



UCSD

Political Science 131C

Comparative Revolutions: (II)

The Politics of the Chinese Revolution

(Section ID 588376)

Spring 2007

v. 1.1

Dr. Germaine A. Hoston

Class Meetings: T Th 12 :30 p.m.-1:50 p.m., Office : 376 Social Science Building

Telephone: 858.449.0455 Hours: Tu 2:15-3:30 p.m. by appt.

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Professor Hoston's Website : <http://www.germaineahoston.com>

Course Website: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/chineserevolution>

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This course is the second of a two-course sequence¹ 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

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 Yen'an (Yan'an). The following definitions should prove helpful:²

ho (he)	河	river	kiang/chiang (jiang)	江	river
hu	湖	lake	shan	山	mountain(s)
tung (dong)	东	east	hsi (xi)	西	west
nan	南	south	pei (bei)	北	north

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.germaineahoston.com/PS131C.htm>:

Robert C. Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, rev. Enlgd ed. (W. W. Norton, 1978)
Theda **Skocpol**, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press)
Lucien **Bianco**, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford University Press)
Mao Tun, *Midnight* (Cheng & Tsui Company)
Mark **Selden**, *China in Revolution* (State University of New York Press) (updated version of *The Yen'an Way in Revolutionary China*)

Recommended for Students Needing Background on China:

John King **Fairbank** and Merle **Goldman**, *China: A New History* (enlgd. ed.) (Harvard University Press)

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 classes (www.universityreaders.com Tel:800.200.3908/858.552.1120). 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.

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*, Preface (e-reserves)
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 1, pp.47-81, chap. 4³
- Rec'd:⁴** Sheldon Wolin, "The Politics of the Study of Revolutions," *Comparative Politics* 5.3 (April 1973): 343-358 (e-reserves)
- James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* 27.1 (February 1962): 5-19 (e-reserves)
- Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" *Comparative Politics* 5.3 (April 1973): 425-447 (e-reserves)
- Ted Robert Gurr, "The Revolution-Social Change Hypotheses," *Comparative Politics* 5.3, Special Issue on Revolution and Social Change (Apr., 1973), pp. 359-392
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- Week 2:** **Apr 10-12** The Marxian Framework and the Chinese Context: The Problem of "Oriental Society"
- Readings:** Hoston, *State, Identity and the National Question*, Introduction, chap. 1: "Marxism, Revolution, and the National Question" pp. 273-293, 321-324 (e-reserves)
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 236-242
- 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"

³ Students enrolled in PS130AD in the Winter quarter should skim the required items for review and read at least two of the recommended readings.

⁴ Rec'd=recommended readings. These readings are not required but suggested for those who wish additional background. Students who were enrolled in POLI130AD in the Winter Quarter should simply review the required items and read at least two of the recommended readings.

Rec'd: Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital," and "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," pp. 594-98⁵ in Tucker, *Marx-Engels Reader*
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:

Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, chaps. 9-11
Benjamin I. Schwartz, ed., "Some Stereotypes in the Periodization of Chinese History," *The Philosophical Forum* 1.2, 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

Readings: Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Revolution*, chaps. 1-2
Lu Xun, "Diary of a Madman" (reader)
Hoston, *State, Identity and the National Question*, chaps. 4-5 (e-reserves)
Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao 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-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960)
Peter Kuhfus, "Chen Duxiu and Leon 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 Schram, *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)

