



# “Rethinking the Chinese Revolution: 1911 in Global Perspective”

A Conference in  
Commemoration of the  
1911 Revolution

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa,  
Honolulu  
March 28–30, 2011

*Organized by the  
Center for Chinese Studies,  
with major support from the  
Confucius Institute at the  
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa*



Center for Chinese Studies, School of Pacific and Asian Studies,  
and Confucius Institute at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa  
*present*

# “Rethinking the Chinese Revolution: 1911 in Global Perspective”

## A Conference in Commemoration of the 1911 Revolution

March 28–30, 2011  
Keoni Room, Imin Conference Center, East-West Center  
1777 East-West Rd, Honolulu, HI 96848



### Conference Schedule

#### March 28, 2011 (Monday)

7:30 p.m. Keynote address: “*Looking Back at China’s Possible Futures in 1911*” — R. Bin Wong (UCLA)

#### March 29, 2011 (Tuesday)

7:45 a.m. Coffee and pastries (CKS Lobby).

8:30–10:00 **Panel 1:** “*New Reflections on 1911 and Its Historical Legacies.*” Moderator: Edward Shultz (UHM). Panelists: Shana Brown (UHM); Daniel W. Y. Kwok (UHM); Jeffrey Wasserstrom (UC Irvine).

10:00–10:30 Break.

10:30–12:00 **Panel 2:** “*The Idea of Revolution in 20th Century China.*” Moderator: Hui Jiang (Peking University). Panelists: Xudong Zhang (NYU); Viren Murthy (University of Ottawa); Ban Wang (Stanford).

12:00–1:00 Lunch break.

1:00–3:00 **Panel 3:** “*Nationalism, Historical Memory, and Democratization.*” Moderator: Cathryn Clayton (UHM). Panelists: Allen Chun (Academia Sinica, Taiwan); Carole Petersen (UHM); John Carroll (Hong Kong University).

3:00–3:15 Break.

3:15–5:15 **Panel 4:** “*The Gender of Revolution.*” Moderator: Ming-Bao Yue (UHM). Panelists: Christina Gilmartin (Northeastern University); Haiping Yan (Cornell); Amy Dooling (Connecticut College); Tani Barlow (Rice University).

5:30 Reception at University Art Gallery, UHM. Exhibition: “*The Reformer’s Brush: Modernity and Traditional Media in China.*” Curator, Kate Lingley (UHM).

7:00 Film Screening (Art Auditorium): “*Autumn Gem (秋瑾): A Documentary on China’s First Feminist.*” Rae Chang, director.

#### March 30, 2011 (Wednesday)

7:45 a.m. Coffee and pastries (CKS Lobby).

8:30–10:00 **Panel 5:** “*1911 and Its Global Context.*” Moderator: Jerry Bentley (UHM). Panelists: Anthony Reid (Australian National University); Zhongping Chen (University of Victoria); Rebecca Karl (NYU); Peter Zarrow (Academia Sinica, Taiwan).

10:00–10:30 Break.

10:30–12:00 **Panel 6:** “*Teaching 1911: A Roundtable Discussion.*” Moderator: Frederick Lau (UHM). Panelists: John Carroll, Christina Gilmartin, and others TBA.

12:00–12:30 Concluding remarks: Shana Brown (UHM).



We hope to see all of you down at lawn of the Hilton Hawaiian Beach Resort and Spa (6:00–8:30 p.m.) for a huge reception sponsored by the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the Confucius Institute at UHM on the eve of the opening of the AAS/ICAS joint annual conference in Waikiki.

## Preamble

### The 1911 Revolution and Its Significance

On October 10, 1911, the revolutionary members of an army unit stationed in Wuchang, the capital of Hubei province, mutinied against local officials. Fearing preemptive arrest, the revolutionaries had acted precipitously. But after their victory, a chain of similar uprisings led to the capitulation of the Qing Dynasty. What began as a feeble insurgency resulted, in only a few short months, with the eradication of three centuries of Manchu rule and the establishment of the Republic of China.

Given its decisive end to the imperial system, the 1911 Revolution was a marked success that reverberated throughout Asia and the world. Yet at least in the short term, the revolution failed to achieve the broader objectives of territorial sovereignty, social and cultural development, and economic prosperity which motivated Sun Yat-sen and other advocates of republicanism. Instead, the events of 1911 launched a protracted struggle to accomplish these complex objectives. Its successes and failures—whether temporary or long-lived—remain critical foundations for the institutions and ideologies of modern China, and indeed, the world.

