



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO  
POLITICAL SCIENCE 130AD  
POLITICS AND REVOLUTION (I):  
POLITICS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (522623)  
v. 5.0  
WINTER 2005

**Dr. Germaine A. Hoston**

Class Meetings: TuTh 2:00-3:20      Office: 376 Social Science Building  
Telephone: 858.449.0455      Hours: Tu 3:45-4:30 p.m. and by appointment  
E-Mail: [ghoston@ucsd.edu](mailto:ghoston@ucsd.edu)      TA: Adam Ekins ([aekins@ucsd.edu](mailto:aekins@ucsd.edu)) 332 SSB  
Course Website: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/russianrevolution>  
Course E-Mail: [mailto:russianrevolution@yahoogleroups.com](mailto:mailto:russianrevolution@yahoogleroups.com)

This course is the first of a two-course sequence<sup>1</sup> 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 Groundwork Books.

Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*  
Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge* (Columbia University Press)  
Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge University Press)  
Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (W. W. Norton)  
Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Lenin Anthology* (W. W. Norton)  
Adam Ulam, *The Bolsheviks* (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 ([www.universityreaders.com](http://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

---

<sup>1</sup> The second part of the series is on "The Chinese Revolution" (PS131C). This year it will be taught in Spring 2005. Students may take one or both courses in the sequence.

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:

<b>Week 1:</b>	<b>Jan 4</b>	Course Introduction: Political Thought, Political Legitimacy, and Revolutionary Change
	<b>Jan 6</b>	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"><li>· "Marx on the History of His Opinions"</li><li>· "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i>: Introduction"</li></ul> 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
<b>Week 2:</b>	<b>Jan 11-13</b>	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"><li>· "Theses on Feuerbach"</li><li>· "The German Ideology"</li><li>· "Manifesto of the Communist Party"</li><li>· "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," pp. 594-98<sup>2</sup></li></ul>
	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.,

---

<sup>2</sup> 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.

1973), pp. 359-392

- Week 3: Week of Jan 18** The Prehistory of the Russian Revolution
- Readings: Alexander Gerschenkron, "Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development"  
Robert C. Tucker, "The Image of Dual Russia," in Tucker, *The Soviet Political Mind* (New York: Norton & Norton, 1971)  
Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, pp. 81-99  
Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chaps. 1 and 2  
Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed*, chaps. 1
- Rec'd: Hoston, "Conceptualizing Bourgeois Revolution: The Prewar Japanese Left and the Meiji Restoration" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1990) (copies available from instructor)

**Assignment #1**

Due via e-mail to <mailto:russianrevolution@yahoogroups.com>

By 10 p.m. PST, Sunday, January 23, 2005

- Week 4: Week of January 25** The Transformation of Marxism in Russia
- Required: Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, chaps. 4-5  
Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed*, chaps. 3, 5  
In Tucker, *Lenin Anthology*:  
· "What Is To Be Done?"  
· "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination"  
Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, chap. 1
- Rec'd: S. H. Baron, "Plekhanov and the Origins of Russian Marxism," *Russian Review*, 13.1 (January 1954): 38-51, available online:  
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00360341-%28195401%2913%3A1%3C38%3APATOR%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: Week of February 1** 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"

Rec'd: S. H. Baron, "Plekhanov, Trotsky and the Development of Soviet Historiography," *Soviet Studies* 24.3 (July 1974): 380-395, available online at:

<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: Week of Feb 8 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"  
Ferro, "The Russian Soldier in 1917: Undisciplined, Patriotic, Revolutionary"  
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

Rec'd: Allan Wildman, "The February Revolution in the Russian Army," *Soviet Studies* 22.1 (July 1970): 3-23

**Tuesday, February 8, 2005**

**In-Class Midterm Examination**

**Week 7: Week of Feb 15 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

<b>Week 8</b>	<b>Week of Feb 22</b>	NEP and the Debate on Soviet Economic Development
Readings:		Smolinsky, "Planning without Theory" Ulam, <i>The Bolsheviks</i> , chap. 9 Cohen, <i>Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution</i> , chaps. 5-9
Rec'd:		Moshe Lewin, <i>Russian Peasants and Soviet Power</i> , 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," <i>China Quarterly</i> no. 31 (July-September 1967): 1-47 Robert Conquest, <i>Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine</i> (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), chaps. 1-5

**Due in Class, Tuesday, February 22:**

**Preparation of a position**

**in the Soviet economic debates of the 1920s**

<b>Week 9</b>	<b>Week of Mar 1</b>	Stalinism and Forced Collectivization
Readings:		Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , chaps. 6 Cohen, <i>Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution</i> , chap. 10 Medvedev, <i>Let History Judge</i> , chaps. 3-4, 6, 9
Rec.:		Lewin, <i>Russian Peasants and Soviet Power</i> , chaps. 7-17, Conclusion Conquest, <i>Harvest of Sorrow</i> , chaps. 6-10 Robert Conquest, <i>The Great Terror: A Reassessment</i> , (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chaps. 1-3
<b>Week 10</b>	<b>Week of Mar 8</b>	Stalinism, De-Stalinization, and a Fourth Revolution
Readings:		Medvedev, <i>Let History Judge</i> , 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  
Conquest, *The Great Terror*, chaps. 4-15

Rec'd:

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Lectures and discussions will be held each Tuesday from 2:00 p.m. to 3:20 p.m. in Center Hall 216. 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. Since the class is large, 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 an in-class midterm on Tuesday, February 8.
- **Take-home Final Examination.** A take-home final examination based on the entire quarter's work will be distributed on or before Thursday, **March 3** and is due **between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. on Thursday, March 17, 2005** in the room designated for the final exam.

The following statement must appear, **with your signature**, on the final page of all your written work:

"The above represents my own work in accordance with Academic Senate in accordance with Academic Senate guidelines on academic integrity."

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.**<sup>3</sup> This portion of the grade includes online contributions as well as "live" participation in class

---

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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 any material.

Midterm examination	35%
Final examination	40%