



Fall 2022
Syllabus v. 1.0
T/Th 11:00-12:15
Classroom: TYD 1118

GVPT 459W: Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements

Professor

Dr. Jennifer Wallace (she/her)

Email: jwallace@umd.edu

Office Hours: Tu/Th 3:30-4:30 and by appointment via Zoom

Office: TYD 3140 N

Course Description:

“Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolutions inevitable.” – John F. Kennedy, March 13, 1962

Successful revolutions mark turning points in history. They are often dramatic, involve heroic figures, and can forever change the political landscape. This course is designed to enable students to systematically examine these significant events, and to understand them as catalysts to achieve political and social change. The first part of the course will address revolutionary theory, focusing on analysis of the causes, processes, actors and outcomes of revolution. We will explore questions such as: What are the primary causes of revolution? Who are the revolutionaries and what are their strategies? What factors determine what kind of government or society emerges in their aftermath? In the second part of the course, we will apply these theoretical frameworks to case studies of contemporary revolutions from the 19th century to the present, including Mexico, Russia, China, Cuba, Iran, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and South Africa. We will also examine more recent democratic uprisings in the Middle East through the lens of revolutionary theory. Finally, we will address the applicability of revolutionary politics to our contemporary political environment, using the theoretical tools developed early in the course to better understand protest behavior, social media networking and calls for systemic change in the US and abroad.

Learning Objectives:

At the end of this course, successful students should be able to:

- Identify the characteristics of a revolution and differentiate it from other types of social movements
- Evaluate and analyze theoretical explanations for revolution
- Recognize the various ideologies that have motivated revolution

- Understand the anatomy of revolutions including leadership, mobilization and outcomes
- Apply the theories and concepts of revolution to case studies and current events

Course Reading (Required):

- Patrick Van Inwegen, *Understanding Revolution* (Lynne Reinner, 2011)
- James DeFronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, 6th ed. (Westview, 2022)
- Robert Blaisdell, ed., *The Communist Manifesto and Other Revolutionary Writings: Marx, Marat, Paine, Mao, Ghandi and Others* (Dover, 2003)
- Additional texts and scholarly articles as noted in the syllabus that can be accessed online or on the course website.
- You are encouraged to read a major daily newspaper such as the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*. Staying informed on world news will help you apply the course material to current events.

Course Requirements:

1. Attendance and Participation: 20%
2. Reading Response Papers: 30% (10% each)
3. Case Study Discussion Leader: 10%
4. Short Research Papers: 40% (20% each)

Attendance and Participation: Your participation will be measured by your attendance AND your involvement in discussions. You must come to our class prepared to discuss the material. The breakdown of the 20 points will be 10 points for attendance and 10 points for participation. This means that you cannot earn full credit if you are not an engaged, prepared student. For students who find participation challenging, please reach out early in the course to talk about your concerns so that I can work with you on developing strategies to overcome this. If students have questions about their performance, it is their responsibility to proactively seek feedback.

Participation grades will be assigned according to the following scale:

9-10 = highly effective participant; insightful questions/comments; obviously prepared for class each day.

8-9 = consistent participant; thoughtful questions/comments; normally prepared for class.

7-8 = occasional participant; regularly attends class, sporadic involvement in discussions, often based more on personal opinion than careful reading and analysis of the material.

6-7 = observer; regularly attends class but usually does not get involved in class discussions.

<6= occasional visitor to the class; sporadic attendance, no participation.

Reading Response Papers: Students will complete three short response papers during the first half of the course based on the course readings and class discussions. Topics and due dates are provided below. These essays should be about 3-4 pages (800-1200 words) in length and do not require outside research, though they should demonstrate comprehension of the course material.

Case Study Discussion Leader: Each student will present on a specific theme (causes/ideological motivation; main actors and strategies; or outcomes and impact) applied to one of the case studies of revolution covered in the second part of the course. These presentations should be about 5-10 minutes in length and designed to generate class discussion. It is the responsibility of discussion leaders to carefully read the assigned material, link the case study to the broader course themes, and to offer insights and discussion questions based on the readings. While discussion leaders have a primary role in analyzing the case study, all students are responsible for completing the reading and participating in class discussions.

