This course explores the political dynamics of revolutionary change in 20th century China in comparative historical perspective. 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 assessing 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 (Hankou), Chungking (Chongqing), Canton (Guangzhou), Hong Kong, Mukden, and Yenan (Yan’an). The following definitions should prove helpful:

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1. The first part of the sequence, “The Politics of the Russian Revolution” (PS130AD, taught this past Winter quarter). Students may take either one or both courses in the sequence. This course is designed as a stand-alone course, and most students who take this course have not taken the Russian Revolution segment.

2. The spellings in parentheses are pinyin, the official romanization system used in the People’s Republic of China.
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, or Fredonia Books)

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. Graduate 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.

**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
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 1, pp.47-81, chap. 4

Rec’d:
Sheldon Wolin, “The Politics of the Study of Revolutions,”
*Comparative Politics* 5.3 (April 1973): 343-358 (e-reserves)
*Comparative Politics* 5.3, Special Issue on Revolution and Social Change (Apr., 1973), pp. 359-392

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”

BEGIN READING Mao Dun, *Midnight*

Recommended Readings for Students without China Background:
Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, chaps. 9-11

Rec’d:
Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979), Introduction, chap. 1, parts 1 and 2; chap. 2, part 3; and chap. 3


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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.
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” (TritonEd site)
- 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*
- 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
Hoston, *State, Identity, and the National Question*, pp. 361-379
Mao, “On New Democracy” (course website)
Mao, “On Practice” (course website)
Mao, “Reform Our Study” (course website)
Liu Shaoqi, “How To Be a Good Communist” (course website)
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 252-262


Week 6: May 6 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: Mao, “On Contradiction,” “Rectify the Party's Style of Work,”
"Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," and "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," all in *Selected Readings*
Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, chap. 4

Week 7: MIDTERM EXAM VIA TURNITIN, MONDAY, MAY 13 – NO CLASS

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
Benjamin I. Schwartz, "On Filial Piety and Revolution: China,”
*Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3.3 (Winter 1973): 569-580 (e-reserves)

“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*

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**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" (course website)

**Rec’d:**

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

**Readings:**
- 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

Rec'd:
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 004 Cognitive Science Building (CSB). 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.

Learning Objectives: After taking this course you should be able to:
1. Identify the major social scientific approaches to revolution, including their origins, processes, and outcomes.
2. Identify the major Chinese revolutions, the social groups and leading individuals to contributed to them, and the dynamics of revolutionary change in China from the late 19th century through the Maoist era.
3. Describe the various philosophical alternatives upon which those who aspired build a new China relied.
4. Identify the key outcomes of the Chinese Revolution that emerged victorious under the CCP in 1949 and the dynamics of the Maoist period that produced alternations in policy and culminated in the Cultural Revolution.
5. Describe normalization that occurred after the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao.

Discussion Assignments: There will be one or more assignments designed to promote discussion in class and online. To make sure that everyone has an opportunity to participate, preparations for these are short (1-2 pages) and are to be brought to class to be used in discussion.

Papers
- Midterm Paper. There is be a midterm paper due on Monday, May 13.
- Final Paper. A final paper based on the entire quarter’s work will be distributed two to three weeks before the final examination as scheduled by the registration and will be due on Friday, June 14 between 7:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. via Turnitin on TritonEd.

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 discussions on the TritonEd Discussion Forum. 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.