



**Boston University** International Programs  
London

**Boston University British Programmes**  
**Social Change & Modernization: Russia and China**  
**CGS SS 201**  
**Fall 2009**

**Instructor Information**

A. Name	Dr. Jason Tomes
B. Day and Time	Tuesday, 2-3.30pm (Lecture), 3.45-4.45pm (Discussion I), 4.45-5.45pm (Discussion II) Thursday, 1-2.30pm (Lecture), 2.45-3.45pm (Discussion I), 3.45-4.45pm (Discussion II)
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H. Office hours	By appointment

**Course Objectives**

The course centres on two case studies in rapid modernization, Russia and China, both of which experienced revolutions inspired by Marxist ideas that had a profound effect on a significant part of the world's population. Russia and the Soviet Union are considered as an example of dramatic economic and social change, attention being paid to the way in which Marxist theories were translated into practise. This serves as the basis for a comparison with the problems of modernization in contemporary China. The roots of industrialism, the culture of non-Western peoples as it affects their responses to it, and the complexities of social change combine to illuminate the problems facing the modern world

Studying these revolutions will provide data and concepts with which we can test some important ideas. Why do revolutions occur? What social, political and economic factors prepare this ground for revolution? Do revolutionaries seize power in order to turn their dreams and desires into reality? Is it true that revolutions, which start with lofty aims, inevitably degenerate into caricatures of their original intent? Is it possible to export revolutions from one country to another?

Perhaps the primary reason we study the Russian and Chinese revolutions is to understand the contemporary world in light of the major changes that occurred in the twentieth century. As a result of these changes, three different "worlds" emerged, each with its own internal dynamics, values, sources of inspiration, and political and social organizations.

Last semester you studied the first of the three worlds. The First World refers to the cluster of nations in Western Europe and North America whose culture and heritage evolved, through several centuries, from feudal society into capitalist economies and democratic political institutions. These developments within the First World, punctuated at times by revolutionary

outbursts and social strife, gradually replaced political and social institutions that were not compatible with bourgeois capitalism with new institutions that were. While each First World nation has followed a distinct historical path, all share the institution of private property and the belief that individual decisions provide an effective basis for organizing a society. Social stratification based on wealth differences is accepted, even encouraged under this system.

If the First World can conveniently be labelled capitalistic, the Second World, which once consisted of the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe, could be viewed as an example of state socialism. The countries of this region remained traditional societies longer than those of the First World. Imperial Russia, for example, had a form of serfdom which persisted well into the nineteenth century and was only abandoned at the time of the American Civil War. The most serious problems of the Second World have resulted from its perceived backwardness in relation to the First World. This backwardness persisted, despite the efforts of all Russia's leaders, from tsars to commissars, to overcome it. In contrast to the gradual transition of the First World, Russia experienced only a short capitalist phase before jumping into quasi-socialism. This rapid transformation short-circuited the process of capitalist development and resulted in a new type of social system. What, if any, were the benefits of such a society, and what were its costs? Why did the system established by Lenin and brought to a level of brutal perfection by Stalin collapse between 1985 and 1991 despite Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform it? Finally, where is Russia headed in its post-Soviet era?

Third World countries today are also attempting to develop economically and technologically. However, Western Imperialism and Colonialism are among the factors which separate their experience from that of the other two worlds. Our course will approach the Third World in terms of China. China is one of the world's oldest civilizations, with a history as rich as that of Europe. Yet the impact of the industrializing West disrupted and altered Chinese civilization. Modern Europe's commercial interests were too strong and its armies too well equipped for the Chinese to keep up their resistance. The West brought not only trade to China, but also alien ideas and institutions, such as capitalism, Christianity and nationalism. Each of these proved corrosive to Chinese civilization, and we need to comprehend both the pride the Chinese took in the formidable achievements of their civilization and the humiliation they suffered at the hands of the West.

As we finish the fall semester we shall have studied the three worlds which characterized the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It will remain our task in the spring semester to trace how the United States, as the First World economic and military colossus, reacted to the Marxist revolutions in Russia and China. This will enable us to study the impact of communist revolutions on America's foreign policy and how that reaction shaped the post-war role played by the United States.

## **Readings**

### *Essential:*

M. Kort, *The Soviet Colossus: History and Aftermath*

Norman Lowe, *Mastering Twentieth Century Russian History* (2002)

J. Grasso, J. Corrin, M. Kort, *Modernization & Revolution in China*

Edwin E. Moise, *Modern China: A History*, 2nd ed. (1994) or 3rd ed. (2008)

### *Recommended:*

Robert Service, *A History of Modern Russia* (2003)

Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union* (1992)

Jack Gray, *Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to 2000* (2002)

Jonathan Fenby, *The Penguin History of Modern China: The Fall and Rise of a Great Power* (2009)

Some of the following media sources should be consulted to learn about contemporary issues with respect to the former Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC).

