

### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO POLITICAL SCIENCE 130AD POLITICS AND REVOLUTION (I): POLITICS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WINTER 2019 Section 959384 DR. GERMAINE A. HOSTON

Class Meetings:	Tu 5:00-7:50	Office: 376 Social Science Building
Classroom:	Center Hall 218	Hours: Tu 3:00-4:30 p.m. and by appointment
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Course Discussion	Website: http://groups.yahoo.co	om/group/russianrevolution2019
Course E-Mail:	mailto:russianrevolution2019@yal	hoogroups.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/February 1917/October 1917, but rather on the internal and external sources of Russia's revolution and its consequences, as they can still be recognized since the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union in the regime of Vladimir Putin today.

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

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), 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The second part of the series is on "The Chinese Revolution" (PS131C). This year it will be taught in Spring 2019. Students may take one or both courses in the sequence.

All other materials are included in the readers for the course available from University Readers (go to <u>www.universityreaders.com</u> 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 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 8	I. Political Thought, Political Legitimacy, and Revolutionary Chang II. The French Revolution and the Marxian Paradigm of Revolutionary Change	
	Readings:	<ul> <li>In Tucker, ed., Marx-Engels Reader: <ul> <li>"Marx on the History of His Opinions"</li> <li>"Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction"</li> </ul> </li> <li>Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Preface, chaps 2 and 9</li> <li>Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, pp.47-67, 112-128,</li> </ul>	
	Rec'd:	chaps. 4-5 Moore, <i>Social Origins of Dictatorship and</i> <i>Democracy</i> , chap. 1	
Week 2:	<b>Jan 15</b> Readings:	Competing Approaches to the Study of Revolution 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> : • "Theses on Feuerbach" • "The German Ideology" • "Manifesto of the Communist Party" • "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," pp. 594-98 <sup>2</sup>	
	Rec´d:	<ul> <li>Wolin, 'The Politics of the Study of Revolutions,"</li> <li><i>Comparative Politics</i> 5.3 (April 1973): 343-358</li> <li>James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution,"</li> <li><i>American Sociological Review</i> 27.1 (February 1962): 5-19</li> <li>Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?"</li> <li><i>Comparative Politics</i> 5.3 (April 1973): 425-447</li> <li>Ted Robert Gurr, "The Revolution-Social Change</li> <li>Hypotheses," Comparative Politics 5.3, Special Issue on Revolution and</li> <li>Social Change (Apr., 1973), pp. 359-392</li> </ul>	

<sup>&</sup>lt;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.

	Dı	Assignment #1 ae via e-mail to russianrevolution2019-subscribe@yahoogroups.com by 11:59 p.m. PST, Friday, January 20, 2019
Week 3:	<b>Jan 22</b> Readings:	<ul> <li>The Prehistory of the Russian Revolution</li> <li>Alexander Gerschenkron, "Problems and Patterns of Russian</li> <li>Economic Development"</li> <li>Robert C. Tucker, "The Image of Dual Russia," in Tucker, <i>The</i> <i>Soviet Political Mind</i> (New York: Norton &amp; Norton, 1971)</li> <li>Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i>, pp. 81-99</li> <li>Ulam, <i>The Bolsheviks</i>, chaps. 1 and 2</li> <li>Hoston, "Conceptualizing Bourgeois Revolution: The Prewar Japanese Left and the Meiji Restoration" <i>Comparative</i> <i>Studies in Society and History</i> (1990)</li> <li>http://www.jstor.org/stable/179052</li> </ul>
Week 4:	<b>Jan 29</b> Required: Rec´d:	The Transformation of Marxism in Russia Ulam, <i>The Bolsheviks</i> , chaps. 4-5 Deutscher, <i>The Prophet Armed</i> , pp. 55-65, 76-97, 117-144 In Tucker, <i>Lenin Anthology</i> : · "What Is To Be Done?" · "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Cohen, <i>Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution</i> , chap. 1 S. H. Baron, "Plekhanov and the Origins of Russian Marxism," <i>Russian Review</i> , 13.1 (January 1954): 38-51,
	%281	available online: http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=00360341- 195401%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:		ght and Practice in the Russian Revolution from 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," <i>Soviet Studies</i> 24.3 (July 1974): 380-395, available online at: <u>http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0038-</u>
	<u>5859%28197407%</u>	<u>52926%3A3%3C380%3APTATDO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W</u>

		Samuel H. Baron, "The Resurrection of Plekhanovism
		in Soviet Historiography," Russian Review 33.4
		(October 1974): 386-404, available online at:
	<u>http:/</u>	//links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0036-
03419	<u>%28197410%293</u>	<u>3%3A4%3C386%3ATROPIS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S</u>
Week 6:	Feb 12 Work	kers, 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 19, 2019 - Paper Due via Turnitin

Week 7:	Feb 19	The Consolidation of Power and War Communism	
	Readings:	Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, chaps. 3-4 Lenin, "State and Revolution," in Tucker, <i>The Lenin Anthology</i> Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , 206-220 Ulam, <i>The Bolsheviks</i> , chap. 8 Alexander Rabinowitch, "The Evolution of Local Soviets in Petrograd, November 1917-June 1918: The Case of the First City District Soviet," <i>Slavic Review</i> 46.1 (Spring, 1987):20-37 at http://www.jstor.org/stable/2498618	
Due in Class, Tuesday, February 28: Preparation of a position in the Soviet economic debates of the 1920s			
Week 8	Feb 26	NEP and the Debate on Soviet Economic Development	
	Readings:	Lenin's Last Testament: (link also on class website:)	
https://www.	marxists.org/arc	hive/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	
	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</i>	

	<i>Terror</i> chaps	<i>-Famine</i> (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1-5		
Week 9	Mar 5 Stalinism and Forced Collectivization			
	Readings:	Skocpol, <i>States and Social Revolutions</i> , chaps. 6 Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, chap. 10 Medvedev, <i>Let History Judge</i> , chaps. 3-4, 6, 9		
Rec'd.:		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		
Week 10	<b>Mar 12</b> Stalinism, De- Readings:	<ul> <li>Stalinization, and a Fourth Revolution</li> <li>Medvedev, Let History Judge, chaps. 11, 15, and</li> <li>Conclusion</li> <li>Khrushchev, "Secret Speech to the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU," ("Crimes of the Stalin Era" and "Lenin's</li> <li>Testament") in Khrushchev Remembers (available on the class</li> <li>Yahoo! discussion website)</li> <li>Pipes, "Toward the Police State"</li> <li>Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, Conclusion</li> </ul>		
	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 218. Readings should be completed before class, so that discussions can be wide-ranging and productive.

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.

2. Identify the major Russian Revolutions, the social groups and leading individuals to contributed to them, and the dynamics of revolutionary change in Russia from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through the Stalinist era.

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

4. Identify the key outcomes of the Russian Revolution and the dynamics of the Stalinist era that culminated in the reversal of the spontaneous elements of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions and the enduring political and economic legacy of the Stalinist era.

**Discussion Assignments:** There will be one or more 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 are to be brought to class to be used in discussion.

#### Exams:

- Midterm Examination. There will be a take-home midterm due via Turnitin on Tuesday, February 19.
- 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 21, 2019 via Turnitin.

#### 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 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%	

<sup>&</sup>lt;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.