This course is the first 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 Russian 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. We complete this quarter by examining how revolutionary change continues to be a major factor in Post-Soviet Russia and its relations with its neighbors, including the United States of America. The focus on Russia is thus not narrowly constrained to the Russian Revolution of 1905/1917/1917/1991, but rather on the internal and external sources of Russia’s continuing revolution and its successors today.

The following assigned texts are available for purchase at the University Books and are on reserve:

Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (Oxford University Press), paper, 9780195026979
Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press), paper, 0-521-29499-1

Adam Ulam, *The Bolsheviks* (Harvard University Press), paper 0-674-07830-6

All other materials are included in the readers for the course available from University Readers (go to [www.universityreaders.com](http://www.universityreaders.com) and click on the "Students Buy Here" button). All the above, as well as other required readings will be available on reserve in the undergraduate library. Graduate

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1 The second part of the series is on “The Chinese Revolution” (PS131C). This year it will be taught in Spring 2017. Students may take one or both courses in the sequence.
students are required to read all the recommended 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: Jan 10
I. Political Thought, Political Legitimacy, and Revolutionary Change
II. The French Revolution and the Marxian Paradigm of Revolutionary Change
Readings: In Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader*:
- "Marx on the History of His Opinions"
- "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right: Introduction"
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 47-67, 112-128, chaps. 4-5
Rec’d: Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, chap. 1

Week 2: Jan 17
Competing Approaches to the Study of Revolution
Readings: Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chap. 1
In Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader*:
- "Theses on Feuerbach"
- "The German Ideology"
- "Manifesto of the Communist Party"
Rec’d: Wolin, ‘The Politics of the Study of Revolutions,”
*Comparative Politics* 5.3 (April 1973): 343-358
James C. Davies, “Toward a Theory of Revolution,”
*American Sociological Review* 27.1 (February 1962): 5-19
Tilly, “Does Modernization Breed Revolution?”
*Comparative Politics* 5.3 (April 1973): 425-447
*Comparative Politics* 5.3, Special Issue on Revolution and Social Change (Apr., 1973), pp. 359-392

2 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.
Assignment #1
Due via e-mail to russianrevolution2017-subscribe@yahoogroups.com
by 11:59 p.m. PST, Friday, January 20, 2017

Week 3: Jan 24
The Prehistory of the Russian Revolution
Readings: Alexander Gerschenkron, “Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development”
Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pp. 81-99
Ulam, The Bolsheviks, chaps. 1 and 2
http://www.jstor.org/stable/179052

Week 4: Jan 31
The Transformation of Marxism in Russia
Required: Ulam, The Bolsheviks, chaps. 4-5
Deutscher, The Prophet Armed, pp. 55-65, 76-97, 117-144
In Tucker, Lenin Anthology:
· “What Is To Be Done?”
· “The Right of Nations to Self-Determination”
Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, chap. 1
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00360341-%28195401%2913%3A1%3C38%3APATOOR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6
S. H. Baron, “The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism in Russia,” American Historical Review 77.3 (June 1972): 715-729

Week 5: Feb 7
Thought and Practice in the Russian Revolution from 1905 to 1917
Required: Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, chap. 2
Knei-paz, Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky, chaps. 3 and 4 (R)
In Tucker, ed., The Lenin Anthology:
· “Two Tactics of Social Democracy”
· “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”
· “The April Theses”
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-5859%28197407%2924%3A3%3C380%3APTATDO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W

**Week 6:** Feb 14  Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers in the Russian Revolution  
Readings: Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chap. 7  
Lenin, “The Dual Power,” in Tucker, *Lenin Anthology*  
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 128-140

Tuesday, February 21, 2017 - Paper Due by E-mail per instructions on the prompt

**Week 7:** Feb 21  The Consolidation of Power and War Communism  
Readings: Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, chaps. 3-4  
Lenin, “State and Revolution,” in Tucker, *The Lenin Anthology*  
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 206-220  
Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chap. 8  

Due in Class, Tuesday, February 28: Preparation of a position in the Soviet economic debates of the 1920s

**Week 8** Feb 28  NEP and the Debate on Soviet Economic Development  
Readings: Lenin's Last Testament: (link also on class website:) https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1922/dec/testamnt/congress.htm  
Smolinsky, “Planning without Theory”  
Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chap. 9  
Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, chaps. 5-9  

**Week 9**  Mar 7  Stalinism and Forced Collectivization  
Readings: Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, chaps. 6  
Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, chap. 10  
Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, chaps. 3-4, 6, 9  
Rec'd.: Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, chaps. 7-17,  
Conclusion  
Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, chaps. 6-10  

**Week 10**  Mar 14  Stalinism, De-Stalinization, and a Fourth Revolution  
Readings: Medvedev, *Let History Judge*, chaps. 11, 15, and Conclusion  
Khrushchev, “Secret Speech to the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU,” ("Crimes of the Stalin Era" and "Lenin’s Testament") in *Khrushchev Remembers* (available on the class website)  
Pipes, “Toward the Police State”  
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, Conclusion  
Rec’d:  
Conquest, *The Great Terror*, chaps. 4-15

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Lectures and discussions will be held each Tuesday from 5:00 p.m. to 7:50 p.m. in Center Hall 201. Readings should be completed before class, so that discussions can be wide-ranging and productive.

**Discussion Assignments:** There will be two 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 need to be submitted in writing online.

**Exams:**

- **Midterm Examination.** There will be a take-home midterm due by e-mail on **Tuesday, February 21.**
- **Take-home Final Examination.** A take-home final examination based on the entire quarter’s work will be distributed on or before Tuesday, **March 7** and is due between **7:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. on Thursday, March 23, 2017** by e-mail in accordance with the instructions on the prompt.

If you wish to have your graded final examination available for pickup in a public 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.³ 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 questions, answer questions posed by others, 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 the material.

Midterm examination  35%

Final examination  40%

³ 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.