Political Science 131C
Comparative Revolutions: (II) The Politics of the Chinese Revolution
(Section ID 774203)
Spring 2013
v. 3
Dr. Germaine A. Hoston

Class Meetings: Mon 5:00 p.m.-7:50 p.m.  Office: 376 Social Science Building
Location: 2204 Warren Lecture Hall  Telephone: 858.449.0455
Hours: Mon 3:00-4:30 p.m. and by appt.  E-Mail: ghoston@ucsd.edu
Professor Hoston’s Website: www.germaineahoston.com
Course Website: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/chineserevolution2013/
Course E-Mail: chineserevolution2013@yahoogroups.com

This course is the second of a two-course sequence1 designed to explore the political dynamics of revolutionary change in comparative historical perspective. However, the course is designed as a stand-alone course (most students enrolled will not have taken the Russian Revolution segment) so that those who have not taken POLI 130AD will not be at a disadvantage. We will begin by examining key elements of political philosophy in East and West that 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. 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 or “permanent” revolution, the notion of “Oriental society,” and the difficulties that Chinese thinker-activists faced in relying on a European theory of revolution (Marxism) 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, and the practice of mass mobilization, on the other. We will conclude by appraising the strengths and weaknesses of the social scientific models with which we began the quarter in explaining the dynamics of the Chinese Revolution.

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 obtained from the instructor. In addition, by the second week, all students who lack a previous background on China should have read the basic introduction to China found in the Fairbank and Goldman assignment and 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.

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1The first part of the sequence, “The Russian Revolution” (PS130AD, taught this past Winter 2013). Students may take either or both courses in the sequence.
(Hankou), Chungking(Chongqing), Canton (Guangzhou), Hong Kong, Mukden, and Yenan (Yan'an). The following definitions should prove helpful:²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho (he)</td>
<td>kiang/chiang (jiang)</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>shan</td>
<td>mountain(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tung (dong)</td>
<td>hsi (xi)</td>
<td>east, west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nan</td>
<td>pei (bei)</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A reference sheet comparing the Wade-Giles romanization (most widely used before 1949 and after 1949 in Taiwan) and Pinyin (official in the PRC since the revolution) romanization is available in the Reference Documents folder in the Files section of the class website.

The assigned texts listed below are available for purchase at the University Bookstore. Students who prefer to seek additional used or new copies online at Amazon.com or other website sites.


Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press) 978-0-521-29499-7


Mao Tun, *Midnight* (Cheng & Tsui Company)

Mark Selden, *China in Revolution* (M. E. Sharpe) (updated version of *The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China*) 1563245558

**Recommended for students who need additional 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 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.

Your first assignment is to sign up for the Yahoo! group that has been established for the class and to complete your profile (first and last name are enough) by 10:00 p.m., Sunday, April 7 by sending an email from your preferred e-mail address (not necessarily your @ucsd.edu e-mail address) to: chinese-revolution2013-subscribe@yahooo-groups.com. If you do not yet have a Yahoo! ID (free), you may need to establish one in order to sign up for the group. This group provides you additional

² The spellings in parentheses are *pinyin*, the official romanization system used in the People’s Republic of China
opportunities to participate in class discussions, as well as a means to exchange lecture notes, ask questions, organize study groups, etc.

**SCHEDULE OF CLASS SESSIONS AND READINGS:**

**Week 1:**  
**Apr 1** Competing Approaches to the Study of Revolution  

**Background Reading for Students who wish to acquire more 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:**  

**Week 2:**  
**Apr 8** The Marxian Framework and the Chinese Context: The Problem of “Oriental Society”  

**Readings:**  
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”  

**Rec’d:**  

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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 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.
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

**BEGIN READING Mao Dun, *Midnight***

**Week 3: Apr 15**

**The Russian Revolution, the May Fourth Movement, and the Growth of Chinese Marxism**

**Readings:**
Hoston, *State, Identity, and the National Question*, chaps. 2 and 5
Lu Xun, "Diary of a Madman" (reader)
Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *History and Will*, chap. 14 (e-reserves)

**Rec'd:**
Peter Kuhfus, "Chen Duxiu and Leon Trotsky," *China Quarterly* 101 (March 1985): 253-276
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)
Joseph Levenson, *Confucianism and its Modern Fate* (Berkeley)

**Week 4: Apr 22**

**The Collapse of the First United Front and the Emergence of Mao Zedong Thought**

**Readings:**
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 242-252

**Rec'd:**
Conrad Brandt, *Stalin’s Failure in China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958)
Jean Chesneaux, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927*
Isaacs, *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 175-292 (a Trotskyist interpretation)
Stuart Schram, *Mao Tse-tung*, chap. 7 (pp. 146-191)
Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *History and Will*, chap. 15 (e-reserves)

**Week 5: Apr 29**

**Theory and Practice in the Base Areas**

**Readings:**
- Selden, *China in Revolution*, chaps. 1-4
- 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” course website
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 252-262

**Rec’d:**

**Week 6: MIDTERM EXAM: IN CLASS, MONDAY, MAY 6, 2013**

**Week 7: May 13**

**Civil War and the Growth of Two Chinas**

**Readings:**
- Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, chaps. 4-7
- Mark Selden, *China in Revolution*, chaps. 5-6
- Selections from Liu, *How to Be a Good Communist* (online on group website)
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 3

**Rec’d:**
- Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, chap. 4

**PART II. CHINA SINCE 1949: DILEMMAS OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT**

**Week 8: May 20**

**The CCP in Power**
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 4

James Harrison, “Communist Interpretation of Peasant Wars,” *China Quarterly* 24: 92-118
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 9: May 27

Socialist Construction Under the CCP from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution [No Class: Memorial Day]

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

Week 10:  June 3  The Four Modernizations and the Challenge of Democratization (no lecture because of holiday)

Hoston, State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan, chap. 10
Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, chap. 9 (e-reserves)
Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, Conclusion

Tong, Transitions from State Socialism (selected readings)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Lectures and discussions will be held each Monday from 5:00 p.m. to 7:50 p.m. in the 2204 Warren Lecture Hall. 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 occasional assignments designed to promote discussion in class and online.

Exams:

- Midterm Examination.  There will be an in-class midterm on Monday, May 6.
- 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 Friday, June 14 between 7:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. at the office of the Teaching Assistant.
Grading:

Class participation 25%

NOTE: 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. 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%

5 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.