CONTENTS

A Note on Transliteration and Pronunciation xix

Chapter 1 REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA AND THE DILEMMAS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY 3

The Dying Village 3 Populist Strategies for Change 6 "Modernizing" Russia 10 Early Russian Marxism 12 Lenin and the Problems of Worker Activism 17 Defining the Tasks of Revolutionary Marxism 22 The Revolution of 1905 27 Dilemmas of Social Democracy 33

Chapter 2 1917: THE PARADOX OF VICTORY 35

The February Revolution 35 The Goals of "Ordinary" and "Privileged" Russia 38 Institutional Dualities 42 Lenin's Return and the April Theses 45 Deepening of the Revolution 47 Revolutionary Politics: July to October 52 Perspectives on October 54

Contents

Bolshevik "Democracy" 56 War Communism and the Social Aspects of Civil War 62 The Nature of Proletarian Dictatorship 65 Kronstadt and Its Aftermath 68

Chapter 3 CHINA AND THE MEANINGS OF RUSSIA'S REVOLUTION 72

Imperialism 72 Before the Fall: The Limits of Qing Reform 75 The Revolution of 1911 78 The Limits of Political Reform under the Republic 81 May Fourth 86 The Appeal of Marxism-Leninism 88 Revolutionary Organization 91

Chapter 4 SHANGHAI: THE PARADOX OF DEFEAT 96

The Contradictions of National Revolution 96 Mobilizing against Warlords and Imperialists 100 Dilemmas of the "Bloc Within" 106 The Northern Expedition 108 The Shanghai Massacre and the Bloody Summer of 1927 112 Seeking Virtue in Necessity 117

Chapter 5 VANGUARDS: THE PARTIES AND PARTY-MASS RELATIONS IN THE 1930s 120

The Vanguard Issue 120 NEP and Its Contradictions 125 Red Political Power in Jiangxi 135 Symbolism and Substance in the Long March 142 Building a New Base in Shaanxi 146 Assaulting Backwardness in Russia 147 To Be in the Vanguard 156 Enemies of the People 159

Chapter 6 GREAT PATRIOTIC STRUGGLES: THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IN WORLD WAR II 167 Nationalism and Revolution 167

The United Front in China 168 Revolutionary Virtue in Military Necessity 174

xvi

War with Japan 178 Zhengfeng 178 "Modern" Men and Women in Yanan 183 Bourgeois Europe and Socialist Russia 189 The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Outbreak of War 194 The Great Patriotic Struggle 198 Russia's Staggering Victory 201

Chapter 7 SOCIALIST ROADS AND THE VARIETIES OF RECOVERY 210

Defining the Tasks of Soviet Reconstruction 210 The Cult of Personality 213 Social Consequences of High Stalinism, 1946–1953 216 Civil War in China 220 The CCP Assumes State Power 226 Stalin's Death and the Comparative Tasks of New Socialist Development 228 Political Consolidation in China 231 China's New Socialist Road 236 New Socialist Roads in the USSR 238

Chapter 8 GREAT LEAPS FORWARD: IRONIES AND CONTRADICTIONS, 1954–1964 244

Collectivization in China 245 The Soviet Twentieth Party Congress and Its Aftermath 252 The Problem of the Intellectuals 257 New Directions in China 258 China's Great Leap Forward 263 Russia's "Great Leap" under Khrushchev 267 Revolutionary Process and the Sino-Soviet Split 274

Chapter 9 CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE OUESTION OF STABILIZATION 279

Retrenchment in China 280 Contradictions of Revitalization in the USSR 283 Contradictions of Stabilization in China 290 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 296 Further Aspects of Cultural Change 306 Aftermath 313 Contents

Chapter 10 STRAW SANDALS: THE AMBIGUITIES OF POWEP. 316
"Revisionism" in the Early 1970s 316 The Ambiguities of Power 324

Notes 335 Chronology of Major Events 359 Suggestions for Further Reading 363 Index (with Brief Biographical Notations) 373

xviii