This course explores the political dynamics of revolutionary change in 20th century China in comparative historical perspective.¹ 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 idea 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

¹The first part of the sequence, “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 will have not taken the Russian Revolution segment.
(Hankou), Chungking (Chongqing), Canton (Guangzhou), Hong Kong, Mukden, and Yenan (Yan'an). The following definitions should prove helpful:

**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

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 Supplementary Materials Documents folder in the Files section on Canvas.

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 Cognella, which will be available for purchase in class the first two weeks of classes (www.cognella.com Tel: 800.200.3908/858.552.1120). Selections from the readings listed above will be available on reserve in the undergraduate library. Graduate students are required to read all the recommended (“Recom’d“) readings as well as the required readings. Other requirements and bases for grading are described below.

**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.

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2 The spellings in parentheses are *pinyin*, the official romanization system used in the People’s Republic of China
2. Identify the major stages of the Chinese revolution, 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 post-Cultural Revolution era.

3. Describe the various philosophical alternatives upon which those who aspired the new China relied.

4. Identify the key outcomes of the Chinese Revolution, the dynamics of the Mao era, and the period since the launch of the Four Modernizations and their legacy for the post-Mao era.

**Discussion Assignments:** There will be weekly discussion assignments designed to enhance your understanding of the course material. In addition, a short discussion assignment will be due Week 9 to help you prepare for the final paper.

This syllabus is your roadmap for achieving these objectives. **All readings are required (except those explicitly indicated as recommended – “Recom’d”) and must be completed prior to attending the synchronous (real-time) class meetings or listening to the lecture videos if you are unable to attend the latter.**

**Requirements and Grading**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Due</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Required Class Meetings or Video Recordings thereof and Discussion Responses based on lectures and readings. Readings must be completed before class, so that discussions can be wide-ranging and productive.</td>
<td>Your response to the weekly discussion question due by 11:59 p.m. on Friday night. Responses to the responses of 2 different peers due by 11:59 p.m. on Sunday night</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Paper (5-7 pages) A thought piece based only on the lectures and assigned readings covered through Week 7 (no readings may be used that are not assigned for this course). Topic will be posted at least 2 weeks before the due date.</td>
<td>Due by 11:59 p.m. on Thursday night of Week 7 (May 13th) via Canvas.</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Paper (10-12 pages) A thought piece based only on the lectures and assigned readings covered during the</td>
<td>Due via Turnitin on Canvas on Friday, June 11, 2021, 7:00 p.m. to 11:59 p.m. (It may be submitted early any time after</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
entire course (no readings may be used that are not assigned for this course). The prompt will be posted to Canvas at least 2 weeks before the due date.

12:01 a.m. on Wednesday, June 5, 2021.

Notes:

1. Students enrolled in the course are not expected to have a background in the subject matter, although those who have studied political theory and/or world history will find that experience helpful.

2. Grading scale: 90-100 = A  80-89 = B  70-79 = C  60-69 = D  Below 60 = F. I do not grade on a curve.

3. Both Professor Hoston and Mr. Sharp will be holding regular office hours. Zoom links will be provided and accessed via Canvas.

**General Course Expectations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What I expect of you</th>
<th>What you can expect of me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be informed. Read this syllabus carefully and completely so you understand the course structure and expectations.</td>
<td>Enthusiasm. To be prepared for each class and to bring my enthusiasm for teaching to each lecture, lab, and office hour meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay on schedule. Keep up with readings and discussion assignments, since the work done each week prepares the groundwork for the next week's work.</td>
<td>Responsiveness. To respond to emails within 24 hours. For those that know me already, you know that I usually respond faster than this. Emails received on weekends or while I'm traveling may take longer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be ethical. A good attitude and maintenance of honest and ethical principles towards me, your classmates, and the execution of the course. Please read “Classroom Behavior and Online Etiquette” below.</td>
<td>Timely feedback. To make every effort to return graded assignments within one week or as soon as is reasonably possible after the submission date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What I expect of you</td>
<td>What you can expect of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have integrity. An honest, fair, responsible, respectful, trustworthy, and</td>
<td>Integrity. To uphold standards of academic integrity and create an atmosphere that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courageous effort on all academic work and collaboration. Please read UC San</td>
<td>fosters active learning, critical thinking, and honest, positive collaboration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diego’s Policy on Integrity of Scholarship. Then, take the integrity pledge!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be flexible. Sometimes my schedule is affected by unavoidable work travel,</td>
<td>Reasonable accommodation and understanding for student situations that arise; however,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necessitating rescheduling of office hours or synchronous discussions at the</td>
<td>I will not make exceptions for one person that are not available to every other person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last minute. I will post any such last-minute changes as announcements on Canvas.</td>
<td>in the course.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classroom Behavior and Online Etiquette

Be respectful. Be sensitive. Be aware.