Short Research Papers: Students are expected to write two short, but more substantive, papers that are due in the second half of the course. Strong papers will integrate the theoretical material from the first part of the course with analysis of specific case(s) of revolution, and should include outside research. Papers should be roughly 8 pages (2000-2400 words) in length. Prompts and deadlines are described below. A handout with more specific information about formatting, citations, etc. will be provided separately.

Grading Scale

A+ = >97	C = 73-76
A = 93-96	C- = 70-72
A- = 90-92	D+ = 67-69
B+ = 87-89	D = 63-66
B = 83-86	D- = 60-62
B- = 80-82	F = < 60
C+ = 77-79	

Course Policies and Expectations

1. **Attendance:** Attendance in each class session is required. Students who have a reason for missing a discussion that aligns with university policy for excused absences should communicate with me in advance of the class when possible and provide any documentation necessary to excuse the absence when they are able to resume participation. Students may self-excuse one absence per semester in accordance with university policy. Excused absences (with documentation or one self-excused absence) do not require a makeup assignment.
2. **Quarantine:** Self-certified notes will serve as documentation for COVID-19 related absences or other absences due to medical caution. Students **must** reach out to the professor **in advance** of the missed class session(s) to notify the professor of the anticipated absence(s). An alternative assignment will be assigned to students to make up missing work. Alternative assignments may not be used to make up unexcused absences (absences without documentation and not communicated in advance).
3. **Email and Appointments:** Students with substantive questions should attempt to meet in person with the course professor during office hours. I am happy to meet with you to discuss the course material, assignments, or other questions that you may have about the study of political science. However, in order to manage workflow detailed explanation of course material cannot

be provided over email. If requesting an appointment outside of office hours, please note that email requests will be responded to on business days and appointments should be planned for in advance (typically at least one business day).

4. Late Assignments: Assignments that are turned in past the due date will be penalized one letter grade per day for each day or a fraction thereof that the assignment is late.
5. Re-grading policy: Requests for a re-grade must be made in writing within 10 days of receiving feedback, clearly specifying why the feedback received that resulted in a lower grade is incorrect. Grades will only be changed if the basis for the original grade is found to be erroneous.
6. Grade Notification: All assessment scores will be posted on the course ELMS page. If you would like to review any of your grades or have questions about how something was scored, please email me to schedule a time for us to meet and discuss.
7. University-wide Policies: It is our shared responsibility to know and abide by the University of Maryland's policies that relate to all courses, which include topics like:
 - Academic integrity
 - Student and instructor conduct
 - Accessibility and accommodations
 - Attendance and excused absences
 - Grades and appeals
 - Copyright and intellectual property

Please visit <http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html> for the Office of Undergraduate Studies' full list of campus-wide policies and follow up with me if you have questions.

COVID-19, Mental Health and Unanticipated Challenges: Although I am hoping that the worst of the COVID-19 pandemic is behind us, a lot of us are still dealing with additional stress and anxiety. I am very open to being flexible should life events arise that make it hard for you to keep up with the class. Such events might include things happening to you personally or things happening to family members. Please know that I want to do everything I can to support you. To do this, though, I need to know about a problem when it starts, not after it has already derailed your ability to keep up with class. I don't need to know details. Whatever you are comfortable telling me is fine. Letting me know sooner rather than later, though, is key. I'm in a much better position to help you and make accommodations if you tell me when the problem arises. It is MUCH harder to do this if you wait until the end of the term or have fallen far behind. You can email me or make an appointment to discuss your needs in person or via Zoom.

Statement on Diversity and Inclusivity

The Government and Politics department deeply values the voices and perspectives of all people. We are committed to having a diverse department that recognizes and appreciates the differences in race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, abilities, class, nationality, and other factors. Our department prioritizes diversity and seeks to foster a diverse community reflected in its faculty, staff, and students.