### Conference in Commemoration of the 1911 Revolution

At the centennial of the revolution, the legacies of 1911 remain critical points of engagement for scholars, political actors, and their constituents both in China and abroad. Understanding the revolution allows us to engage more fully with the shifting trajectories and meanings of Chinese modernity and the Chinese nation. At the same time, the revolution was a world-historical event, inspiring similar struggles for social and cultural change in Asia and the world in ways that offered an important alternative to similar programs derived from the European Enlightenment.

In recognition of the significance of the revolution to China and the world, the UHM Center for Chinese Studies plans a commemorative conference, preceding the 2011 national meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, that will bring together a diverse group of experts on Chinese history, politics, literature, anthropology, and law, among other fields, from the People's Republic, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, the U.S., Canada, Europe, and Australia.

The goal of the conference is to consider the specific events of 1911 as well as the broader implications of revolution and change in modern China, including its global impact. At its conclusion, members of the conference will

discuss the pedagogical implications of the 1911 Revolution. Participants in the conference will be asked to contribute materials such as paper drafts, abstracts, and suggested reading lists oriented towards undergraduate research and comprehension, with the goal of establishing a teaching-oriented website that will serve as an ongoing reference point for students and educators.

## Abstracts

### Keynote Address (Monday, 7:30 p.m.)

*“Looking Back at China’s Possible Futures in 1911”* — R. Bin Wong, University of California, Los Angeles

1911 is a moment of historical rupture from a long imperial past. In the early twenty-first century we witness a China becoming an increasingly wealthy and modern society. We can look back and make sense of various steps leading to a present that in 1911 would have seemed a most unexpected and surprising set of conditions. This presentation considers some of the concerns that animated Chinese living in the early twentieth century and have occupied observers subsequently as a way to consider the larger narratives of revolution and historical change that have variously structured our expectations for what China could or should have become over the course of the twentieth century.

### Panel 1 (Tuesday, 8:30–10:00)

*“The Local and Global Significance of the Father of Modern China”* — Shana Brown, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

On the centennial of the Chinese Revolution, one of the most important figures of that era, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, remains a key figure within Chinese history as well as the global history of the modern Chinese diaspora. As we examine the thematic issues provoked by 1911, we should consider not only the global legacy of Sun Yat-sen, but also his impact from the perspective of the local communities he affected, particularly in Hawai‘i.

*“Revolution in 1911: Revisiting Change and Tradition in Chinese History”* — Daniel W. Y. Kwok, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

The Xinhai Revolution, however interpreted, reoriented China from a cyclical to a linear view of history. This paper revisits the questions and problems ensuing from this orientation. That China, prior to 1911, had had only one true revolution some two thousand years ago during Qin–Han,

and that China in the twentieth century had four including Xinhai, require us to seek history lessons as tradition comes upon change, and as culture relates to civilization. The story of tradition and modernity is not unique to China, but the transformation of this longest-lived and most populous state and society should work our imagination of any definition.

The first part of the paper, subtitled “Culture and Civilization,” traces the shaping of the Chinese world-view which, through its triadic view of heaven, earth, and human (*tianren heyi*), achieved a semblance of order and long duration. It was a view that gives credence to the human-to-human relationship over the human-to-thing relationship, the latter the ethic undergirding modern civilization. The proximity of culture and civilization in this traditional view is also noted. This part cautions that, even in traditional times, this world view had gone through critical changes.

The second part of the paper presents the growing distance between culture and civilization in the post-Xinhai years. It notes the rise of Neo-Traditionalism alongside the stirring events, isms, and political struggles of the Xinhai years. It points to the anomalies and cultural anachronisms in the modernization of China. The current “Rise of China” has to be viewed against this background. This section is subtitled: “Culture or Civilization.”

**“Shanghai as a Home for Revolutionaries and a Contested Symbol of Modernity in 1911, and Beyond”** — Jeffrey Wasserstrom, University of California, Irvine

This presentation will focus on the various roles that Shanghai played in laying the ideological and organizational groundwork for the 1911 Revolution, as well as the complex way it figured in Sun Yat-sen’s life and thought in the 1920s. While other cities have greater claims to the 1911 Revolution (Wuhan, Nanjing, Guangzhou) and Shanghai is more tightly associated with other movements of upheavals (such as 1925 and 1927), I will argue that there is much to be said for treating it as a metropolis that figured in important ways in the lead-up to the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty (e.g., as a center for revolutionary publishing experiments). It also has a close link to the 1911 Revolution through Sun Yat-sen’s decision to live out his last years there, though he did this in spite of arguing that the position of Chinese residents of the International Settlement and French Concession was “subcolonial,” even lower than that of their counterparts living in “colonial” Hong Kong.