Effective written communication and open intellectual dialogue are crucial for maintaining a learning community that is respectful, considerate, welcoming, creative, and thought-provoking. In an online medium, expressions, meaning, and tone can often be misinterpreted, making it imperative that online learners adhere to the communication guidelines below:

- Treat your classmates with respect.
- Be thoughtful and open in discussion.
- Be aware and sensitive to different perspectives.
- Support one another and encourage each other to succeed.

The following behavior should be avoided:

- Using insulting, condescending, or abusive words.
- Using all capital letters, which is perceived as SHOUTING.
- Contacting learners with advertisements and solicitations or posting such items to Canvas.
- Posting copyrighted material.

Refer to: The UCSD Principles of Community and the UCSD Student Conduct Code.

SCHEDULE OF CLASS SESSIONS AND READINGS:

Week 1: Mar 29 Political Philosophy, Political Legitimacy, and 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,
Readings: Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Preface, chaps. 2 and 9 (e-reserves)

Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 1, pp. 47-81, chap. 4 on eReserves and www.archive.org).

Recom’d: Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, chap. 1 (eReserves)


Week 2: Apr 5

The Marxian Framework and the Chinese Context: The Problem of "Oriental Society"


Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 236-242

In Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader*:

- “Marx on the History of His Opinions,” pp. 3-6 (eReserves)
- “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right: Introduction”
- “On Imperialism in India” (Canvas)
- “The German Ideology,” pp. 146-200 (eReserves)
- “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, (eReserves)

BEGIN READING Mao Dun, *Midnight*

Recommended Readings for Students without China Background:

Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, chaps. 9-11 (eReserves)


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 12**

**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” (Canvas)
- Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *History and Will*, chap. 14 (eReserves)

**Recom’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 19**

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

**Readings:**
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 242-252 (eReserves and archive.org)

**Recom’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 26**

**Readings:**
- Selden, *China in Revolution*, chaps. 1-4
- Raymond F. Wylie, "Mao Tse-tung, Ch'en Po-ta and the 'Sinification' of Marxism, 1936-1938," *China Quarterly* 79 (September 1979): 447-480 (eReserves)
- Mao, "On New Democracy" (Canvas)
- Mao, "On Practice" (Canvas)
- Mao, "Reform Our Study" (Canvas)
- Liu Shaoqi, “How To Be a Good Communist” (Canvas website)
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 252-262 (archive.org)

**Recom’d:**

**Week 6: May 3**

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

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

**Week 7:**

**MIDTERM PAPER DUE VIA TURNITIN, MONDAY, MAY 10 – NO CLASS**

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

**Week 8:**

**May 17**

**The CCP in Power**
Readings:弗兰茨·舒尔曼,《共产主义中国的意识形态和组织》,第2-4章 (eReserves)
托马斯·P·伯恩斯坦,“领导和大规模动员在苏联和中国的集权化运动中的比较1929-1930年和1955-1956年,”《中国季度》第31期 (eReserves)
斯科特波,《国家与社会革命》,第4章 (archive.org)

推荐:唐·C·吉林,“游击战争的历史中的‘农民民族主义’,”《亚洲研究杂志》第23.2期 (February 1964): 269-289R
詹姆斯·哈里森,“共产主义对游击战争的解读,”《中国季度》第24期: 92-118
本杰明·I·施瓦茨,“父权和革命:中国,”《跨学科历史》第3.3期 (Winter 1973): 569-580 (e-reserves)
“毛泽东、所罗门和解决社会问题:两种观点,”《亚洲研究杂志》第32.1期 (November 1972): 101-120
莫里斯·梅斯纳,“列宁主义与毛泽东主义:一些populist马克思主义视角,”《中国季度》第45期: 2-36
唐纳德·蒙罗,“在毛泽东主义中的马克思主义:一些Populist马克思主义视角,”《中国季度》第48期: 609-640
詹姆斯·哈里森,《长征到权力》

周9:5月24

社会主义建设在CCP从大跃进而至文化革命

阅读:斯科克波,《国家与社会革命》,第6章, pp. 252-283 (www.archive.org)
毛泽东,“正确处理人民内部矛盾” (Canvas)
霍斯顿,《国家、认同和民族问题》, pp. 379-401 (eReserve)
本杰明·施瓦茨,“美德的统治:对领导和党在文化革命中的宽广视角,”《中国季度》第35期 (July – September 1968): 1-17 (eReserves)

推荐:伯恩斯坦,“保持革命前进,”在刘易斯,《领导和革命权力》, pp. 239-267
梅尔·戈德曼,“独特的‘繁花与竞争’1961-62,” in 资料书,《领导和革命权力》, pp. 268-303
Week 10: May 31
The Four Modernizations and the Challenge of Democratization [No Class: Memorial Day]

Readings:
Hoston, State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan, chap. 10 (eReserve)
Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, chap. 9 (eReserve)
Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, Conclusion (archive.org)

Recom’d:
Tong, Transitions from State Socialism (selected readings)

Student Resources for Support and Learning

UC San Diego Principles of Community

The University of California, San Diego is dedicated to learning, teaching, and serving society through education, research, and public service. Our international reputation for excellence is due in large part to the cooperative and entrepreneurial nature of the UC San Diego community. UC San Diego faculty, staff, and students are encouraged to be creative and are rewarded for individual as well as collaborative achievements.

