This course is the second of a two-course sequence designed to explore the political dynamics of revolutionary change in comparative historical perspective. We will begin by examining key elements of political philosophy in East and West, from Greek antiquity to the turn of the twentieth-first century, which might enable us to comprehend more fully the origins and nature of revolutionary change from above and below. We will scrutinize critically competing social scientific models of political and social revolution and appraise their strengths and weaknesses in explaining the dynamics of the Chinese Revolution. Our common point of departure is the French Revolution of 1789, a world-historical event that defined both the notion of revolution itself and the key dynamics that defined its leadership and consequences as revolutionary in nature. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was inspired by the French example and in turn encouraged Chinese thinker activists to consider socialist revolution as the solution to China’s national dilemma. Among the themes we will consider are the notion of a continuous revolution, the notion of “Oriental society,” and the difficulties of relying on a European revolutionary theory to guide a revolution in a non-European social and cultural context. We will use both primary and secondary readings, with the objective of establishing the dynamic relationship between indigenous Chinese and Western revolutionary thought on the one hand the practice of mass mobilization on the other. We will complete this quarter by examining how revolutionary change continues to be a major factor in post-Mao China.

Although the course has been conceived to form an integral whole over an entire academic year, students are free to take either segment separately. A basic background in Marxism is useful but not required. Those who wish to supplement their knowledge beyond the minimum readings assigned in the course may do so with a list of additional readings than can be

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1The first part of the sequence, “The Russian Revolution” (PS130AD, taught this past Winter 2007). Students may take either or both courses in the sequence.
obtained from the instructor. In addition, by the second week, all students should have read
the basic introduction to China found in the Fairbank assignment and should be thoroughly
familiar with the map found in that text. Know the locations of major cities such as Peking
(Beijing), Tsingtao (Qingdao), Shanghai, Tientsin (Tianjin), Nanking (Nanjing), Hankow
(Hankou), Chungking (Chongqing) Canton (Guangzhou), Hong Kong, Mukden, and Yenan
(Yeran). The following definitions should prove helpful.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Mountain(s)</th>
<th>River(s)</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>South</th>
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<td>ho (he)</td>
<td>河</td>
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I have made the assigned texts listed below available for purchase at Groundwork Books. Students who prefer or need to seek additional used copies online at Amazon.com or BarnesandNoble.com. I have provided links to the specific texts assigned for this course on my personal website at [http://www.germainehoston.com/PS131C.htm](http://www.germainehoston.com/PS131C.htm):

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press)
Mao Dun, *Midnight* (Cheng & Tsui Company)
Mark Selden, *China in Revolution* (State University of New York Press) (updated version of The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China)

**Recommended for Students Needing Background on China:**

All other materials are included in the readers for the course available from University Readers, which will be available for purchase in class the first two weeks of class (www.universityreaders.com; tel:800.200.3908/888.552.1120). All the above, as well as other required readings will be available on reserve in the undergraduate library. Graduates students are required to read all the recommended ("rec’d") readings as well as the required readings. Other requirements and bases for grading are described in detail on the final page of this syllabus.

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2 The spellings in parentheses are *pinyin*, the official romanization system used in the People’s Republic of China.
SCHEDULE OF CLASS SESSIONS AND READINGS:

Week 1:

Apr 3 Course Introduction: Political Thought, Political Legitimacy, and Revolutionary Change

Apr 5 Competing Approaches to the Study of Revolution

Background Reading for Students without Background on China: Fairbank and Goldman, China: A New History (enlgd. ed.), chaps. 2, 4, 6, 8

Readings:
- Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Part Ic (re-exports)
- Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, chap. 1, pp. 47-81, chap. 4

Rec'd:

Week 2:

Apr 10-12 The Marxist Framework and the Chinese Context: "The Problem of "Oriental Society"

Readings:
- Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pp. 276-242
- In Tucker, ed., Marx-Engels Reader
  - "Marx on the History of His Opinions"
  - "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction"
  - "On Imperialism in India"
  - "The German Ideology,"
  - "The Communist Manifesto"

1 Students enrolled in PS1010AD in the Winter quarter should skim the required items for review and read at least two of the recommended readings.

2 Rec'd recommended readings. These readings are not required but suggested for those with additional background. Students who were enrolled in PS1010AD in the Winter Quarter should simply review the required items and read at least two of the recommended readings.
Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Random
House, 1979). Introduction, chap. 1, parts 1 and 2;
chap. 2, part 3; and chap. 3

Recommended Readings for Students without Background on China:
Euribank and Goldman, China, chaps. 9-11
Benjamin I. Schwartz, ed., "Some Stereotypes in the Periodization
of Chinese History," The Philosophical Forum 12, New Series
(Winter 1968): 219-230 (e-reserves)

BEGIN READING Mao Dun, Midnight

Week 3: Apr 17-19 The Russian Revolution, the May Fourth Movement, and the
Growth of Chinese Marxism

Lu Xun, "Diary of a Madman" (reader)
Hoston, State, Identity and the National Question, chaps. 4-5 (e-
reserves)
Maurice Meisner, Li Ts'ao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), chaps. 1, 2, 4, 5
(reader)
Frederic Wakeman, Jr., History and Will, chap. 14 (e-reserves)