In this class, students are invited to share their thoughts and a diversity of opinions is welcome. Respectful communication is expected, even when expressing differing perspectives. Supporting one's

statement with research findings is encouraged. In accordance with free speech statutes, speech that contains threats of violence is prohibited.

Names/Pronouns and Self-Identifications: The University of Maryland recognizes the importance of a diverse student body, and we are committed to fostering inclusive and equitable classroom environments. I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more.

Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice whether to disclose (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for all of your fellow Terps.

Reporting Racism and Other Forms of Hate and Bias

If you experience racism or other forms of bias in this class or any GVPT course, we encourage you to do at least one of the following:

- Please report the experience to the instructor or teaching assistant
- Report the experience to David Cunningham, the GVPT Director of Undergraduate Studies at dacunnin@umd.edu
- Report the experience to the GVPT Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, led by Professor Antoine Banks at abanks12@umd.edu

Please also report all incidents of hate and bias to the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at <https://diversity.umd.edu/bias/>.

Course Structure:

*The reading/homework noted in italics should be completed *before* coming to class that day. Reading selections may be changed throughout the course. Please check ELMS for updates.*

Course Introduction

- Aug 30 Syllabus Review
- *No Reading Assigned*
- Sept 1 Typologies of Revolution
- *Van Inwegen, Ch. 1 and 2*

Origins and Outcomes of Revolution

- Sept 6 Classic Approaches to Revolution
- *Alexis de Tocqueville, "Book I: Chapter V: What did the French Revolution Really Achieve?" and "Book II: Chapter I: What Feudal Rights were more odious to the People in France than any where else" in The Old Regime and the Revolution," translated by John Bonner. pp. 35-49*
Full text available:
<https://archive.org/details/oldregimeandrev00tocggoog/page/n6/mode/2up>
 - *in Blaisdell:*
 - o *Karl Marx and Frederick Engel. "Manifesto of the Communist Party"*
- Sept 8 The Modernization Debate
- *Samuel P. Huntington, "Ch. 5: Revolution and Political Order," (pp. 264-278 only) in Political Order in Changing Societies, Yale University Press.*
 - *Charles Tilly, "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" Comparative Politics (1973).*
- Sept 13 Structural Explanations
- *Van Inwegen, Ch. 3*
 - *Theda Skocpol, "France, Russia and China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," Comparative Studies in Society and History (1976).*

Response Paper 1, Due Sept 23: What are the main variables that political scientists look at to explain the cause of revolutions? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these explanations?

Revolutionary Ideologies and Frames

- Sept 15 Liberalism
- *Van Inwegen, Ch.4 (57-69 only)*
 - *in Blaisdell:*
 - o *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Preface and Part 2, Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality"*
 - o *Voltaire, "Policy"*

- Sept 20 Nationalism
- Van Inwegen, Ch. 4 (pp. 70-76 only)
 - "Nationalism" in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nationalism/>
 - Ernst Renan. "What is a Nation?"
- Sept 22 Marxism-Leninism
- Van Inwegen, pp. 77-84
 - DeFronzo, pp. 33-58
 - Vladimir Lenin. "What is to be Done?" and "The State and Social Revolution," Excerpts from *The Great Political Theories*, Michael Curtis (ed.)
 - in Blaisdell:
 - o Review the Communist Manifesto
 - o V.I Lenin, "May Day" and "Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People"
 - o Leon Trotsky, "The Proletariat and the Revolution" "The Events in St. Petersburg" and "The Zimmerwald Manifesto"
- Sept 27 Marxist Derivatives: Maoism and Anarchism
- Van Inwegen, 84-91.
 - DeFronzo, 87-118
 - in Blaisdell:
 - o Mao Zedong "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army"
 - o Pierre-Joseph Proudhon "What is Property?"
 - o Peter Kropotkin, "An Appeal to the Young"
 - o Peter Kropotkin "The Russian Revolution and the Soviet Government"
- Response Paper 2, Due Oct 7: What role does ideology play in fomenting revolution? Why do some scholars argue that ideology is irrelevant to revolution? Support you answer with examples.*
- Sept 29 Populism
- Panizza, Francisco (2005) Chapter 1 in *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*, New York: Verso.
 - Aslanidis, Paris (2016) "Is Populism an Ideology? A Refutation and a New Perspective," *Political Studies Vol. 64, Supplemental Issue*, pp. 88-104.
- Oct 4 Anti-Colonialism and Liberation Theology
- Fanon, F. (1961) "Concerning Violence" in *The Wretched of the Earth* (2005). New York, NY: Grove Press, pp.35-80.
 - Van Inwegen, pp. 99-100
- Oct 6 Battle of Algiers Discussion
- Watch the film online through library reserves prior to class