### **Major Daily Newspapers**

New York Times, Times (London)  
Guardian, Independent

### **Attendance Policy**

Attendance at classes is compulsory. Excused absences include situations when there is a family emergency, a religious holiday, or you are ill. Please let the instructors know ahead of time and the absence may be excused.

### **Grading Breakdown**

Short examination, 1 hour, Russia, Tuesday 27 <sup>th</sup> October	20%
Essay, 1200 words, China, Thursday 26 <sup>th</sup> November	20%
Final examination, 2 hours, Russia and China, Thursday 3 <sup>rd</sup> December	40%
Contributions to class discussion:	20%

### **Grading**

Please refer to the Academic Handbook for detailed grading criteria, attendance requirements and policies on plagiarism:

<http://www.bu-london.co.uk/files/images/ACADEMICHANDBOOKFA09.pdf>.

## Schedule of Classes and Reading Assignments

### Part I: RUSSIA

#### Tuesday 13th October 2 p.m.

#### Traditional Russia

Reading: Kort, *Soviet Colossus*, chs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5  
Lowe, *Mastering Twentieth Century Russian History*, pp10-24, 32-37

Key terms:

Romanov Dynasty  
Alexander II  
Alexander III  
Nicholas II  
Emancipation of the Serfs  
Redemption Payments  
Mir  
Kulak  
Duma  
Intelligentsia  
Slavophiles  
People's Will

#### Thursday 15th October 1 p.m.

#### Marxism & Tsarist Reforms

Reading: Kort, chs. 7, 8  
Lowe, pp24-32, 37-54

Key terms:

Lenin (Vladimir I. Ulyanov)  
Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs)  
Russian Social Democratic Party  
Leon Trotsky  
Mensheviks (Minority)  
Bolsheviks (Majority)  
Julius Martov  
Georgy Plekhanov  
Constitutional Democrats (Kadets)  
Peter Stolypin  
Father Gapon  
St Petersburg Soviet

#### Tuesday 20th October 2 p.m.

Film, *Nicholas and Alexandra*

**Thursday 22nd October 1 p.m.**

**Revolution 1917 and Civil War**

Reading: Kort, chs. 9, 10  
Lowe, pp74-154

Key terms:

Petrograd Soviet  
April Theses  
July Days  
Alexander Kerensky  
Kornilov coup  
Central Committee  
Decree on land  
Constituent Assembly  
Cheka  
War communism  
Whites *versus* Reds  
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk  
Order No.1  
Red Terror

**Tuesday 27th October 2 p.m.**

**NEP & Industrialization Debate**

Reading: Kort, chs. 11, 12  
Lowe, 154-191

Key terms:

New Economic Policy (NEP)  
Kronstadt Revolt  
Joseph Stalin (Dzhugashvili)  
Nikolai Bukharin  
Lev Kamenev  
Grigory Zinoviev  
Third International (Comintern)

**SHORT EXAMINATION ON RUSSIA (1 hour)**

**Thursday 29th October 1 p.m.**

**Stalinism**

Reading: Kort, chs. 13, 14, 15  
Lowe, pp193-333 (concentrate on domestic affairs)

Key terms:

'Socialism in One Country'  
Five Year Plans  
Collectivization  
Purges  
'Dizzy with Success'  
Stakhanovite  
Sergei Kirov  
Totalitarianism  
GULAG

**Tuesday 3rd November 2 p.m.**

Reading: Kort, chs. 16, 17  
Lowe, chs. 8, 9

**Khrushchev to Chernenko: Reform to Stagnation**

Key terms:

Nikita Khrushchev  
De-Stalinization  
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn  
Andrei Sakharov  
Helsinki Accords  
Nomenklatura  
KGB  
Leonid Brezhnev  
Détente  
Yuri Andropov  
Samizdat  
Konstantin Chernenko

**Thursday 5th November 1 p.m.**

Reading: Kort, chs. 18, 19  
Lowe, ch. 10

**Gorbachev and Perestroika**

Key terms:

Mikhail Gorbachev  
Perestroika  
Glasnost  
Eduard Shevardnadze  
Nationalities problem  
Civil society  
Chernobyl  
Congress of People's Deputies  
Boris Yeltsin  
Vladimir Putin

## **Part II: China**

**Wednesday 11th November 2 p.m.** - Note change of day.

### **Traditional China & Western Impact**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, *Modernization and Revolution in China*, chs. 1-3  
Moise, *Modern China: A History*, pp1-42

Key terms:

Confucius  
Mandate of Heaven  
Examination system  
Qing (Manchu) dynasty (1644–1911)  
Extraterritoriality  
Opium Wars 1839–42 & 1856–60  
Compradores  
Taiping Rebellion (1850 – 1864)  
Self-strengthening movement  
Sino-Japanese War (1894–95)  
Hundred Days Reform (1898)  
Kang Youwei  
Dowager Empress Cixi  
Boxer Rebellion (1900)

**Thursday 12th November 1 p.m.**

### **Nationalism and Revolution**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, ch.4  
Moise, pp42-69

Key terms:

Sun Yatsen  
The Three Principles  
1911 Revolution (10th October 1911)  
Guomindang (GMD)  
Yuan Shikai  
Second Revolution (1913)  
Warlords  
Twenty-One Demands (1915)  
May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement (1919)  
Chen Duxiu  
Li Dazhao  
First United Front (1923–1927)  
Northern Expedition

**Tuesday 17th November 2 p.m.**

**Guomindang versus Communists**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, chs. 5 & 6  
Moise, pp67-113 (3rd ed., pp69-121)

Key terms:

Chiang Kaishek  
Soong Meiling  
New Life Movement  
White Terror  
Manchukuo  
Mao Zedong  
Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks (1931–35)  
Long March (1934–35)  
Xian Incident (1936)  
Second United Front (1937–45)  
Marshall Mission

**WRITING ASSIGNMENT** (1,200 words) to be completed by 26th November.

**Thursday 19th November 1 p.m.**

**The Socialist Transformation**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, chs. 7 & 8  
Moise, pp114-155 (3rd ed., chs. 6 & 7)

Key terms:

Thought reform  
New Democracy  
First Five-Year Plan (1952– 57)  
Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives (APCs)  
Hundred Flowers Campaign (1957)  
The Great Leap Forward (1958 – 1959)  
People's Communes  
Liu Shaoqi  
Red v. Expert debate

**Tuesday 24th November 2 p.m.**

**The Cultural Revolution**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, ch. 9  
Moise, ch. 8

Key terms:

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution  
Red Guards  
Lin Biao  
Little Red Book  
Capitalist roaders  
Jiang Qing  
Gang of Four  
Cult of Mao  
Lost generation



**Thursday 26th November 1 p.m.**

Film: *To Live* (1994)

Hand in writing assignment on China.

**Tuesday 1st December 2 p.m.**

**The 'Deng Revolution'**

Reading: Grasso, Corrin, & Kort, ch. 10, 11, 12  
Moise, chs. 9, 10 (3rd ed., chs. 9, 10, 11)

Key terms:

Deng Xiaoping

One child families

Special Economic Zones

Li Peng

Four Modernizations

Fifth Modernization

Jiang Zemin

Tiananmen massacre

Hu Jintao

**Thursday 3rd December 1 p.m.: RUSSIA AND CHINA**

**FINAL EXAMINATION** (2 hours)

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## Russia chronology

1825	Decembrist Revolt
1825 – 1855	Tsar Nicholas I
1853 – 1856	Crimean War
1855 – 1881	Tsar Alexander II
1861	Emancipation of the serfs
1863 – 1864	Reforms of law, education, and local government
1870	Birth of V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin)
1874 – 1875	“Going to the People”
1878 – 1881	Terrorist activity
1879	Birth of J.V. Stalin and Leon Trotsky
1881	Alexander II assassinated
1881 – 1894	Tsar Alexander III
1881	“Statute Concerning Measures for the Protection of State Security and Social Order”
1887	Lenin’s brother executed
1891	Famine
1892 – 1903	Sergei Witte’s program for Development of Industry, Transportation, and Commerce
1894 – 1917	Tsar Nicholas II
1898	Founding of Marxist R.S.D.L.P. (Russian Social Democratic Labor Party)
1902	Founding of Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR)
1903	R.S.D.L.P. splits into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks
1904 – 1905	Russo-Japanese War; Bloody Sunday: general strike, October Manifesto
1906	First Duma
1911	Peter Stolypin assassinated; massacre in Lena gold fields
1914 – 1918	Russia involved in First World War
1916	Gregory Rasputin murdered
1917	March: bread lines in Petrograd, rioting, Tsar abdicates Petrograd Soviet formed, Order No.1, Provisional Government formed. April: Lenin returns from exile, April theses May: Trotsky returns July: July uprising, many Bolsheviks arrested, Kerensky becomes premier August: General Kornilov’s coup November: Bolshevik Revolution December: Armistice negotiations begin with Germany
1918	January: Constituent Assembly meets and is dispersed March: Treaty of Brest-Litovsk June: Industry nationalized, War Communism Civil War begins
1919	Comintern founded (Third International)
1920	Allied forces withdraw from Russia; Civil War ends
1921	Kronstadt Revolt; NEP begins
1922	Stalin becomes secretary-general; Lenin’s “testament”; USSR formed
1924	Lenin dies; Industrialization Debate begins
1926	Trotsky, Kamenev, and Zinoviev ousted from Politburo
1928	First Five Year Plan
1930	Stalin’s “Dizzy with Success”