**“The Xinhai Revolution and Chinese Enlightenment: A (Dis)Continuity Re-Examined”** — Xudong Zhang, New York University

This paper seeks to re-examine the relationship of the Xinhai Revolution or, rather, its perceived failure, and the Chinese Enlightenment, also known as the Vernacular Revolution or the New Culture Movement. Rather than following the conventional narrative of “From Xinhai to May Fourth”, my point of departure is the following questions: What was the impact of the Xinhai Revolution on the social analysis as well as cultural understanding of modern China that provided a common ground for the Chinese Enlightenment? In what ways did the perceived ineffectiveness of the Xinhai Revolution help define a new intellectual strategy designed to compensate the deficiencies in political and social transformations? Last but not least, in what ways did the Xinhai Revolution as a legacy shape the internal discursive structure of the Chinese Enlightenment which, when elaborated in the ensuing decades, create unexpected strengths and shortcomings? The paper grapples with these questions through close examinations of some of the seminal texts (especially those penned by Chen Duxiu) published in the journal *Xinqingnian* (New Youth, or *La Jeunesse*); and the texts, both fiction and non-fiction, by Lu Xun.

**“The 1911 Revolution and the Politics of Failure: The Legacy of Takeuchi Yoshimi in Postwar Japan”** — Viren Murthy, University of Ottawa/Tsinghua University

The 1911 Revolution has had an ambiguous afterlife. Chinese historians have considered the 1911 an incomplete bourgeois revolution, especially in comparison to the more successful 1949 Revolution. On the other hand, in their famous tract in the early 1990s, Li Zehou and Liu Zaifu claimed that a rethinking of the 1911 revolution should make us reject the concept of revolution altogether. In both of these formulations, the 1911 Revolution is in some way connected to the legitimacy of capitalism, either as stepping stone towards socialism or as showing that any revolution is futile. However, in postwar Japan, when Japanese intellectuals were debating the consequences of the American Occupation and Japan’s role in the Second World War, the 1911 Revolution had a different significance. Postwar Japanese sinologists often turned to the 1911 Revolution as a symbol of hope, precisely because of its failure. Takeuchi Yoshimi

was the pioneer of this intellectual trend and he argued that, unlike the Meiji Ishin, which was a pale imitation of Western modernity, the 1911 Revolution represented a unique affirmation of revolutionary subjectivity, precisely because its initial attempts at modernization failed. Takeuchi and his disciples' discussions of how the 1911 Revolution produced subjectivity out of failure offer us a window on how post-war Japanese sinologists mobilized the 1911 Revolution in debates about subjectivity, anti-colonialism and socialism. An analysis of their writings will open the way to thinking about both the 1911 revolution and its Japanese afterlife in relation to the trajectory of capitalism and its discontents in the twentieth century.

**“Geopolitics and Cultural Revolution: Liang Qichao’s Moral Reform and Aesthetics of Heroism”** — Ban Wang, Stanford University

Liang Qichao has been noted as a reformer of the state and nationalist thinker. This paper will show how Liang situated his nationalist theory more within an international than national context. Liang’s call for a moral revolution addresses what Sun Zhongshan called “a sheet of loose sand”—atomistic individuals who only knew *tianxia* (all under heaven) but not *guojia* (the nation-state). Moral renewal is to raise the moral, political consciousness of the Chinese people as constitutive of a national solidarity, the basis of the new republic. As the earlier seed of the frequently invoked notion of “cultural revolution,” Liang’s advocacy for a people endowed with morality, intelligence, and vital energy of virtue leads to a new understanding of the relation of culture to politics, and to a militant aesthetic of heroism as a drive for revolutionary change.

**Panel 3 (Tuesday, 1:00–3:00)**

**“The Legacy of Sanmin Zhuyi (三民主義) Education in Postwar Taiwan”** — Allen Chun, Academia Sinica

This paper proposes to examine the role of *sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu* in the process of a Nationalist or nationalizing project in a way that reflects more deeply on the construction of a cultural identity and the ongoing politics that drives it.

