



Political Science 131C

**Comparative Revolutions: (II) The Politics of the Chinese Revolution
(Section ID 710608)**

Spring 2011

v. 3

Dr. Germaine A. Hoston

Class Meetings: Mon 5:00 p.m-7:50 p.m. Office : 376 Social Science Building
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Hours: Mon 3:00-4:30 p.m. and by appt. E-Mail: ghoston@ucsd.edu
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Course Website: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/chineserevolution2011/>
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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. 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

¹The first part of the sequence, "The Russian Revolution" (PS130AD, taught this past Winter 2011). Students may take either or both courses in the sequence.

(Hankou), Chungking(Chongqing), Canton (Guangzhou), Hong Kong, Mukden, and Yanan (Yan'an). The following definitions should prove helpful:²

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

- 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)
Germaine A. Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press)
Harold Isaacs, *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (Chicago, Il: Haymarket Books)
Mao Tun, *Midnight* (Cheng & Tsui Company)
Mark Selden, *China in Revolution* (State University of New York Press) (updated version of *The Yanan Way in Revolutionary China*)

Recommended for students who need additional 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.

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 3 by sending an email from your preferred e-mail address (not necessarily your @ucsd.edu e-mail address) to: chineserevolution2011-subscribe@yahoogroups.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 opportunities to participate in class discussions, as well as a means to exchange lecture notes, ask questions, organize study groups, etc.

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:** **Mar 28** 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:** 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
- Week 2:** **Apr 4** 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. 94-120, chap. 7
 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:** Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital," and "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," pp. 594-98⁴ 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

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.

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 11** **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
Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Revolution*, chaps. 1-2
Lu Xun, "Diary of a Madman" (reader)
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-tung, *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)
- Week 4: Apr 18** **The Collapse of the First United Front and the Emergence of Mao Zedong Thought**
- Readings:** Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 242-252
Harold Isaacs, *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 110-293
- 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)
Isaacs, *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 175-292 (a Trotskyist interpretation)

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)
Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *History and Will*, chap. 15 (e-reserves)

- Week 5: Apr 25 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
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" course website
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"

Week 6: MIDTERM EXAM: IN CLASS, MONDAY, MAY 2, 2011

- Week 7: May 9 Civil War and the Growth of Two Chinas**
Readings: Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, chaps. 4-7
Hoston, *State, Identity, and the National Question*, pp. 379-401
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 Yen-an 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 8: May 16 The CCP in Power**
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): 269-289R
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
"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 9:** **May 23** **Socialist Construction Under the CCP from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution**
- 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
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:	May 30	The Four Modernizations and the Challenge of Democratization (no lecture because of holiday)
	Readings:	G. William Skinner and Edwin A. Winckler, "Compliance Succession in Rural Communist China: A Cyclical Theory," pp. 410-438, in Amitai Etzioni, ed., <i>Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations</i> 2 nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969) (e-reserves) Hoston, <i>State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan</i> , chap. 10 Moore, <i>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</i> , chap. 9 (e-reserves) Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , Conclusion
	Rec'd:	Sun, <i>The Chinese Reassessment of Socialism, 1976-1992</i> (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press) Tong, <i>Transitions from State Socialism</i> (selected readings)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Lectures and discussions will be held each Monday from 5:00 p.m. to 7:50 p.m. in the Pepper Canyon Hall 122. 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 2.
- **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 10 **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.⁵ 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.