Mobilization, Strategy and Outcome

- Oct 11 Social-Psychological Explanations for Mobilization
- Van Inwegen, Ch. 7 (pp. 127-130)
 - Ted Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Ch. 2)
 - James C. Davies "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* (1962).
- Oct 13 Rational Choice Explanations for Mobilization
- Van Inwegen, Ch. 7 (pp. 130-136)
 - Goldstone, J. A. (1994). *Is Revolution Individually Rational?: Groups and Individuals in Revolutionary Collective Action. Rationality and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 139–166.

Reading Response Paper 3, due Oct. 28: What are the competing explanations for why people mobilize to rebel? Which do you find most compelling and why?

- Oct 18 Opposing Strategies: Nonviolence and Guerrilla Warfare
- Van Inwegen, Ch. 7 (pp. 136-146)
 - Ivan Arreguin-Toft "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* (2001).
 - Che Guevara. "General Principles of Guerrilla Warfare," and "The Guerrilla Band," in *Guerrilla Warfare* (1960)
 - in Blaisdell;
 - o Mohandas K. Gandhi "Ahmedabad Speech"
 - o Mohandas K. Gandhi "Satyagraha"
 - Scan Al Qa'ida's Doctrine for Insurgency and compare it to Che Guevara's text: <https://b-ok.cc/book/5007238/a38d75>
- Oct 20 Revolutionary Outcomes
- Van Inwegen, Ch. 8
 - Eckstein, Susan (1982) "The Impact of Revolution on Social Welfare in Latin America," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 11, pp. 43-94.

The Revolutionary Vanguard

- Oct 25 Agency and Sources of Revolutionary Leadership
- Van Inwegen Ch. 6
 - Weber, Max. "Charisma, Bureaucracy and Revolution," in Jack A. Goldstone (ed.) *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies*, pp. 33-36.
 - Selbin, Eric "Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back in," in *Theorizing Revolutions*, John Foran (Ed.) New York: Routledge. Pp. 118-132.
- Oct 27 The Role of Women
- Valentine M. Moghadam, "Gender and Revolutions," in *Theorizing Revolutions*, John Foran (ed.)
 - in Blaisdell: Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation"

Short Research Paper 1, Due Nov 18: "The thoughts and actions of individuals are the mediating link between structural conditions and social outcomes." Evaluate the veracity and limits of this claim using at least two specific examples of revolutionary leadership.

Case Studies

Nov 1

Lessons from the 19th Century: The United States and France

- Theda Skocpol. *States and Social Revolutions*. pp. 51-67, 118-128, Ch. 5
- in Blaisdell (pp. 41-97):
 - o Thomas Jefferson, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America,"
 - o Thomas Paine, "Appendix to Common Sense"
 - o Representatives of the USA, "Declaration of Independence"
 - o Camille Desmoulins, "Live Free or Die"
 - o Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes, "What is the Third Estate?"
 - o Third Estate, "Decree Upon the National Assembly"
 - o National Assembly of France, "Tennis Court Oath"
 - o National Assembly of France, "The Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen"
 - o Jean Paul Marat, "Are We Undone?"
 - o Thomas Paine, "The Rights of Man"
 - o Georges Jacques Danton "Dare, Dare Again, Always Dare"
 - o Pierre Sylvain Marechal, "Manifesto of the Equals"
 - o F.N. Babeuf, "Analysis of the Doctrine of Babeuf"

Nov 3

Mexico: Rural Movements

- John Foran. "Mexico's Unfinished Revolution," in *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third-World Revolutions*, pp. 33-45.
- Smith, Stephanie J. Introduction and Chapter 1 in *Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatan Women and the Realities of Patriarchy*, pp. 1-53.