**“Herstory and History: Gaps in the Literature on Post-Colonial Hong Kong”** — Carole J. Petersen, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

In Hong Kong, university students are frequently told that they are “living history” because the territory ceased to be a British colony in 1997 and has struggled to develop local democracy as a Special Administrative Region of China. The process of decolonization actually began in 1984 when the British and Chinese governments signed the *Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong*. The transition period was a time of dramatic law reform and social change, partly because the colonial government implemented limited democracy reforms but also because the local legislature incorporated international human rights law into the domestic legal system. Although this body of law has proven its worth, there have been numerous constitutional and political crises since 1997 and a wealth of literature has been published on the successes and failures of reunification. The importance of the experiment reaches beyond Hong Kong’s seven million residents because China has proposed the ‘one country, two systems’ model for Taiwan. Hong Kong also provides an exceptional opportunity to study the potential impact of international human rights treaties in domestic law.

This paper argues that the local women’s movement has played a leading role in Hong Kong’s democracy and human rights movements. Women became politically active in the transition period and lobbied the legislature to adopt a bill of rights, to repeal the ban on female inheritance, to enact the first Sex Discrimination Ordinance, and to reform laws on rape and domestic violence. Women have also arguably changed the face of politics in Hong Kong by forming broad-based coalitions that have begun to cut across social and economic lines, including professional women, academics, Christian women’s groups, lesbians, migrant domestic workers, and sex workers. These coalitions participate actively in the reporting processes for international human rights treaties, thus ensuring that local violations of rights receive international attention. Yet, despite this impact, the influence of the feminist movement within the broader democracy and human rights movements is inadequately reflected in the general literature on Hong Kong. For the most part, one must seek out books and articles on “gender studies” to ascertain what the women’s movement has accomplished. Even this body of literature arguably does not

fully document the connections between the women's movement and the dramatic changes to Hong Kong's legal and political systems since 1984.

***“Dr. Sun Meets Mr. Ho: Commemorating Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution in Postcolonial Hong Kong”*** — John Carroll, University of Hong Kong

This paper focuses on the only museum in Hong Kong devoted to a Chinese historical figure: the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Museum, which opened in 2006 and in various ways completes the Sun Yat-sen Historical Trail established in 1996, one year before Hong Kong's retrocession to Chinese sovereignty.

The paper asks several questions: Why does Hong Kong need a museum for Sun, who was partly educated in Hong Kong and later insisted that his revolutionary ideas had been formed during his time there, but who played no significant role in Hong Kong's history? Does it matter that the museum is housed in a historic, restored hybrid Chinese-Edwardian building that was once the home of a prominent Eurasian comprador, Ho Kam Tong, who played a considerably more important role in Hong Kong's history? How does the museum distinguish itself from the many other museums devoted to the man known as the father of modern China?

The paper suggests that commemorating Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution reveal some of the issues inherent in Hong Kong's decolonization since 1997 and its reintegration with the rest of China, and in the politics of heritage preservation in Hong Kong. On the one hand, by underscoring the strong links between Hong Kong, Sun, and the 1911 Revolution, the museum shows how, despite Hong Kong's colonial status, its ties with China were never severed. On the other hand, by showing how Hong Kong's colonial status and relative tolerance benefited Sun and his revolutionary activities, the museum positions colonial Hong Kong as a forerunner of Chinese modernity and promotes a proud localism.

**Panel 4 (Tuesday, 3:15–5:15)**

***“China's Century of Gender Transformations: Reflections on the 1911 Revolution in a Comparative Global Perspective”*** — Christina Gilmartin, Northeastern University

Gender-change discourse and female activism have commonly been associated with modernizing revolutions, while their effects have been noticeably disparate. This study examines the gender ideological constructs,

dynamics and outcomes of China's 1911 Revolution, arguing that its immediate impact on the gender order, particularly in terms of political rights and participation, were disappointing. However, when viewed from the vantage point of the early twenty-first century, some long-term positive outcomes of the 1911 revolution on transforming China's gender order are evident. In exploring the reasons why this occurred, this study will use a comparative framework to briefly survey a few other modern revolutionary movements.

