee notice regarding the printing, distribution, and promotion of two documents on problems in the rural Socialist Education Movement]. *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian* no. 745 (1963).
23. Zedong, Mao. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1966.
24. Chen, Ruoxi. *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*. Rev. ed. Edited by Howard Goldblatt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
25. Chau, W. C., ed. *Prize-Winning Stories from China 1980-1981*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985.
26. Gao, Yuan. *Born Red: A Chronicle of the Cultural Revolution*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

27. Goldstein, Melvyn, William Siebenschuh, and Tashi Tsering. *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999.
28. Gao, Gao, and Yan Jiaqi. “*Wenhua dageming*” *shinian shi, 1966-1976* [Ten-year history of the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976]. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1986.
29. Yan, Jiaqi, and Gao Gao. *Turbulent Decade: A History of the Cultural Revolution*. Translated and edited by D. W. Y. Kwok. Honolulu, HA: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.
30. Schoenhals, Michael, ed. *China's Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969: Not a Dinner Party*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.
31. Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhongyangweiyuanhui [Chinese Communist Party Central Committee], ed. *Hongqi* [Red flag] no. 183 (September 1966).
32. *Zhongguo Gongchandang Dijiuqi Quanguo Daibiao Dahui Wenjian Huibian* [Documentary compilation of the Chinese Communist Party 9th national congress]. Beijing: Jiefangjun zhanshi chubanshe, 1969.
33. Tianjin Daxue Geming Weiyuanhui Zhenggongzu [Tianjin University Revolutionary Committee Political Work Group], ed. *Dangnei liangtiao luxian douzheng xuexi cankao cailiao* [Study and reference material on the two-line struggle within the party]. Tianjin: Tianjin daxue geming weiyuanhui zhenggongzu, 1972.
34. *Zhongguo Gongchandang Dishici Quanguo Daibiao Dahui Wenjian Huibian* [Documentary compilation of the Chinese Communist Party 10th national congress]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1973.
35. Beijing Daxue Qinghua Daxue Dapipanzu [Peking University and Tsinghua University Great Criticism Group]. *Ping “Lun quandang quanguo gexiang gongxiang de zonggang”* [Critique of the “program for all work in the party and the state”]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1976.
36. Deng, Xiaoping. *Zai Zhongguo gongchandang dishiyici quanguo daibiao dahui shang de bimuci* [Closing address to the Chinese Communist Party 11th national congress]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1977.

TIANANMEN SQUARE AND ITS PRECURSORS:

Another Chinese political upheaval which looms large in the Western imagination is the series of demonstrations, strikes, and protests which culminated in the Tiananmen Square “incident” and the imposition of martial law. One way to view Tiananmen is through the lens of elite factional politics, with liberalizers such as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang pitted against hardliners like Li Peng and Yang Shangkun. The first pair of pamphlets, from General Secretary Hu and assorted CCP researchers, illustrates this contrast. Hu was later forced from his post, and his death in April 1989 served to spark the Tiananmen protests. The next four items, published in June and July, present the regime’s official take on the Tiananmen incident through newspaper editorials, recount Deng’s speech to martial law brass, urge support for the CCP, and disparage the protests as “unrest” – a word which for the average citizen brought to mind unsavory memories of the CR. I am unsure how widely available such tracts are, but, given the sensitivity of the events involved, they occupy a prized place in my collection. The next item, a *Handbook on County and Township Elections*, is notable because it was published mere months after Tiananmen – and because county and township elections were never systematically implemented in Zhejiang or elsewhere. Instead, this pamphlet stands as a testament to the path China might have taken had the liberalizers won. With the exception of #38, all of these materials were sourced from secondhand bookstores in Jinhua.