⁵ 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. 242-252
Hoston, *State, Identity and the National Question*, chap. 7 (e-reserves)
Isaacs, *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 175-292 (reader) or
Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, chaps. 5-12
Frederic 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 Chesneaux, "The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927"
Edward Hammond, "Bukharin and the Chinese Revolution," *Modern China* 1.4 (October 1975: 463-472)
Robert C. North, *Moscow and Chinese Communists*, 2d ed. (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1963)
Marcia Ristaino, "Communist Strategy by 1928: The Mobilization of Discontent," *China Quarterly* 84 (December 1980): 694-721
Stuart Schram, *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)
Raymond F. Wylie, "Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Po-ta and the 'Sinification' of Marxism, 1936-1938," *China Quarterly* 79 (September 1979): 447-480 (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:** Leon Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, translated with a Foreword by Max Schachtman, reprint ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1967)
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)
Mao, "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 Time*, chap. 4
Arif Dirlik, "The Predicament of Marxist Revolutionary
"Consciousness: Mao, Gramsci, and the Reformulation of Marxist
Revolutionary Theory," *Modern China* 9.2: 182-212

PART II. CHINA SINCE 1949: DILEMMAS OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

Week 7: May 15 Interpretations of the Chinese Communist Victory
TUES: CLASS DISCUSSION OF NATIONALISM IN THE CHINESE
REVOLUTION

- May 17 The CCP in Power**
Readings: Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 3
Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power*, chaps. 2-4 (e-reserves)
Roy Hofheinz, "The Ecology of Chinese Communist Success:
'Rural Influence Patterns, 1923-1945," in *Chinese Communist Politics in Action* (Seattle: University of Washington Press) (e-reserves)
Rec'd: Richard H. Solomon, *Mao's Revolution and China's Political Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press), Pt. Benjamin I.
Schwartz, "On Filial Piety and Revolution: China," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3.3(Winter 1973): 569-580
"Mao, Solomon and the Problem of Social Science: Two Views," *Journal of Asian Studies* 32.1 (November 1972): 101-120
Maurice Meisner, "Leninism and Maoism: Some Populist Perspectives on Marxism-Leninism in China," *China Quarterly* 45: 2-36
Donald Munro, "The Malleability of Man in Chinese Marxism," *China Quarterly* 48: 609-640
James Harrison, *The Long March to Power*

Week 8: May 22-24 Socialist Construction Under the CCP
Readings: Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*, chaps. 2-4 (reader)
Thomas P. Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929-1930 and 1955-1956: A Comparison," *China Quarterly* 31 (e-reserves)
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 4

Rec'd: Don C. Gillin, "'Peasant Nationalism' in the History of Chinese Communism," *Journal of Asian Studies* 23.2 (February 1964): 269-289
James Harrison, "Communist Interpretation of Peasant Wars," *China Quarterly* 24: 92-118

**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)
Jack Gray, "The Two Roads: Alternative Strategies of Social Change and Economic Growth in China," pp. 109-157, in Stuart Schram, ed., *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) (reader)
Benjamin Schwartz, "The Reign of Virtue: Some Broad Perspectives on Leader and Party in the Cultural Revolution," in John Wilson Lewis, ed., *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China*, pp.149-169 (e-reserves)
Rec'd: Bernstein, "Keeping the Revolution Going," in Lewis, *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power*, pp. 239-267
Merle Goldman, "The Unique 'Blooming and Contending' of 1961-62," in John Wilson Lewis, ed., *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 268-303
Vivienne Shue, *Peasant China in Transition: The Dynamics of Development towards Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980)

Week 10: Jun 5-7 The Four Modernizations and the Challenge of Democratization

Readings: G. William Skinner and Edwin A. Winckler, "Compliance Succession in Rural Communist China: A Cyclical Theory," pp. 410-438, in Amitai Etzioni, ed., *Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations* 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969) (e-reserves)
Sun, *The Chinese Reassessment of Socialism, 1976-1992* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press) (e-reserves)
Tong, *Transitions from State Socialism* (selected readings) (e-reserves)

Rec'd: Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, chap. 9 (e-reserves)
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, Conclusion
Andrew Nathan, "Policy Oscillations in the PRC: A Critique,"
China Quarterly 68: 720-733

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. ⁶ 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 <i>active</i> , as opposed to passive, engagement with the material is much more conducive to learning and understanding any material.
Midterm examination	35%	
Final examination	40%	

⁶ 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.