***“Qiu Jin and Her Imaginary”*** — Haiping H. Yan, Cornell University and Shanghai Jiaotong University

“Humans as a species reached the end of their development tens of thousands of years ago; but humanity as a species is just at its beginning,” Walter Benjamin wrote in a war-torn Europe of the 1930s. While opening up the imaginative question about how “humanity” is not simply a biological given but historically made and re-made as an open possibility of human praxis, Benjamin did not continue to explicate how such a “making” might specifically occur in the variable matrix of human history. Decades earlier, in 1904, Qiu Jin wrote in a war-driven Japan, in a way that invites Benjamin's question but with a historically specific focus on China-cum-Chinese women endangered by a worldwide spreading of wars or threats of wars: “We sisters must learn to put aside everything we have preoccupied ourselves with before and focus on what we must do for our future—as if our former selves are dead and we have returned to this world in other forms of humanity.” In this article calling for a women's revolution central to her imagination about the making of a modern China to survive the global time of extreme violence, Qiu Jin maps the bodily configurations of Chinese women (of the gentry or other classes) as the “humanly deficient,” explores their connotations as social scripts of a particular logic inscribed onto human lives, and designates such lives as human terrains of social transformation whose dynamics gives rise to the idea of a new China for “real human beings” to transpire in a world governed by the logic of the *realpolitik*.

This paper argues how a variable evocation of such “real humanity” occurs in Qiu Jin's literary writings as an embodied imaginary inherently at work in her political activity. Specifically, by considering the ways in which the figure of a female-bodied entity named “Jinwei bird” in ancient Chinese mythology occurs repeatedly in Qiu Jin's world of the literary

and the political, the imaginary and the actual, this paper attempts to articulate how such an evocative recurrence registers a humanly inhabited instance of a mythological impetus that indicates the emergence of what may be called a “Chinese humanism,” involving implications generally distinct from those of the *a priori* à la “authentic humanity” operative within the framework of a European-specific metaphysics.

**“Writing Revolution: Women, Texts, and the Late Qing Feminist Imagination”** — Amy Dooling, Connecticut College

The late Qing feminist imagination foregrounded the power of written texts to galvanize women around the question of revolution. Not only did activist women at the turn-of-the-century launch ambitious periodicals and newspapers as an integral part of their political efforts, but literary works from the period abound with references to the impact that (fictional) newspapers, manifestos, feminist treatises, novels, and translations of foreign books are shown to have on female readers and public life. My paper examines the implications of such a highly self-reflexive attention to modern print media on the part of feminist writers in the early 1900s and the ways it relates to attempts to envision new horizons of possibility within the gendered social order. To conclude I touch on the textual legacies of late Qing feminism, focusing in particular on how activist writers of the Republican era evoked the 1911 Revolution in accounts of the rise of the Chinese women’s movement.

**“What is the Political Subject of Women in the 1911 Revolution?”** — Tani Barlow, Rice University

Over the last generation feminist historiography has, for the most part, focused on the cultural life of women in the period of the Xinhai Revolution or on the question of women’s rights discussion among male reformers. A strong, rich body of work has emerged which takes defensive posture in relation to the 1919 May Fourth movement’s promise of women’s liberation and argues in general terms that modernist practices over road and obliterated a female centered form of high literacy and cultural life. Among the most accomplished scholars in this movement are Xia Xiaogong, Xiong Yuezhi, Dorothy Ko, Susan Mann, Qian Nanxiu, Joan Judge and their colleagues.

The general thesis of this historiographic position is that modernity failed women. Not only did it discredit an existing form of “speech” that

women had dominated because they had created it. The historical drift from modernism to Communism and the extinction of female dominated cultural and literary domains should be memorialized and mourned.

This paper evaluates the historiography of this cultural turn in Chinese women’s history and suggests an alternative question: what was the political subject of women in the Xinhai revolution? What happens when the shift from women as cultural subject to women as political subject occurs? What sorts of political subjectivity did women espouse?

**Panel 5 (Wednesday, 8:30–10:00)**

**“The 1911 Divergence: Chinese Diaspora and Southeast Asian Nationalisms”** — Anthony Reid, Australian National University

Revolution, understood as the overthrowing by violence of an existing order, and fundamental rejection of its legal/constitutional validity in the name of new ideals, is crucial to our understanding of how modern history works. Both by admiration and emulation on the one hand, and rejection and reaction on the other, revolutions tend to have influence far beyond their borders. If any one such upheaval can be said to have created a model in Asia, as the revolution of 1789 did in Europe, 1911 is the strongest candidate. Because of the history and importance of the Manchu Empire, and the dispersal of Chinese in other countries, 1911 mattered for Asia. This paper will discuss why it mattered particularly for Southeast Asia.