1932 – 1933	Famine
1934	Kirov assassinated: Great Purge launched
1936	First Moscow trials: Zinoviev & Kamenev convicted and executed
1937 – 1938	Mass arrests and executions; Bukharin executed
1940	Trotsky assassinated in Mexico
1941 - 1945	USSR involved in World War II
1953	Stalin dies
1956	Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech: De-Stalinization
1964 – 1979	Brezhnev and Kosygin era ; détente with West
1982	Brezhnev dies; succeeded by Yuri Andropov
1984	Andropov dies; succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko
1985	Chernenko dies; succeeded by Mikhail Gorbachev
1989	Collapse of Communism in eastern Europe
1991	Failed coup against Gorbachev; USSR collapses and is replaced by fifteen independent countries

### China Chronology

1644	Manchus establish Qing dynasty of emperors
1793	First British trade delegation to China (Macartney Mission)
1794	White Lotus Rebellion begins
1838 – 1842	Opium War between Britain and China
1842	Treaty of Nanjing establishes treaty ports
1850 – 1864	Taiping Rebellion
1856 – 1860	Second Opium War or <i>Arrow War</i>
1861 – 1875	The Tongzhi Restoration
1872	First Chinese students go abroad
1890	First modern textile factory in China
1894 – 1895	Sino-Japanese War
1895 – 1899	Western 'scramble for concessions'
1898	The Hundred Days Reform
1900	The Boxer Rebellion
1905	Sun Yatsen founds the Tongmenhui (Alliance Society)
1908	Pledge to establish constitutional government within nine years
1911	Revolution overthrows the Qing dynasty
1912	Republic of China founded, with Sun Yatsen as President, then Yuan Shikai; Tongmenhui renamed Guomindang (GMD)
1913	'Second Revolution' fails to oust Yuan Shikai
1915	Japan presents Twenty-One Demands to China
1916	Yuan dies; period of warlordism begins
1917	Bolshevik Revolution in Russia
1919	May 4th Movement
1921	GMD revived; Chinese Communist Party (CCP) founded
1923	Sun-Joffe manifesto on GMD-Bolshevik collaboration
1925	Sun Yatsen dies
1926 – 1928	Chiang Kaishek leads GMD's Northern Expedition to unify China
1927	White Terror: GMD crushes CCP in cities; Mao Zedong leads peasant rebellion in Hunan
1930	GMD begins campaign against CCP in south China
1931	Japan invades Manchuria
1934	GMD offensive forces CCP to begin the Long March
1935	Long March ends; Mao becomes undisputed leader of CCP
1936	Xian incident
1937 – 1945	'The War of Resistance against Japan'
1941	USA enters World War II
1946	Civil War resumes between GMD and CCP
1949	GMD flees to Taiwan; CCP establishes the People's Republic of China (PRC)

1950 USSR-PRC Friendship Pact; PRC conquers Tibet  
 1950 – 1953 Korean War  
 1952 Land reform completed  
 1953 – 1957 First Five-Year Plan  
 1954 US-Taiwan (GMD) defence pact  
 1957 The ‘Hundred Flowers’ campaign  
 1958 ‘The Great Leap Forward’; People’s Communes established  
 1960 Soviet technicians leave China  
 1961 Reversal of ‘Great Leap’ led by Li Shaoqi  
 1963 Start of public hostility between USSR and PRC  
 1966 Cultural Revolution begins  
 1972 US President Nixon visits China  
 1976 Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai die  
 1978 USA recognises PRC  
 1979 Deng Xiaoping visits USA; Democracy Wall movement; Wei Jingsheng imprisoned  
 1981 Gang of Four convicted  
 1983 Liberalization of agricultural production  
 1984 CCP moves away from Soviet model of centralised economic planning  
 1986 Start of pro-democracy movement  
 1987 Zhao Ziyang continues Deng’s model for development  
 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre  
 1990 Execution of dissidents  
 1993 Wei Jingsheng freed from prison; re-arrested 1994  
 1996 Dispute with USA over Most Favoured Nation clause  
 1997 Hong Kong becomes part of PRC  
 1998 Wei Jingsheng released, goes to USA  
 2003 Hu Jintao assumes leadership