



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
POLITICAL SCIENCE 130AD
POLITICS AND REVOLUTION (I):
POLITICS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
WINTER 2015
Section 826820
DR. GERMAINE A. HOSTON

Class Meetings: Tu 5:00-7:50 Office: 376 Social Science Building
Classroom: Applied Physics and Math 2301 Hours: Tu 3:00-4:30 p.m. and by appointment
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This course is the first of a two-course sequence¹ 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

Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge* (Columbia University Press)

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press), paper, 0-8070-5073-3 (1966 edition is okay if you cannot find the 1993 edition)

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press), paper, 0-521-29499-1

Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (W. W. Norton), 2nd ed. 0-393-09040-X

Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Lenin Anthology* (W. W. Norton), 0-393-09236-X

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 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

¹ The second part of the series is on "The Chinese Revolution" (PS131C). This year it will be taught in Spring 2015. 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 6	I. Political Thought, Political Legitimacy, and Revolutionary Change II. The French Revolution and the Marxian Paradigm of Revolutionary Change
	Readings:	In Tucker, ed., <i>Marx-Engels Reader</i> : <ul style="list-style-type: none">· "Marx on the History of His Opinions"· "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i>: Introduction" Moore, <i>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</i> , Preface, chaps 2 and 9 Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , pp.47-67, 112-128, chaps. 4-5
	Rec'd:	Moore, <i>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</i> , chap. 1
Week 2:	Jan 13	Competing Approaches to the Study of Revolution
	Readings:	Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , chap. 1 Hoston, <i>The State, Identity, and the National Question</i> , Introduction, chap. 1: "Marxism, Revolution, and the National Question" In Tucker, ed., <i>Marx-Engels Reader</i> : <ul style="list-style-type: none">· "Theses on Feuerbach"· "The German Ideology"· "Manifesto of the Communist Party"· "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," pp. 594-98²
	Rec'd:	Wolin, "The Politics of the Study of Revolutions," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 5.3 (April 1973): 343-358 James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," <i>American Sociological Review</i> 27.1 (February 1962): 5-19 Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" <i>Comparative Politics</i> 5.3 (April 1973): 425-447 Ted Robert Gurr, "The Revolution-Social Change Hypotheses," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 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.

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-5859%28197407%2926%3A3%3C380%3APTATDO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

Samuel H. Baron, "The Resurrection of Plekhanovism in Soviet Historiography," *Russian Review* 33.4 (October 1974): 386-404, available online at:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0036-0341%28197410%2933%3A4%3C386%3ATROPIS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S>

Week 6: Feb 10 Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers in the Russian Revolution
Readings: Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chap. 7
Lenin, "The Dual Power," in Tucker, *Lenin Anthology*
Paul Avrich, "Russian Factory Committees in 1917" (available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41042054>)

Ferro, "The Russian Soldier in 1917: Undisciplined, Patriotic, and Revolutionary" <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2493539>
Alexander Rabinowitch, "The Petrograd Garrison and the Bolshevik Seizure of Power," pp. 172-191, in Alexander and Janet Rabinowitch, eds. *Revolution and Politics in Russia* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1972)
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 128-140

**Tuesday, February 17, 2015 - Paper Due by
E-mail per instructions on the prompt**

Week 7: Feb 17 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
Alexander Rabinowitch, "The Evolution of Local Soviets in Petrograd, November 1917-June 1918: The Case of the First City District Soviet," *Slavic Review* 46.1 (Spring, 1987):20-37 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2498618>

**Due in Class, Tuesday, February 24: Preparation of a position
in the Soviet economic debates of the 1920s**

Week 8 Feb 24 NEP and the Debate on Soviet Economic Development
Readings: Smolinsky, "Planning without Theory"
Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chap. 9
Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, chaps. 5-9
Rec'd: Moshe Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, Intro., chaps. 1-6
Thomas P. Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivization Campaigns of 1929-30 and 1955-56: A Comparison," *China Quarterly* no. 31 (July-September 1967): 1-47

Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), chaps. 1-5

Week 9 Mar 3 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
Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment*,
(Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press,
1990), chaps. 1-3

Week 10 Mar 10 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*
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 APM 2301.
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 17.**
- **Take-home Final Examination.** A take-home final examination based on the entire quarter's work will be distributed on or before Tuesday, **March 3** and is due **between 7:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. on Thursday, March 19, 2015** 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 <i>active</i> , 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.