Firstly, the notion of what a revolution and a revolutionary were became known through this act. The spectacular success of overthrowing an ancient empire, and the clandestine mobilisation of a revolutionary organisation, both became appreciated and emulated. The violence and illegality of revolution was already divisive, but the most powerful ideal of 1911, nationalism, was even more so. The mobilisation of “overseas Chinese” on behalf of a new community imagined as engaged in a racial struggle for survival created some emulation in Southeast Asia, but more importantly competition. The new “Chineseness” began to be imagined as incompatible with the other newly imagined communities struggling into being, and in many situations on the ground, competitive with them. 1911 therefore can be seen as a particular parting of the ways for Chinese Southeast Asians, the consequences of which are with us a century later.

**“Reform and Revolution in the Chinese Diaspora: A Tale of Two Canadian Cities: 1897–1911”** — Zhongping Chen, University of Victoria, Canada

This paper examines how late Qing reformers and revolutionaries transformed Canadian Chinatowns around Victoria and Vancouver through their transpacific political movements between 1897 and 1911. After Sun Yat-sen visited Canada in 1897 and first sowed the seeds of the anti-Qing revolution in Victoria, Kang Youwei’s arrival in the same city in 1899 led to the surge of reformist movement in Canadian Chinatowns, especially in the Chinese community of Vancouver, although the Republican Revolution finally prevailed over the constitutional reform around 1911. While previous scholarship has often focused on the power struggles between Sun and Kang’s factions, this paper argues that such factional competition accelerated the radicalization of both reformist and revolutionary programs and promoted political mobilization in the Chinatowns around Victoria and Vancouver. Reformist and revolutionary factions indeed caused political fission within these Chinatowns, but their respective organizations, newspapers, and other transpacific networks also linked such Chinese communities across Canada, North America, and the Asia-Pacific area. More importantly, the reformist and revolutionary literati exerted political influence beyond these Chinatowns and helped the Chinese communities in Victoria and Vancouver to establish new relations with Canadian society. Under their influence, Chinese migrants in Victoria and Vancouver also transformed their homeland connections from personal attachment to their native places around Canton into patriotic concern for national destiny.

**“1911 and Global Revolution”** — Rebecca Karl, New York University

This paper will discuss the 1911 revolution in relation to the global revolutionary upsurge of the previous decade. It will explore the Chinese Republican revolution and the global anti-colonial and national revolutions of the time, as well as think about why 1911 might continue to be relevant for our current moment. For, while the ensuing century has demonstrated amply how and why nationalist revolutions were always and remain inadequate to their times and to ours, the legacy of 1911 is nevertheless important, as it raised a series of historical questions that have yet to find good answers.

**“Cosmopolitan Intellectuals: Sun Yat-sen in the Wake of 1911”** — Peter Zarrow, Academia Sinica

Liberal and illiberal currents of global thought in the first decades of the twentieth century informed Chinese revolutionary theory. Or to put it another way, Chinese intellectuals and political activists participated in such global currents. Sun Yat-sen, for example, maintained close ties to the Second International. The number of countries that experienced revolutionary upheavals in the first twelve years of the twentieth century is remarkable, including the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Mexico, Portugal, and Russia, as well as China. Whether seen as bourgeois-democratic revolutions or as revolutions of positivist-minded intellectuals, these revolutions did share something of a common vocabulary. Of Chinese intellectuals and activists, none was more cosmopolitan than Sun Yat-sen, comfortable in English and with extensive experience in Hawaii, Japan, Southeast Asia, the US, and Britain. This paper focuses on Sun’s efforts to pursue revolution in the decade *after* 1911. In this sense, the failure of 1911, as it was seen by Sun, inspired a new set of revolutionary postulates that had much in common with Leninism and foreshadowed the Communist Revolution. But Sun’s new emphasis on party discipline and “political tutelage” were roughly based on a neo-Confucian epistemology whose major principles were the unity of knowledge and action and the leadership of “fore-knowers.” These illiberal operating principles were to be meshed with the liberalism of the Three People’s Principles and Sun’s constitutional doctrines.

**Panel 6 (Wednesday, 8:30–10:00)**

**“Teaching 1911: A Roundtable Discussion”** — Moderator: Frederick Lau (UHM). Panelists: John Carroll, Christina Gilmartin, and others TBA.

As we conclude the conference, this roundtable (drawn from participants in other conference events) will discuss pedagogical implications of the 1911 Revolution. How have new research and scholarly interpretations of 1911 changed the ways in which we educate our students? What teaching methods, materials, or approaches may be most successful in allowing us to apply new insights within the classroom? In other words, what is the pedagogical future of the Revolution?

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