Rec'd: V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" in Tucker, The
Lenin Anthology (e-reserves)
Chow Tse-tung, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution
in Modern China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990)
Peter Kuhfus, "Chen Duodu and Leo Trotsky," China Quarterly
101 (March 1985): 253-276
John E. Schrecker, Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism:
Germany in Shantung (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971)
Jerome Grieder, Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in
the Chinese Revolution, 1917-1931
Stuart Schrem, Mao Tse-tung, chaps. 4-6 (pp. 60-145)
Lin Yu-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical
Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era (Madison: University of
Wisconsin Press, 1979)
Joseph Levenson, Confucianism and its Modern Fate (Berkeley)

1 Brumaire ("Fog") was the second month of the French revolutionary calendar. See an explanation in the
handout that you can download from the class site.
Week 4:  
**Apr 24-26**  
The Collapse of the First United Front and the Emergence of Mao Zedong Thought

**Readings:**  
Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pp. 242-255  
Hoston, State, Identity and the National Question, chap. 7 (e-reserves)  
Isaac, Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, pp. 175-202 (reader) or  
Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, chaps. 5-12  
Fredrick Wakeman, Jr., History and Will, chap. 15 (e-reserves)

**Rec'd:**  
Conrad Brandt, Stalin's Failure in China (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958)  
Jean Chee-See, "The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927"  
Stuart Schrman, Mao Tse-tung, chap. 7 (pp. 146-191)

Week 5:  
**May 1**  
Theory and Practice in the Base Areas

**Readings:**  
Selden, China in Revolution, chaps. 1-4  
Hoston, State, Identity and the National Question, pp. 361-379 (e-reserves)  
Mao, "On New Democracy" (e-reserves)  
Mao, "On Practice" (e-reserves)  
Mao, "Reform Our Study" (e-reserves)  
Liu Shaoqi, "How To Be a Good Communist" (e-reserves)  
Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pp. 252-262

**Rec'd:**  
Nikolai Bukharin, Problems of the Chinese Revolution (London, 1927)  
Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, Pt. V, "The Long March"

**MIDTERM EXAM: IN CLASS, THURSDAY, MAY 3, 2007**

Week 6:  
**May 8-10**  
Civil War and the Growth of Two Chinas

**Readings:**  
Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, chaps. 4-7  
Graham Peck, Two Kinds of Time, chaps. 4-5 (reader)  
Mark Selden, China in Revolution, chaps. 5-6
### Rec'd: Selections from Liu, How to Be a Good Communist (e-reserves)

Mac. “On Contradiction,” “Rectify the Party’s Style of Work,” “Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing,” and “Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art,” all in Selected Readings

Graham Peck, Two Kinds of Tone, chap. 4


### PART II. CHINA SINCE 1949: DILEMMA5 OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

**TUES: CLASS DISCUSSION OF NATIONALISM IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION**

**Week 7:**

**May 15**

**Interpretations of the Chinese Communist Victory**

**May 17**

**Readings:**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 17</td>
<td>The CCP in Power</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skocpol, States and Social revolutions, chap. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson, Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power, chaps. 2-4 (e-reserves)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rec’d:**


James Harrison, The Long March to Power

**Week 8:**

**May 22-24**

**Readings:**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Readings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socialist Construction Under the CCP</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frantz Schuremann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, chaps. 2-4 (reader)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, chap. 4
Week 9: May 29-31

From the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution
Socialist Construction under the CCP

Readings:
- Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, chap. 6, pp. 252-283
- Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" (e-reserves)
- Hoston, State, Identity and the National Question, pp. 379-401 (e-reserves)
- Bernstein, "Keeping the Revolution Going," in Lewis, Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power, pp. 239-267

Week 10: Jun 5-7

The Four Modernizations and the Challenge of Democratization

Readings:
- Tong, Transitions from State Socialism (selected readings) (e-reserves)
COURSE REQUIREMENTS:
Lectures and discussions will be held each Tuesday and Thursday from 12:30 p.m. to 1:50 p.m. in the Cognitive Science Building 002. Readings should be completed before class (except for Week 1, obviously!), so that discussions can be wide-ranging and productive.

Discussion Assignments: There will be two assignments designed to promote discussion in class and online. Since the class is large, to make sure that everyone has an opportunity to participate, preparations for these are short (1-2 pages) and need to be submitted in writing online.

Exams:
- Midterm Examination. There will be an in-class midterm on Thursday, May 3.
- Take-home Final Examination. A take-home final examination based on the entire quarter’s work will be distributed two to three weeks before the final examination as scheduled by the registration and is due on Thursday, June 14 between 11:30 am. and 2:29 p.m. in the room designated for the final exam.

The following statement must appear, with your signature, on the final page of all your written work:

"The above represents my own work in accordance with Academic Senate in accordance with Academic Senate guidelines on academic integrity."

If you wish to have your graded final examination available for pickup in a publicly accessible area of the Department of Political Science (301 Social/Science Building), a signed Buckley Waiver must also appear on the front page of the examination.

Grading:
Class participation 25%

NOTES: All students are required to attend all class meetings. This portion of the grade includes online contributions as well as “live” participation in class discussions. Students who are shy talking in front of others can take advantage of opportunities to contribute to the Yahoo! Group discussions. You can ask and answer questions, help plan review and other study sessions, etc. The point is that active, as opposed to passive, engagement with the material is much more conducive to learning and understanding any material.

Midterm examination 35%
Final examination 40%

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4 The exception to this rule is in case of illness. If you are sick, please do not come to class and expose others to your illness. When you have recovered and return to class, bring a note from your doctor, and your absence will be excused.