Anti-Communism

Nov 8

The Soviet Union Collapse and Ukrainian Independence

- DeFronzo, Ch. 2 (58-79)
- in Blaisdell:
 - o Vaclav Havel, et al. "Charter 77"
- Kuran, Timor. 1991a. "The East European Revolution of 1989: Is it Surprising that We Were Surprised?" *American Economic Review*. 81:121-125.

Nov 10

China: Pro-Democracy Movements from Students to Hong Kong

- DeFronzo, pp. 118-140.
- Al Jazeera, "It Happened in Tiananmen Square," Available via YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VbKroPF3W5Q>
- Tai, Benny. (2019) "30 Years After Tiananmen: Hong Kong Remembers," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 30, No. 2. Pp. 64-69.

Consequences of Imperialism

- Nov 15 Cuba
- DeFronzo, Ch. 5
 - Luxenberg, Alan "Did Eisenhower Push Castro into the Arms of the Soviets?" in LaRosa and Mora (eds.), *Neighborly Adversaries*, Ch. 17
 - in Blaisdell:
 - o Che Guevara, "Colonialism is Doomed"
- Nov 17 Iran: Consequences of US Policy
- DeFronzo, Ch. 7
 - Robert Holden and Eric Zolov, *Latin America and The United States, A Documentary History*, doc 104 "Human Rights and Foreign Aid"
 - Watch 20th Century with Mike Wallace: "Crisis in Iran: Death of the Shah and the Hostage Crisis," available via library course reserves
- Nov 22 Vietnam: Communism or Nationalism?
- DeFronzo, Ch. 4
 - Ho Chi Minh, "Appeal Made on the Founding of the Indochinese Communist Party," <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/works/1930/02/18.htm>
 - "Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, 1945" <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1945vietnam.html>
 - "The Path Which Led Me to Leninism," <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/works/1960/04/x01.htm>

Ousting Oppressive Regimes

- Nov 29 Nicaragua
- DeFronzo, Ch. 6
 - Pastor, Robert, "Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua," in LaRosa and Mora (eds.), *Neighborly Adversaries*, Ch. 19
- Dec 1 South Africa: Ethnic Revolt
- DeFronzo, Ch. 9
 - Mandela, Nelson (1994) "Part 10: Talking with the Enemy," in *The Long Walk to Freedom*

Contemporary Democratic Movements

- Dec 6 The Arab Spring
- DeFronzo, Ch. 11
 - Heydemann, Steven and Reinoud Leenders (2011) "Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime Responses to the 'Arab Awakening,'" in *Globalizations*, Vol. 8, No 5, pp. 647-653.
 - Tudoroiu, Theodor (2014) "Social Media and Revolutionary Waves: The Case of the Arab Spring," *New Political Science*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 346-365.

Dec 8

Examining the Contemporary Era

- *Pastor, Lubos and Pietro Veronesi (2018) "Inequality Aversion, Populism, and the Backlash Against Globalization," NBER Working Paper, No. 24900, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w24900>*
- *Jost, J. T., Barber P., Bonneau R., Langer M., Metzger M., Nagler J., Sterling J., Tucker J.T. 2018. "How Social Media Facilitates Political Protest: Information, Motivation, and Social Networks". *Advances in Political Psychology*, 39(S1): 85-118.*
- *Malcolm Gladwell (2010) "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted," *The New Yorker**

Short Research Paper 2: due Wednesday, December 14: How do the revolutions that we have studied support or refute the theoretical arguments addressed in the first part of the course? Using at least two revolutions as case studies, discuss the applicability to revolutionary theory, ideology, or explanations of mobilization.