37. Hu, Yaobang. *Guanyu sixiang zhengzhi gongzuo wenti* [On some problems of ideological and political work]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1983.
38. Zhonggong Zhongyang Shujichu Yanjiushi, and Zhonggong Zhongyang Wenxian Yanjiushi [CCP Central Committee Secretariat Research Office and CCP Central Committee Documentary Research Office], eds. *Jianchi sixiang jiben yuanze fandui zichanjieji ziyouhua: Shiyijie sanzong quanwei yilai youguan zhongyao wenxian zhaibian* [Uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization: Extracts from important relevant documents since the 3rd plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee]. Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1987.
39. Zhonggong Zhejiangsheng Wei Xuanchuanbu Bangongshi [CCP Zhejiang Provincial Committee Propaganda Department Office], ed. *Beijing fangeming baoluan shishi zhenxiang cailiao huibian* [A compilation of the true facts regarding the Beijing counter-revolutionary rebellion]. Hangzhou: Zhonggong Zhejiang shengwei xuanchuanbu bangongshi, 1989.
40. Renmin Chubanshe Bianjibu [People’s Press Editorial Department], ed. *Xuexi Deng Xiaoping tongzhi jiejian shoudu jiejian budui junyishang ganbu shi jianghua fudao cailiao* [Materials to guide the study of Comrade Deng Xiaoping’s speech before cadres of the capital martial law units at the corps level and higher]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1989.
41. Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuanbu [CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department], ed. *Jianjue yonghu dang zhongyang juece jianjue pingxi fangeming baoluan* [Resolutely support the party center’s policies; resolutely put down the counter-revolutionary rebellion]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1989.
42. Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuanbu [CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department], ed. *Bixu qizhi xianming de fandui dongluan* [We must clearly oppose unrest]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1989.
43. Zhejiangsheng Xuanju Gongzuo Weiyuanhui Bangongshi [Zhejiang Provincial Electoral Work Committee Office]. *Xianxiang huanjie xuanju shouce* [Handbook on county and township elections]. [Hangzhou?]: Zhejiangsheng xuanju gongzuo weiyuanhui bangongshi, [1989?].

UNREST IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA:

The three books in this section represent two distinct sources of unrest in today's China – social protests and elite factionalism. O'Brien and Li's *Rightful Resistance*, ordered used online, highlights a form of protest which leverages the regime's principles, language, and laws to stake claims against it. Chen's *Social Protest*, ordered new from Amazon, examines the regime's petitioning system – an institutional throwback from the Maoist era – is now used to channel, routinize, and filter protests, ultimately increasing stability. Both works sketch out sharply reduced spheres and forms of protest in the wake of Tiananmen, as the regime has sought to minimize the threat of unrest. While *The Chongqing Model* does not concern itself with conflict in the least, showcasing instead the municipality's preferred strategy of economic development under Party Secretary Bo Xilai, it is more notable for its disappearance from bookstores and official media following Bo's spectacular downfall in March 2012. This episode marks one of the rare instances in which factional politics and elite jockeying was laid bare for all to see, and I count myself lucky for having purchased this tome at Guangzhou's official Xinhua bookstore just months before the story broke.

44. O'Brien, Kevin J., and Lianjiang Li. *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
45. Chen, Xi. *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
46. Su, Wei, Fan Yang, and Shiwen Liu. *Chongqing Moshi* [The Chongqing model]. Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 2011.

MISCELLANY:

These books, like the last three, are somewhat tenuously connected to the rest of the collection. Unlike the previous three, however, these are beautiful specimens from a book collector's standpoint. Steiner's *Government in Fascist Italy* is a bold hardback with fresh gilding on the spine, published shortly before the outbreak of war. I spotted it at Brevard County's annual Friends of the Library sale as a lucky vacationer. Walter's *American Government at War*, rescued from a furniture store, is a remarkably well-maintained wartime paperback which examines how the Second World War affected governmental organization at home. Finally, Dulles' *Berlin* serves as my Cold War entry while doubling as a beautifully dust-jacketed product of the University of North Carolina Press; in addition, it can rightly boast a claim to prescience with twenty-plus years of reality on its side.

47. Steiner, H. Arthur. *Government in Fascist Italy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.
48. Walter, David O. *American Government at War*. Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1942.
49. Dulles, Eleanor Lansing. *Berlin: The Wall is Not Forever*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.

WISH LIST:

1. Li, Cheng. *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2016.
2. MacFarquhar, Roderick, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The People's Republic, Part I: The Emergence of Revolutionary China 1949-1965*. Vol. 14 of *The Cambridge History of the People's Republic of China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
3. MacFarquhar, Roderick, and John K. Fairbank, eds. *The People's Republic, Part II: Revolutions with the Chinese Revolution 1966-1982*. Vol. 15 of *The Cambridge History of the People's Republic of China*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
4. Rittenberg, Sidney, and Amanda Bennett. *The Man Who Stayed Behind*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
5. Vogel, Ezra. *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2011.