To foster the best possible working and learning environment, UC San Diego strives to maintain a climate of fairness, cooperation, and professionalism. These principles of community are vital to the success of the University and the wellbeing of its constituents. UC San Diego faculty, staff, and students are expected to practice these basic principles as individuals and in groups.

Click here for the complete UC San Diego Principles of Community in English and Spanish.

UC San Diego Academic Policies

Academic Integrity

Academic Integrity is expected of everyone at UC San Diego. This means that you must be honest, fair, responsible, respectful, and trustworthy in all of your actions. Lying, cheating or any other forms of dishonesty will not be tolerated because they undermine learning and the University’s ability to certify students’ knowledge and abilities. Thus, any attempt to get, or help another get, a grade by cheating, lying or dishonesty will be reported to the Academic Integrity Office and will result in sanctions. Sanctions can include an F in this class and suspension or dismissal from the University.

So, think carefully before you act by asking yourself:

a) is what I’m about to do or submit for credit an honest, fair, respectful, responsible & trustworthy representation of my knowledge and abilities at this time and,

b) would my instructor approve of my action?
You are ultimately the only person responsible for your behavior. So, if you are unsure, don’t ask a friend—ask your instructor, instructional assistant, or the Academic Integrity Office. You can learn more about academic integrity at http://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu

(Source: Academic Integrity Office, 2018)

UCSD Student Conduct Code

Principles of Community
https://ucsd.edu/about/principles.html

Religious Accommodation
It is the policy of the university to make reasonable efforts to accommodate students having bona fide religious conflicts with scheduled examinations by providing alternative times or methods to take such examinations. If a student anticipates that a scheduled examination will occur at a time at which his or her religious beliefs prohibit participation in the examination, the student must submit to the instructor a statement describing the nature of the religious conflict and specifying the days and times of conflict.

For final examinations, the statement must be submitted no later than the end of the second week of instruction of the quarter.

For all other examinations, the statement must be submitted to the instructor as soon as possible after a particular examination date is scheduled.

If a conflict with the student’s religious beliefs does exist, the instructor will attempt to provide an alternative, equitable examination that does not create undue hardship for the instructor or for the other students in the class.

See: EPC Policies on Religious Accommodation, Final Exams, Midterm Exams

Nondiscrimination and Harassment
The University of California, in accordance with applicable federal and state laws and university policies, does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, pregnancy (including pregnancy, childbirth, and medical conditions related to pregnancy or childbirth), physical or mental disability, medical condition, genetic information, ancestry, marital status, age, sexual orientation, citizenship, or service in the uniformed services (including membership, application for membership, performance of service, application for service, or obligation for service in the uniformed services). The university also prohibits harassment based on these protected categories, including sexual harassment, as well as sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. The nondiscrimination policy covers admission, access, and treatment in university programs and activities.
If students have questions about student-related nondiscrimination policies or concerns about possible discrimination or harassment, they should contact the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD) at (858) 534-8298, ophd@ucsd.edu, or http://reportbias.ucsd.edu.

Campus policies provide for a prompt and effective response to student complaints. This response may include alternative resolution procedures or formal investigation. Students will be informed about complaint resolution options.

A student who chooses not to report may still contact CARE at the Sexual Assault Resource Center for more information, emotional support, individual and group counseling, and/or assistance with obtaining a medical exam. For off-campus support services, a student may contact the Center for Community Solutions. Other confidential resources on campus include Counseling and Psychological Services, Office of the Ombuds, and Student Health Services.

CARE at the Sexual Assault Resource Center
858.534.5793 | sarc@ucsd.edu | https://care.ucsd.edu

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)
858.534.3755 | https://caps.ucsd.edu

See: Nondiscrimination Policy Statement

Subject to Change Policy

The information contained in this syllabus, other than the grading and absence policies, may be – under certain circumstances subject to change with reasonable advance notice, as deemed appropriate or necessary by the instructor.

Letter of Recommendation Policy

If you would like to request a letter of recommendation after the completion of the course, please give me at least 3 weeks’ notice and consult the “Career Planning” tab on my website (www.germainehoston.com) for information about the materials I need to have received from you (via email) in order to write such a letter.